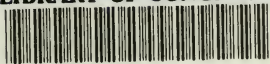


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THE MORTAL MOON;

OR,

BACON AND HIS MASKS.

THE DEFOE PERIOD UNMASKED.

for
BY
J. E. ROE.

"He is an ill discoverer who thinks there is no land when he can see nothing but sea."—BACON.

NEW YORK:
BURR PRINTING HOUSE,
FRANKFORT AND JACOB STS. }

PR 2944
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By J. E. ROE.

of Rochester, N.Y.

DEDICATION.

To all exercising that royalty of mind that suspends the judgment until the proofs are in, do we dedicate this work. Even those who would look into it, not to believe, but for its novelty, romance, pretty chain of relations, and bits of good literature, will upon like condition, be included in our dedication.

PREFACE.

THE relational facts and circumstances connected with the life of Lord Bacon will be here found collated and marshalled beyond the cloud, and so that the reader shall himself say, Bacon stands in new light. Here he may likewise find short steps to the heart of the Baconian philosophy.

The several masks under which Lord Bacon performed his great hitherto undisclosed work will be brought into relation with his generally attributed writings, and be found to be, not merely in harmony with, but to be their principles expanded in detail ; and thus, after a suspension of upward of two hundred and fifty years, their restored relations.

Having reached our conclusions with care, we hesitate not in making a claim which we feel that time and close investigation must ripen into belief. We indeed here open a door to methods which must ere long surprise the world. And the matter, coming through the highest mortal reaches, and, according to design, largely upon the wings of romance, must make it ever permanent with the race. As to the setting of the ants, the race, anew at work Bacon himself says : “ And certainly I have raised up here a little heap of dust, and stored under it a great many grains of sciences and arts, into which the ants may creep and rest for awhile and then prepare themselves for fresh labors. Now the wisest of kings refers sluggards to the ants ; and for my part, I hold all men for sluggards who

care only to use what they have got, without preparing for new seed-times and new harvests of knowledge."

Reasons for the first part of our title will in due time appear.

The interpretation of the play of Hamlet and of The Tempest, and which only we have attempted to handle, will be found new, as will our interpretation of the sonnets, and in which alone we shall endeavor to reward the reader for any labor he may bestow upon this work. Indeed, its Shake-speare features will be found to have an interest for the general reader which they have not hitherto possessed, in that, instead of giving a multitude of merely grouped together parallelisms, we give a history, wherein these, as far as space and circumstance will permit, are made to fall into relation. We have, in fact, so far as may be, made Lord Bacon his own Robinson Crusoe; and thus to tell the story of his life, and concerning whose doings will be found greater romance than was ever yet spread in an Arabian tale.

J. E. R.

May 30, 1891.

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THE MASKS.

1. *The Anatomy of Abuses*, by Phillip Stubbs. This vigorous, though evidently youthful treatise, consisting of 229 pages, first appeared in 1583, when Bacon was but twenty-two years of age. It was probably the earliest public production from his pen, and is replete with forceful expressions of early Puritan views against then existing abuses. It was dedicated to the Earl of Arundel, at whose house Lord Bacon is said to have died, in 1626.

2. All those writings appearing between the years 1585 and 1623, and generally attributed to William Shakespeare. Bacon here painted forth to the public eye, and shook a spear at the foibles of men—in other words, at their ruling follies.

3. *The Court of King James*, by A. D. B. This work was put forth under these initials as a mask in 1619. It consists of a brief treatise of 168 pages upon courts of princes, and particularly of that of James the First of England. It was dedicated to the Duke of Buckingham, whose religious opinions and other conduct it was evidently designed to influence; and who, by reason of it, as we shall claim, became one, if not the chief mover of Bacon's cloud and of the tempest that followed.

4. *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, by Democritus Junior. This work is doubtless the accumulation of years, but was put forth in 1621, the year during which Lord Bacon's troubles began, though not then first put forth, as has generally been supposed. In Bacon's attributed writings Democritus is indeed a most prominent figure. In his article entitled "Of the Interpretation of Nature" (*Works*, vol. ii., p. 548) Bacon says: "Democritus, I think, did not unhappily philosophize when, attributing immense variety and infinite succession to nature, he set himself against almost all other philosophers, the slaves of custom, and given over to secularities, and by this opposition, bringing both errors into collision, destroyed both and opened

some way for truth between the extremes." And in vol. i., p. 437, he, among other things of Democritus, says he "was deemed by universal consent the greatest of natural philosophers and obtained the name of a wise man ;" while in Aphorism 51 of the *Novum Organum* he says : "But it is better to dissect than abstract nature ; such was the method employed by the school of Democritus, which made greater progress in penetrating nature than the rest."

Robert Burton's name became first associated with this work some years after his death, which occurred in 1639, and after it had passed through many editions. Of Burton's life little is known, and this great work is the only literary product with which his name is associated. Its note-book range of knowledge is truly encyclopædic. It will be found to contain allusions to all of the fables treated in Bacon's "Wisdom of the Ancients," and is replete with all of those elements wrought so forcefully into the so-called Shakespeare plays. The causes of the malady that threatened Hamlet and that quite overtook Ophelia are graphically set forth. Some few events occurring since Bacon's death may, it is true, be found in the work, but which we shall claim interpolations ; for it must be distinctly borne in mind that claimed additions and corrections by Burton himself before his death have since that event been made to the work, as from its introduction will appear. Now in the light of this statement, let it be noted that this work was first issued in one volume, 8vo, purple morocco (Bacon at his wedding was clothed in a full suit of purple), by Bright T., as author, in 1586, when Burton was but ten years of age, he having been born February 8th, 1576 ; and which fact must, we think, put Burton's claims, or rather those made for him, at rest.

5. Robinson Crusoe, by Daniel Foe, or Defoe. Under this head we include all that literature which is now attributed to Daniel Defoe, Dean Swift, and some others, political tools of Robert Harley, the noted manuscript collector of the Defoe period and first Earl of Oxford, and put forth at various dates between the years 1685 and 1731, and which, however inconsistent it may at first appear, we shall claim as brought forth from the dusty manuscripts of Lord Bacon's pen. And ultimately we shall reach the question as to the mental forces that set in operation the English Revolution of 1688.

6. *The Pilgrim's Progress and The Holy War*, by John Bunyan. Concerning the first, we quote from a copy of Bunyan's life as follows: "The finest specimen of well-sustained allegory in any language is the composition of this self-taught rustic, who little aimed at literary celebrity in the homely parable which he wrote to solace his prison hours for the religious instruction of the common people. The most admirable exposition of the elements of Christian theology, one which is so little of a controversial or sectarian character, that it may confessedly be read without offence by sober-minded Protestants of all persuasions, and yet so comprehensive as to form the best possible body of divinity, is the composition of an obscure, itinerant preacher, whose apostolic labors consigned him, in the days of the Stuarts, to a twelve years' imprisonment in Bedford jail for no other crime than his nonconformity."

As we design to make this work a subject for special consideration, we shall but enlarge upon it here sufficiently to move it to its place in the great Baconian system yet to be unfolded.

If, then, our claims, new laid and under better light, be true, we may cease to wonder that Lord Bacon was content to say: "For my name and memory, I leave it to men's charitable speeches, and to foreign nations, and to the next ages."

His comprehensive wisdom foresaw that the real truth must ultimately appear, and so in the so-called Shakespeare Sonnet 55, he, of himself says, that he shall live in it and in them, and until a true judgment of himself is made or shall arise. He says:

"Not marble, nor the gilded monuments
Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme;
But you shall shine more bright in these contents
Than unswept stones, besmear'd with sluttish time.
When wasteful war shall statues overturn,
And broils root out the work of masonry,
Nor Mars his sword nor war's quick fire shall burn
The living record of your memory.
'Gainst death and all-oblivious enmity
Shall you pace forth; your praise shall still find room,
Even in the eyes of all posterity,
That wear this world out to the ending doom.
So, till the judgment that yourself arise,
You live in this, and dwell in lovers' eyes."

GROUND S OF BELIEF.

THE works here brought under review are claimed as products of one and the same mind, and that mind Lord Bacon's.

1. Not because of suspicious circumstances lurking about these writings, and particularly about the Defoe literature.

2. Not because the first edition of the Anatomy of Melancholy appeared in 1586, when its alleged author was but ten years of age.

3. Not because the supposed author of the plays never appeared in print outside them, nor gave producible evidence of his pen save in but three variably spelled and so poorly written signatures to business papers as to be scarcely legible.

4. Not because of the supreme inconsistency that an untaught rustic could have been author of "the finest specimen of well-sustained allegory in any language," the product being at the same time, confessedly, "so comprehensive as to form the best possible body of divinity."

5. Not because while in the Defoe literature we have a most astute philosopher, we still have not a philosophy, but only the branches of a philosophy, and the Baconian branches.

6. Not because portions of the Defoe literature cover the field of Natural Theology, which Lord Bacon marked off from Inspired Divinity and made a distinct branch of philosophy.

7. Not because it was unqualifiedly affirmed by Lord Bacon that he had completed a host of divine works, though no such works have ever been attributed to him.

In the introductory matter to his crowning work, the *Novum Organum*, he says: "But after furnishing the understanding with the most surest helps and precautions, and having completed, by a rigorous levy, a complete host of divine works, nothing remains to be done but to attack philosophy herself."

8. Not because he said he had "obeyed the humor of the times, and played the nurse both with his own thoughts and those of others," though no such writings or piece of writing has ever been attributed to him; nor because he said he intended to write some patterns of natural story.

9. Not because he, in ch. 3, of Book 8, of the *De Augmentis*, put forth in 1623, said: "And if I should hereafter have leisure to write upon government, the work will probably either be posthumous or abortive."

10. Not because there is to be found in portions of the Defoe literature a hand other than the one in which the body of the work is couched.

11. Not because Lord Bacon expressed a distinct intention to put forth portions of his work under chosen devices.

12. Not because his knowledge concerning the wisdom of the ancients and the distinctive use of that knowledge is spread through all this literature.

13. Not because his central views as to mythology, astrology, magic, and apparitions are throughout the same.

14. Not, in fact, because the wide research of the one, and in all directions, is the research of all.

15. Not because the opinions on religious, scientific, social, and political questions are the same in all.

16. Not because of the wide familiarity with legal principles and the subtle knowledge concerning courts of princes displayed in all.

17. Not because the metaphors of the one are the metaphors of all.

18. Not because certain adroitly chosen combinations of words—that is, set forms of expression, of the one are the set forms in all.

19. Not, in fact, because the broad, scientific, and distinctively set vocabulary of the one is the distinctive vocabulary of all.

20. And so not by reason of any one of the foregoing do

we lay our claim, but distinctly by reason of them all, when they shall have been drawn into their just and true relations.

As these works are but masks, so no change should, we think, take place in their titles.

WORKS OF REFERENCE.

BETWEEN the years 1594 and 1596 Sir Francis Bacon made certain notes termed "Formularies and Elegances," and numbering from 1 to 1655. They were found among the Harleian collection as No. 7017. They have a further division into folios, the series beginning with fol. 83 and ending with fol. 132, and consist of 50 pages. What became of the earlier folios, if there were any, does not appear. All save some French proverbs, at the end of the series, are in Bacon's own hand. It is stated that there is no record as to whence Harley received this manuscript. The group has come to be distinguished as Bacon's "Promus of Formularies and Elegances," the word "Promus" being taken from one of the sheets having this heading. The word is defined by Bacon in the *De Augmentis*, ch. 2, Book 7. A description of them may be found in Bacon's literary works by Spedding, vol. ii., p. 190.

As Mr. Spedding has given but comparatively few of them, we have in our investigation made use of Mrs. Henry Pott's fine edition, published by Longmans, Green & Co., in 1883.

We have, likewise, made use of the following :—viz., the Ellis, Spedding, and Heath editions of Lord Bacon's works, where the letters, literary, professional, and philosophical writings are in volumes by themselves. Our investigation began, however, with the American edition of Lord Bacon's works, in three volumes, by Basil Montague, and which we have distinguished simply by the word works, referring to volume and page. Though somewhat poor in arrangement, still this work is of much value in that it departs little, we think, from the true phraseology of Bacon. This not containing the *De Augmentis*, the Bohn edition of that work has been somewhat used. In every instance,

however, reference has been made to book and chapter, though the editions somewhat differ.

The Hudson edition of the Shakespeare writings, in eleven volumes, published by Noyes, Holmes & Co., in 1872.

The twelfth English edition of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, published in 1821, by Longmans & Co. and others. This twelfth edition contains the first published account of Burton, its alleged author.

As there is no good uniform edition of Defoe's writings that contains them all, we have made use of the Bohn edition so far as it goes, and which is accessible to all. When a work not found in it is referred to, the Talbot or Hazlitt edition, each of which we have, will be used, indicating at the same time to which edition it belongs.

In referring to Addison's works, the Bohn edition has been used.

We have used a small cheap volume of Swift's writings found in the Camelot Classic Series, edited by Ernest Rhys, and which those interested in our subject would do well to possess, as will be made to appear late in the work. That Swift, Defoe, and other actors in the scheme of the Defoe period, were one and the same, so far as their writings are concerned, is not, we think, matter of question. The mentioned edition not containing *Gulliver's Travels*, we have used the admirable, though cheap edition of that work in the Gladstone Series.

We have also used the cheap Arlington edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Any further needful statement concerning the works under review may be found in the work itself.

INTRODUCTION.

As the steps that have led an author into new fields of investigation, are commonly matters of interest to the reader, and especially where the product stands aside from the beaten path of accepted thought, they will be here somewhat carefully set forth.

Having some years previous to the investigation here set out, possessed myself of the matchless story entitled Robinson Crusoe, which all have in youth read with such delight, I turned upon my heel with full intent of renewing in it my boyhood ; but placing the book upon my shelves, other business and other years intervened, during which time the measured sentences of Lord Bacon, as embraced in his philosophical writings, quite absorbed my leisure hours, until one day, casting about for some special diversion in books, my attention again fell upon my sweet morsel, which taken now in hand, I set out in good earnest upon my old resolve. I had not been long out in the voyage—that is, in the entertainment of the story, before I found myself in a kind of surprise to see how one, by like measured sentences, could make simple elements so plain, forceful, and intensely interesting. Something also about the general framework of the sentences, and of the peculiar and distinctive Baconian use of certain words and set forms of expression, impressed my mind, which now turned instinctively, as it were, from Crusoe to that same narrational style found in Bacon's New Atlantis ; and everywhere displayed in the narrational portions of the Defoe literature. Having turned to the New Atlantis, first published in 1627, the year following Lord Bacon's death, I read its brief introduction by Dr. Rawley in these words :

“ This fable my lord devised to the end that he might

exhibit therein a model or description of a college instituted for the interpreting of nature and the production of great and marvellous works for the benefit of men, under the name of Solomon's House, or the College of the Six Days' Works. And even so far his lordship hath proceeded as to finish that part. Certainly the model is more vast and high than can possibly be imitated in all things, notwithstanding most things therein are within men's power to effect. His lordship thought also in this present fable to have composed a frame of laws or of the best state or mould of a commonwealth ; but foreseeing it would be a long work, his desire of collecting the Natural History diverted him, which he preferred many degrees before it.

" This work of the New Atlantis (as much as concerneth the English edition) his lordship designed for this place, in regard it hath so near affinity (in one part of it) with the preceding Natural History."

Lord Bacon not only designed the New Atlantis to follow his Natural History, but he set it forth in his true narrational style. Yet it will be found to be the only like piece of composition now attributed to him, and this not published until after his death.

The introduction finished, I directed my attention to the body of the work, and by careful and systematic comparison of the framework of its sentences, and of the peculiar and distinctive use of certain words, as well as of certain set forms of expression, both here and everywhere displayed in Bacon's attributed writings, with those in *Crusoe*, I saw, as I thought, a oneness not only of style but of individuality ; and I ask of the reader to make for himself a like comparison, as well before as after he shall have reached our argument or true thread of relations.

I next turned to a parliamentary speech by Lord Bacon touching the New Atlantis and the Recovering of Drowned Mineral Works, and read as follows :

" MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN : The king, my royal master, was lately graciously pleased to move some discourse to me concerning Mr. Sutton's hospital and such like worthy foundations of memorable piety, which, humbly seconded by myself, drew his majesty into a serious consideration of the mineral treasures of his own territories, and the practical discoveries of them by way of my

philosophical theory ; which he then so well resented that afterward, upon a mature digestion of my whole design, he commanded me to let your lordships understand how great an inclination he hath to further so hopeful a work, for the honour of his dominions, as the most probable means to relieve all the poor thereof, without any other stock or benevolence than that which divine bounty should confer on their own industries and honest labours, in recovering all such drowned mineral works as have been or shall be therefore deserted.

“ And, my lords, all that is now desired of his majesty and your lordships is no more than a gracious act of this present Parliament to authorize them herein, adding a mercy to a munificence, which is, the persons of such strong and able petty felons, who, in true penitence for their crimes, shall implore his majesty’s mercy and permission to expiate their offences by their assiduous labours in so innocent and hopeful a work.

“ For by this unchargeable way, my lords, have I proposed to erect the academical fabric of this island’s Solomon’s House, modelled in my New Atlantis. And I can hope, my lords, that my midnight studies, to make our countries flourish and outvie European neighbours in mysterious and beneficent arts, have not so ungratefully affected your noble intellects that you will delay or resist his majesty’s desires and my humble petition in this benevolent, yea magnificent affair, since your honourable posterities may be enriched thereby, and my ends are only to make the world my heir,¹ and the learned fathers of my Solomon’s House the successive and sworn trustees in the dispensation of this great service for God’s glory, my prince’s magnificence, this Parliament’s honour, our countries general good, and the propagation of my own memory.

“ And I may assure your lordships that all my proposals in order to this great archetype seemed so rational and feasible to my royal sovereign, our Christian Solomon, that I thereby prevailed with his majesty to call this honourable Parliament, to confirm and empower me in my own way of mining,² by an act of the same, after his

¹ Note the expression, “ make the world my heir,” in connection with the last line of sonnet No. 6.

² Note that mining, as well as the recovery of treasure from the deep, was to be included in this enterprise.

majesty's more weighty affairs were considered in your wisdoms ; both which he desires your lordships and you gentlemen that are chosen as the patriots of your respective countries to take speedy care of ; which done, I shall not then doubt the happy issue of my undertakings in this design, whereby concealed treasures, which now seem utterly lost to mankind, shall be confined to so universal a piety, and brought into use by the industry of converted penitents, whose wretched carcasses the impartial laws have or shall dedicate as untimely feasts to the worms of the earth, in whose womb¹ those deserted mineral riches must ever lie buried as lost abortments, unless those be made the active midwives² to deliver them. For, my lords, I humbly conceive them to be the fittest³ of all men to effect this great work, for the ends and causes which I have before expressed.

“ All which, my lords, I humbly refer to your grave and solid judgments to conclude of, together with such other assistances to this frame⁴ as your own oraculous wisdom shall intimate, for the magnifying our Creator in his inscrutable providence and admirable works of nature.” (Works, vol. ii., p. 463.)

After reading this speech by Bacon touching the New

¹ In Hamlet we have the expression, the “ extorted treasure in the womb of earth.” Note throughout these writings the use of the word “ womb” as a figure of speech, and particularly in the Shakespeare literature.

² This use by Bacon of the word “ midwife” is distinctive and unusual. It will be found many times in Defoe and three times in his *Jure Divino*. From its third book we give the following :

“ The fluttering wind of incoherent thought,
Midwifed by reason, brings contrivance out ;
She forms from things incongruous and dull,
And hews the man of sense out from the fool ;
For thought's a vapour fluid and unfix'd,
With inconsistent clouds of fancy mix'd ;
But when condensed by reason, and reduced,
Science and argument are soon infused.”

We shall later have occasion to draw this word more sharply into relation.

³ Note everywhere the constant use of the word “ fit” and “ fittest.”

⁴ Note, in like manner, the use of the word “ frame,” and particularly in the Shakespeare literature.

Atlantis, we turned to p. 87, vol. i., of the Anatomy of Melancholy, put forth subsequent to his fall, and read as follows :

"I will yet,¹ to satisfy and please myself, make an Utopia of mine own, a new Atlantis, a poetical commonwealth of mine own, in which I will freely domineer, build cities, make laws, statutes, as I list myself. And why may I not?—*pictoribus atque poetis*, etc. You know what liberty poets ever had ; and, besides, my predecessor Democritus was a politician, a recorder of Abdera, a law-maker, as some say ; and why may not I presume so much as he did ? Howsoever, I will adventure.² For the site, if you will needs urge me to it, I am not fully resolved : it may be in *Terra Australis Incognita* ; there is room enough (for, of my knowledge, neither that hungry Spaniard nor Mercurius Britannicus have yet discovered half of it) ; or else one of those floating islands in *Mare del Zur*, which, like the Cyanean isles in the Euxine Sea, alter their place, and are accessible only at set times, and to some few persons ; or one of the Fortunate Isles ; for who knows yet where or which they are ? There is room enough in the inner parts of America and northern coasts of Asia. But I will choose a cite whose latitude shall be 45 degrees (I respect not minutes), in the midst of the temperate zone, or perhaps under the equator, that paradise of the world *ubi semper virens laurus*, etc., where is a perpetual spring. The longitude,³ for some reasons, I will conceal. Yet *be it known to all men by these presents*, that if any

¹ Note the expression, "I will yet," as though some original design had failed.

² This word "adventure" will be found a distinctive Baconian word, and spread everywhere in this literature. In his expostulatory letter to Lord Coke (Works, vol. iii., p. 34) Bacon says : "This letter, if it shall be answered by you in deed and not in word, I suppose it will not be the worse for us both ; else it is but a few lines lost, which for a smaller matter I would adventure." In *Romeo and Juliet*, Act ii., sc. 2, p. 68, we have :

"I am no pilot ; yet wert thou as far
As that vast shore wash'd by the farthest sea,
I would adventure for such merchandise."

Bacon's *Promus Note*, "584 : Good watch chaseth ill-adventure."

³ Note for future reference that the longitude was to be concealed. Note also the words, "*Mare del Zur*" and "*Terra Australis Incognita*."

honest gentleman will send in so much money as Cardan¹ allows an astrologer for casting a nativity, he shall be a sharer ; I will acquaint him with my project ; or, if any worthy man will stand for any temporal or spiritual office or dignity (for, as he said of his archbishoprick of Utopia, 'tis *sanctus ambitus*, and not amiss to be sought after), it shall be freely given without all² intercessions, bribes, letters, etc., his own worth shall be the best spokesman ; and (because we shall admit of no deputies or advowsons) if he be sufficiently qualified, and as able as willing to execute the place himself, he shall have present possession. It shall be divided into twelve or thirteen provinces ; and those, by hills, rivers, rode-ways, or some more eminent limits, exactly bounded."

Here follow views for many pages as to this model government. Its thirteen divisions will, in number, be found the same as mentioned in the New Atlantis. Bacon's desire to frame laws for such a government will appear in our already quoted introduction to that work.

The end to be secured by this enterprise may be gathered from the page preceding that just quoted, which is in these words :

" *As Hercules³ purged the world of monsters and sub-*

¹ In connection with Bacon's knowledge of astrology and magic, we note that he was acquainted with Cardan as an author. In his mentioned letter to Coke we have : " Cardan saith that weeping, fasting, and sighing are the chief purges of grief ; indeed, naturally they do assuage sorrow," etc. (Works, vol. ii., p. 488.)

² The expression " without all," as here used, is certainly distinctive and unusual, but is spread into every phase of this literature. Bacon, in the Advancement of Learning (Philosophical Works, vol. iii., p. 273), says : " Again, for that other conceit that learning should undermine the reverence of laws and government, it is assuredly a mere depravation and calumny without all shadow of truth." He also uses the expression " without all controversy ;" " without all fiction ;" " without all life ;" " without all remorse," etc. In The Anatomy of Abuses, p. 151 and 195, we have " without all remorse ;" " without all doubt." In The Pilgrim's Progress, p. 229, we have " without all doubt." In Macbeth, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 289, we have " without all remedy." In All's Well that Ends Well, Act ii., sc. 3, p. 312, we have " without all terms of pity." In the A. D. B. mask we in the preface have " without all sigh," and, p. 43, " without all controversy."

³ Bacon says : " And knowledge referred to some particular point of use is but as Harmonides, which putteth down one tyrant, and not like Hercules, who did perambulate the world to suppress tyrants and giants and monsters of every kind. (Phil. Works, vol. iii., p. 222.)

dued them, so did he fight against envy, lust, anger, avarice, etc., and all those feral vices and monsters of the mind. It were to be wished¹ we had some such visitor, or (if wishing would serve) one had such a ring or rings as Timolaüs desired in Lucian,² by virtue of which he should be as strong as ten thousand men or an army of giants, go invisible, open gates and castle doors, have what treasure he would, transport himself in an instant to what place he desired, alter affections, cure all manner of diseases, that he might range over the world, and reform all distressed states and persons, as he would himself.³ He might reduce those wandering Tartars in order, that infest China on the one side, Muscovy, Poland, on the other; and tame the vagabond Arabians that rob and spoil those Eastern countries, that they should never use more caravans or janizaries to conduct them. He might root out barbarism out of America and fully discover *Terra Australis Incognita*; find out the north-east and north-west passages; drean those mighty Mæotian fens; cut down those vast Hercynian woods, irrigate those barren Arabian deserts, etc., cure us of our epidemical diseases—*scorbutum, plica, morbus Neapolitanus*, etc.—end all our idle controversies; cut off our tumultuous desires, inordinate lusts; root out atheism, impiety, heresy, schism and superstition, which now so crucify the world; catechise gross ignorance; purge⁴ Italy of luxury and riot, Spain of superstition and jealousy, Germany of drunkenness, all our northern countries of gluttony and intemperance; castigate our hard-hearted parents, masters, tutors; lash disobedient children, negligent servants; correct these spendthrifts and prodigal sons; enforce idle persons to work; drive drunkards off the ale-house; repress thieves, visit corrupt and tyrannizing magistrates, etc.”

¹ The expression “It were to be wished” was frequently employed by Bacon.

² It is unnecessary to say that with Lord Bacon Lucian was a prominent figure, as what one of these authors had read, they had all read. More properly speaking, they were all Bacon’s products.

³ As to the expression “as he would himself,” see note 1, p. 25.

⁴ Note throughout these writings this oft used word “purge.” Note also that Bacon’s vocabulary has not one set of words for mental, and another for physical, operations. Again, the rule is, and which has assisted our investigations, that when Bacon has placed a word, that is his word for that place.

From the New Atlantis and our reflections concerning it, our thoughts turned to a well-remembered letter addressed by Lord Bacon in early life to his uncle, Lord Burghley, then High Treasurer of England, asking official position ; and which we then took occasion to turn to and here give in full for the benefit of the reader ; for though the New Atlantis serves as an entering wedge which will be struck later in the work, this letter serves as a kind of opening and continuing headlight to what we have purposed in this investigation. It is in these words :

“ MY LORD : With as much confidence as mine own honest and faithful devotion unto your service and your honorable correspondence unto me and my poor estate can breed¹ in a man, do I commend myself unto your lordship. I wax now somewhat ancient : one and thirty years is a great deal of sand in the hour-glass. My health, I thank God, I find confirmed ; and I do not fear that action shall impair it, because I account my ordinary course of study and meditation to be more painful than most parts of action are. I ever bear a mind (in some middle place² that I could discharge) to serve her majesty, not as a man born under Sol, that loveth honour, nor under Jupiter, that loveth business (for the contemplative planet carrieth me away wholly), but as a man born under an excellent sovereign that deserveth the dedication of all men’s abilities. Besides, I do not find in myself so much self-love but that the greater parts of my thoughts are to deserve well (if I were able) of my friends, and namely of your lordship, who, being the Atlas³ of this commonwealth, the honour of my

¹ Note, and particularly in the plays, the use of the word “ breed,” to indicate increase in any form. In *The Merchant of Venice*, Act i., sc. 3, p. 41, we have :

“ If thou wilt lend this money, lend it not
As to thy friends ; (for when did friendship take
A breed of barren metal of his friend ?)
But lend it rather to thine enemy ;
Who, if he break, thou may’st with better face
Exact the penalty.”

² Note in all this literature the words “ middle place,” and “ middle region.” The two extremes are the rocks and the gulf. The thought takes its rise in his interpretation of the fable entitled “ Scylla and Icarus ; or, The Middle Way.”

³ In the introduction to the A. D. B. mask will be found this use of

house, and the second founder of my poor estate, I am tied¹ by all duties, both of a good patriot, and of an unworthy kinsman, and of an obliged servant, to employ whatsoever I am, to do you service. Again, the meanness of my estate doth somewhat move me ; for though I cannot accuse myself that I am either prodigal or slothful, yet my health is not to spend nor my course to get. Lastly, I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate civil ends ;² for I have taken all knowledge to be my providence ;³ and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one, with frivolous disputations, confutations, and verbosities, the other, with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils,⁴ I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries—the best state of that providence. This, whether it be curiosity, or vainglory, or nature, or (if one take it favorably) philanthropia, is so fixed in my

the word Atlas in the expression, “Yea, the very business, and (under God) the Atlas of his nation.” And in Henry VI., part 3, Act v., sc. 1, p. 437, we have :

“War. Thou art no Atlas for so great a weight :
And, weakling, Warwick takes his gift again ;
And Henry is my King, Warwick his subject.”

¹ Note everywhere the use of this word “tie” and “tied.” In the Taming of the Shrew, Act iii., sc. 1, p. 450, we have :

“Bian. Why, gentlemen, you do me double wrong,
To strive for that which resteth in my choice :
I am no breeching scholar in the schools ;
I’ll not be tied to hours, nor ’pointed times,
But learn my lessons as I please myself.”

In The Winter’s Tale, Act v., sc. 1, p. 127, we have :

“I am sorry,
Most sorry, you have broken from his liking,
Where you were tied in duty ; and as sorry,
Your choice is not so rich in worth as beauty,
That you might well enjoy her.”

² Note throughout this literature a distinctive use of this word “ends.”

³ This distinctive and unusual use of the word “providence” we shall later have occasion to review.

⁴ We have here an allusion, we think, to time already expended upon the subjects of magic, astrology, and apparitions, later to be considered.

mind as it cannot be removed. And I do' easily see that place of any reasonable countenance doth bring commandment of more wits than a man's own ; which is the thing I greatly effect. And for your lordship, perhaps you shall not find more strength and less encounter in any other. And if your lordship shall find now, or at any time, that I do seek or effect any place whereunto any that is nearer unto your lordship shall be concurrent, say then that I am a most dishonest man. And if your lordship will not carry me on, I will not do as Anaxagoras did, who reduced himself with contemplation unto voluntary poverty, but this I will do—I will sell the inheritance that I have, and purchase some lease of quick revenue or some office of gain that shall be executed by deputy, and so give over² all care of service, and become some sorry book-maker or a true pioneer in that mine of truth which (he said) lay so deep. This which I have writ unto your lordship is rather thoughts than words, being set down without all art,³ disguising, or reservation ; wherein I have done honour both to your lordship's wisdom, in judging that that will be best believed of your lordship which is truest ; and to your lordship's good nature, in retaining nothing from you. And even so I wish your lordship all happiness, and to myself means and occasion to be added to my

¹ Note, and seemingly for mere emphasis, Bacon's oft use of this verb "do," and its same use throughout the plays.

² Note throughout the expression "give over," and particularly in the stories of Defoe ; in other words, in the narrational portions of this literature. In Addison, vol. iv., p. 250, we have : "My lion having given over roaring for some time, I find that several stories have been spread abroad in the country to his disadvantage." In the play of *Pericles*, Act iv., sc. 3, p. 348, we have :

"*Pand.* Three or four thousand chequins were as pretty a proportion to live quietly, and so give over.

"*Baud.* Why to give over, I pray you ? is it a shame to get when we are old ?"

³ Note the expression "without all art." Already have we called attention to this Baconianism. In *Macbeth*, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 289, we have :

" Things without all remedy
Should be without regard : what's done, is done."

In *All's Well that Ends Well*, Act ii., sc. 3, p. 312, we have :

" Without all terms of pity : speak ; thine answer."

And in Addison, vol. v., p. 118, we have "without all controversy."

faithful desire to do you service.¹ From my lodging at Gray's Inn." (Works, vol. iii., p. 1.)

Did he sell the inheritance? Did he become the "sorry book-maker?" He certainly did not get the position, nor does he appear to have secured any, at least of a political nature, until some sixteen years later, this letter having been written in 1592.

The impression produced upon a mind such as we shall find Burleigh to have possessed by these high pretensions, from a young man of but thirty-one years, may well be imagined. He doubtless thought them as impudently inconsistent as our own claims may now appear to many of our readers, and yet how truly and fully did he fulfil them to men. This letter, and drawn forth by his necessities, contains, so far as we know, the first intimation from Lord Bacon's pen as to the great conceptions and purposes which lay in his mind, and its key-note is, "I have taken all knowledge to be my providence."

This distinctive use of the word "providence" will later be called under review. The letter finished, we turned to the introduction of our book *Crusoe*, and there found, though not credited, that the work had been claimed as a product of the pen of Sir Robert Harley, our noted manuscript collector and first Earl of Oxford, during his imprisonment in the Tower on a charge of high treason in 1714, soon after the accession of George the First to the English throne, and where he remained in confinement nearly two years, and whose political tool Defoe, the now accredited author of *Crusoe*, was, as we shall see.

¹ To show that Bacon made use of his *Promus* notes, we give the following :

Promus, 116. Wishing you all, etc., and myself occasion to do you service.

Promus, 117. I shall be glad to understand your news, but none rather than some overture wherein I may do you service.

Note this proffer of service throughout the Shakespeare writings. In *Timon of Athens*, Act v., sc. 1, p. 112, we have :

"*Both*. What we can do, we'll do, to do you service."

In *Hamlet*, Act ii., sc. 2, p. 247, we have :

"*Guil*. But we both obey ;
And here give up ourselves, in the full bent,
To lay our service freely at your feet,
To be commanded."

The work was thought to have been prompted by the solitude of a prison, and especially its last chapter, where reference is made to the exiled nobles of Muscovy. But we remembered, if that were necessary, that another and greater than Harley, one whose writings oft refer to Muscovy, had through a like political tempest been to the Tower; one, many of whose manuscripts are now to be found among the Harleian collection, and no less a person than Sir Francis Bacon. To the writer Crusoe indicates not merely reform, but chiefly new and basal purposes of operation. Referring in Sonnet 119 to his troubles, Bacon says :

“ What potions have I drunk of siren tears,
 Distill'd from limbecks foul as hell within,
 Applying fears to hopes, and hopes to fears,
 Still losing when I saw myself to win !
 What wretched errors hath my heart committed,
 Whilst it hath thought itself so blessed never !
 How have mine eyes out of their spheres been fitted
 In the distraction of this madding fever !
 O benefit of ill ! now I find true
 That better is by evil still made better ;
 And ruin'd love, when it is built anew,
 Grows fairer than at first, more strong, far greater.
 So I return rebuk'd to my content,
 And gain by ill thrice more than I have spent.”

In the allegory of Crusoe we may indeed see represented the difficulties in reaching the island of truth, and of new beginnings thereon, and the work may not inaptly be regarded as a kind of nucleus of that which the New Atlantis is capstone. Bacon says : “ For an immense ocean encompasses the island of truth, and men have still to endure new dangers and scatterings from the winds of idles.” But notwithstanding the oneness of style between Crusoe and the New Atlantis, I still saw the seemingly insurmountable difficulty that ninety-three years had intervened between the death of Lord Bacon and the first publication of Crusoe, in 1719, Lord Bacon having died in 1626. From many data, however, I still had an impression, though one which I must say seemed as ridiculously absurd to myself as it doubtless now does to many of my readers. It was sufficient, however, to entice a nibbling investigation still, as it was not impossible for my impressions to be true. I felt conscious of this fact, that while the style, vocabulary, distinctive phraseology, and individualism of

use, of two authors may approach each other very closely in certain directions, that still there could not be identity, and especially as to the wide range of subtle matter fringed in and through these forms.

Again, there is a kind of physiognomy in a man's language as well as in his face. As individualism gives gesture both to body and features, so does it give style in language. The selection also of a man's words as well as their use discovers him, so also do rich gifts and wide mental acquirements. But it will be found that our investigation stays but partially here for proofs.

Being now launched instinctively, as it were, in the investigation, I purposed to know the truth, and early found that the language characteristics alluded to, and in a marked degree, ran through the entire body of the Bacon, Shakespeare, Burton, and Defoe literature; whereupon I entered my investigations in other fields, and especially in that of philosophy, and everywhere found a like oneness of individuality, and finally reached the island of truth, so to speak, and became satisfied; and I purpose to lay my foundations so broad and deep in this investigation that the reader shall be satisfied, not merely that Lord Bacon was the author of *Crusoe*, but that he was the author of nearly all of the so-called Defoe literature, little if any of which was issued under Defoe's hand, and which literature will be found to shed great light, not merely upon the life, character, and attributed writings of Lord Bacon, but also upon the history of his times; as well as to put a new face upon the Defoe period.

When I became fully conscious of my discovery, and of the value that must result by revival of interest in these admirable writings—these branches of a literature, of a philosophy—when restored to their true relations, I will not pretend to conceal from the reader the fact of an existing desire on my part to claim my right as first discoverer, or pioneer, in restoring them to their true place; not merely in our literature, but in that great system of philosophy of which they form a part. And I then prepared and caused to be published in the leading daily journal at my then residence the notice following, a copy of which was likewise sent to the *New York World*, but not published, and due, doubtless, to the conceived inconsistency of the claim. The notice was in these words:

“BACON, SHAKESPEARE, DEFOE.

“By a somewhat careful examination of the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy during the past two years, I have been led into a branch of the field which, so far as I am aware, has never been broached by any one. I will, therefore, in due time put forth material which must demonstrate the fact that the renowned works entitled *Robinson Crusoe*, the *New Atlantis*, and the *Tempest*, are products of one and the same mind. Laugh, therefore, as you will, but keep off the grounds. Rochester, Oct. 24, 1887.—J. E. Roe.”

Having impressions, though immature, as to methods and reasons for staying this literature from the public—see title Harley and Defoe—and having at the outset possessed myself of many, and later of the entire works under review, I set myself in good earnest to my task, early determining, however, to make my investigation somewhat broader than as outlined in my notice, and we now invite the reader upon a pleasant hunting excursion into the fields of this literature. As we enter more definitely upon our subject, we would distinguish the idea that our notes are intended to be of equal importance with the text itself; and if retained for future use they will make the reader himself a discoverer of points made in them; and especially as to language features falling under review as we advance. It was from the first apparent that the dates to the original manuscripts, if they bore dates—note how many of Bacon’s attributed letters and writings do not—had been so changed as to conform them to the times when they were actually put forth. But we found that not only had the dates been changed, but that in some of them a hand other than the one in which they were originally couched was apparent, and that matter of such a nature had been interpolated into some of them as to thwart our theory; for instance, in Defoe’s *History of the Devil*, views expressed in Milton’s *Paradise Lost* are brought under review, and which had not come into print until after the death of Lord Bacon. This could be explained consistently with the Baconian theory only by saying that Bacon, either as author or otherwise, was familiar with that manuscript before its publication.

This objection, if it shall prove to be one,¹ is at once neutralized when we come to consider that these writings have, in a measure been tampered with, and which fact of itself must throw doubts on Defoe's claims, or rather those made for him. Mr. Lee, Defoe's most comprehensive biographer, is forced to admit that there is to be traced, in at least a portion of this literature, a hand evidently not Defoe's. That portion of the History of the Devil treated under the head of the Political History of the Devil, is, we judge, considerably garbled. But as a whole the work will be found to throw much light upon Lord Bacon's religious and other opinions, as well as upon his distinctive aims in anatomizing to the view the allurements of vice, as set out in his Defoe's *Roxana*, *Moll Flanders*, and in his so-called Shakespeare plays, to the end that their true workings may be seen, reflected upon, and hence avoided. And thus are we reminded of our Head-light, "For I have taken all knowledge to be my providence."

It was a distinctive belief with Lord Bacon that protection here, as everywhere, rests not in that mere innocency that springs from ignorance, but rests rather in knowledge, in the bonds of Proteus; in other words, in art over nature. And so in his *Meditationes Sacrae* (Works, vol. i., p. 67) he says: "To a man of a perverse and corrupt judgment all instruction or persuasion is fruitless and contemptible which begins not with discovery and laying open of the distemper and ill complexion of the mind which is to be recured; as a plaster² is unseasonably applied before the wound be searched; for men of corrupt understanding, that have lost all sound discerning of good and evil, come possessed with this prejudicate opinion, that they think

¹ In the works of Addison, Bacon will be found to be his own critic. His critic's chair of the *De Augmentis* he himself occupied. Addison's works consist almost entirely of short essays of from one and a half to two and a half pages each, and many of them contain great subtlety. As to the articles upon Milton, we will but say that they show the mind of an architect. They not only state what in its various phases that author has wrought, but give his purposes therein. They note that author's change in his own style, in order to reach desired effects. This is all that we care to say at this time upon the subject, as we have not passed Milton's works under review in this investigation.

² Note the use in all of the works under review of the words

Let the foregoing be again carefully reread in connection with the following from Addison, vol. iii., p. 139.

“There is nothing which one regards so much with an eye of mirth and pity as innocence when it has in it a dash of folly. At the same time that one¹ esteems the virtue, one is tempted to laugh at the simplicity which accompanies it. When a man is made up wholly of the dove,² without the least grain of the serpent in his composition, he becomes ridiculous in many circumstances of life, and very often discredits his best actions. The Cordeliers tell a story of their founder, St. Francis, that as he passed the streets in the dusk of the evening he discovered a young fellow with a maid in a corner; upon which the good man, say they, lifted up his hands to heaven with a secret thanksgiving, that there was still so much Christian charity in the world. The innocence of the saint made him mistake the kiss of a lover for a salute of charity. I am heartily concerned when I see a virtuous man without a competent knowledge of the world; and if there be any use of these my papers, it is this, that without representing vice under any false, alluring notions, they give my reader an insight into the ways of men, and represent human nature in all its changeable colours. The man who has not been engaged in any of the follies of the world, or, as Shakespeare expresses it, ‘hackneyed in the ways of men,’ may here find a picture of its follies and extravagances. The virtuous and the innocent may know in speculation what they could never arrive at by practice, and by this means avoid the snare of the crafty, the corruptions of the

¹ As bearing upon the date of these writings, we from Addison, vol. vi., p. 734, quote as follows: “Addison is with justice esteemed the best model for the easy, correct style of prose composition. He is, however, the last of the classic English authors who has made use of *one, a man*, as pronouns; as in these phrases, *one sees, a man observes*, the latter entirely obsolete and the former nearly so. This phraseology prevails generally throughout his prose works.”

² Concerning this use of the word “dove,” appearing in the plays and throughout this literature, we from Bacon’s *Meditationes Sacre* quote thus: “The spirit of Jesus is the spirit of the dove; these servants of God were as the oxen of God treading out the corn and trampling the straw down under their feet; but Jesus is the Lamb of God, without wrath or judgments; all his miracles were consummate about man’s body, as his doctrine respected the soul of man,” etc. (Works, vol. i., p. 67.) Promus, 41. (Censure extends pardon to ravens (but) bears hard on doves.)

vicious, and the reasonings of the prejudiced. Their minds may be opened without being vitiated."

Again, in the *Advancement of Learning* (Works, vol. i., p. 223), Bacon says: "For as the fable goeth of the basilisk,¹ that if he see you first, you die for it; but if you see him first, he dieth; so it is with deceits and evil arts; which, if they be first espied, they lease their life; but if they prevent, they endanger. So that we are much beholden to Machiavel² and others that write what men do, and not what they ought to do. For it is not possible to join serpentine wisdom with the columbine innocency, except men know exactly all the conditions of the serpent—his baseness and going upon his belly, his volubility and lubricity, his envy and sting, and the rest—that is, all forms and natures of evil; for without this, virtue lieth open and unfenced.³ Nay, an honest man can do no good upon those that are wicked, to reclaim them, without the help of the knowledge of evil."

It may thus be seen to have been Bacon's opinion that as an educator, evil in its secret depths should be wrought to the view. In the plays distinctive forms or patterns of

¹ This word basilisk will be found an oft-used word in the plays. And in Defoe's "History of the Devil" we at p. 510 have the expression, "and, indeed, the poison of her eyes (basilisk-like) is very strong, and she has a strange influence upon me."

² Machiavel was a noted political writer of the Italian school, and is often referred to by Bacon in his works. And in Addison, vol. iv., p. 97, we have: "The politics which are most cultivated by this society of she-Machiavels relate chiefly to these two points, How to treat a lover and how to manage a husband." In the mentioned History of the Devil, p. 288, we have: "Our old friend Machiavel outdid him in many things, and I may in the process of this work give an account of several of the sons of Adam, and some societies of them, too, who have outwitted the Devil; nay, who have outshined the Devil; and that, I think, may be called outshooting him in his own bow." We here have Bacon's expression, "out-shoot him in his own bow." In the plays we have such expressions as "the shes of Italy," "the cruelest she alive," etc.; in the foregoing "she-Machiavels" and in sub. 852 of Bacon's Natural History we have, "Generally the shes in birds have the finest feathers," "the shes are smooth," "doves he and she."

³ This use by Bacon of the word "fence," as applied to moral qualities, is distinctive and unusual. In Addison, vol. iii., p. 120, we have: "If modesty has so great an influence over our actions, and is in many cases so impregnable a fence to virtue, what can more undermine morality than that politeness which reigns among the unthinking part of mankind, and treats as unfashionable the most

evil are thus vividly presented. As to evil being an educator, see Sonnet 119, p. 28.

In the play of Henry VI., part 3, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 396, Gloster, or Richard, as to the mentioned words "basilisk" and "Machiavel," is made to say :

" Why, I can smile, and murder while I smile,
And cry, content, to that which grieves my heart,
And wet my cheeks with artificial tears,
And frame my face¹ to all occasions.
I'll drown more sailors than the mermaid shall ;
I'll slay more gazers than the basilisk ;
I'll play the orator as well as Nestor,
Deceive more slyly than Ulysses² could,
And, like a Sinon, take another Troy :
I can add colours to the chameleon,
Change shapes, with Proteus³, for advantages,
And set the murderous Machiavel to school.
Can I do this, and cannot get a crown ?"

ingenious part of our behaviour ; which recommends impudence as good breeding, and keeps a man always in countenance not because he is innocent, but because it is shameless." And in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. ii., p. 79, we have :

" Virtue and integrity are their own fence,
Care not for envy or what comes from thence."

Bacon speaks likewise of the eyelashes as a fence to the sight. And in the play of Henry VI. part 3, Act iv., sc. 1, p. 411, we have :

" Let us be back'd with God, and with the seas
Which He hath given for fence impregnable,
And with their helps only defend ourselves :
In them, and in ourselves, our safety lies."

¹ Promus, 1041. (Although what prevents one from speaking truth with a laughing face?) Promus, 633. (To bear two faces under a hood.) Promus, 1023. (Keep your strength back, and display no eloquence in your face.) We find Bacon using the expressions "the face of truth," "the face of error," "the outward face of peace," "the face of a school and not the world." He also says : "Men likewise in their folly expect to become acquainted with nature from her outward face and mask, and by external resemblances to detect internal properties." (*Phil. Works*, vol. v., p. 203.) Same Works, vol. iv., p. 253, he says : "But by the help and ministry of man a new face of bodies, another universe or theatre of things, comes into view."

² Promus, 463. (Ulysses sly in speech.) 841. (Ulysses doffed his rags. Of a sudden change of life from poverty to riches, from sad to merry.) In Addison, vol. iv., p. 173, we have : "My paper among the republic of letters is the Ulysses his bow, in which every man of wit or learning may try his strength."

³ Promus, 794. Chameleon, Proteus, Euripus. This word is

Distinct views held by Bacon as to vice may here be seen ; as well as the whole range of purpose to be accomplished by the mentioned works and those of their class, Shakespeare included. Again, were the sex elements in the Defoe literature wrought into form, in order, in the first instance, to serve as primary steps or foundations for more subtle embodiment, either in the plays or elsewhere ?

Bacon says these evil arts must in their subtlety be all known to him who would be the true teacher. Were these the methods in which he "obeyed the humour of the times and played the nurse with his own thoughts and those of others?" From the preface of *Moll Flanders* we give the following : "But as this work is chiefly recommended to those who know how to read it, and how to make the good uses of it which the story all along recommends to them, so it is to be hoped that such readers will be much more pleased with the moral than the fable, with the application than with the relation, and with the end of the writer than with the life of the person written of." Again : "The advocates for the stage¹ have in all ages made this the great argument to persuade people that their plays are useful, and that they ought to be allowed in the most civilized and in the most religious government ; namely, that they are applied to virtuous purposes, and that by the most lively representations they fail not

handled the same throughout this literature. Bacon says : "We must thus endeavour to bind nature as a Proteus ; for the various species of motions, duly discovered and methodically discriminated, may be regarded as the true bonds to tie this Proteus withal." (*Works*, vol. i., 409.) Note the use of this word in the *A. D. B. Mask*, in the *Anatomy of Abuses*, while in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. i., p. 293, we have : "They are irregular, obscure, various, so infinite, Proteus himself is not so diverse ; you may as well make the moon a new coat as a true character of a melancholy man ; as soon find the motion of a bird in the air as the heart of a man, a melancholy man."

¹ In the *De Augmentis*, book ii., ch. 13, Bacon says : "Dramatic Poesy, which has the theatre for its world, would be of excellent use if well directed. For the stage is capable of no small influence both of discipline and of corruption. Now of corruptions in this kind we have enough ; but the discipline has in our times been plainly neglected. And though in modern states stage-playing is esteemed but as a toy, except when it is too satirical and biting, yet among the ancients it was used as a means of educating men's minds to virtue." (*Phil. Works*, vol. iv., p. 316.) And see upon this subject Addison, vol. iii., pp. 450-453.

to recommend virtue and generous principles, and to discourage and expose all sorts of vice and corruption of manners ; and were it true that they did so, and that they constantly adhered to that rule, as the test of their acting on the theatre, much might be said in their favour."

"Throughout the infinite variety of this book this fundamental is most strictly adhered to ; there is not a wicked action in any part of it but is first or last rendered unhappy and unfortunate ; there is not a superlative villain brought upon the stage¹ but either he is brought to an unhappy end or brought to be a penitent ;² there is not an ill³ thing mentioned but it is condemned, even in the relation, nor a virtuous just thing but it carries its praise along with it."

And from the preface of *Roxana*, a work written to show prosperous vice, we have : "It is true she met with un-

¹ In his charge in the noted Overbury case Bacon says : "But to come to the present case : The great frame of justice (my lords) in this present action hath a vault, and it hath a stage ; a vault wherein these works of darkness were contrived ; and a stage, with steps, by which they were brought to light." (Bacon's Letters, vol. v., p. 299.) Note in Defoe's *History of the Devil*, p. 316, where antiquity is brought upon the stage ; and at p. 453, where Mahomet is brought upon the stage. Note also the stage as mentioned in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, at pp. 304, 305, and where it is said : "This stage was built to punish those upon, who, through timorousness or mistrust, shall be afraid to go farther on pilgrimage."

² This was Bacon's word, and without synonyms, and it occurs throughout all this literature. See Bacon's Speech, already quoted. In "Measure for Measure," Act iv., sc. 2, p. 100, we have : "Shave the head and dye the beard ; and say, it was the desire of the penitent to be so bar'd before his death : You know the course is common." In "All's Well that Ends Well," Act iii., sc. 5, p. 335, we have :

"*Wild.* The troop is past : Come, pilgrim, I will bring you
Where you shall host : of enjoin'd penitents
There's four or five, to great St. Jaques bound,
Already at my house."

³ Note throughout this use of the word "ill." Promus, 608. (Good dreams, ill waking.) 1223. You could not sleep for your ill lodging. 1072. (There is nothing so good that it may not be perverted by reporting it ill.) 974. He that hath an ill name is half hanged. 860. Fame's campus (an ill house kept. *The field of famine.*) In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 80, we have : "If we have such ill speed at our first setting out, what may we expect between this and our journey's end ?" And on p. 368 we have : "But so far as I could learn, he came to an ill end with his by-ends ; nor did I ever hear that any of his children were ever of

expected success in all her wicked courses ; but even in the highest elevations of her prosperity she makes frequent acknowledgments that the pleasure of her wickedness was not worth the repentance ; and that all the satisfaction she had, all the joy in the view of her prosperity, no, nor all the wealth she rolled in, the gaiety of her appearance, the equipages and the honours she was attended with, could quiet her mind, abate the reproaches of her conscience, or procure her an hour's sleep when just reflections kept her waking."¹

There seems to be an aim in these works to show that so long as there is desire remaining for a better life that the door of mercy is not closed. They in another view should be read in connection with Bacon's interpretation of the fable entitled "Dionysus, or Bacchus." See *De Augmentis*, Book II., ch. 13.

Hence, those who have censured the works of Roxana and Moll Flanders, by reason of the working of sex elements to the view, may see the design which, not Defoe, but their real author had in them.

If it be objected that more freedom of expression is indulged in, in the non-attributed than in the attributed writings, two things should be carefully borne in mind : 1. That the assuming of a mask of itself gave greater freedom, and hence this was doubtless one, if not the chief reason, for assuming it. 2. The attributed writings are the ultimate and polished products of that which had gone through different stages on its way to completion. As the lusts of the flesh are in the mentioned works normally disclosed and somewhat anatomized, so is the lust for gold in his Defoe's "Captain Singleton," "Captain Jack," and others.

In these works Bacon sought, through entertainment, to draw and fix the attention to the end, that, once secured, instruction might follow. In his article entitled "Of the Interpretation of Nature" (*Works*, vol. ii., p. 553), he says : "Now if any one deem that scrupulous care

any esteem with any that truly feared God." In *Addison*, vol. iii., p. 357, we have : "Cheerfulness in an ill man deserves a harsher name than language can furnish us with, and is many degrees beyond what we commonly call folly or madness."

¹ As to the expression "kept her waking," Bacon, in *Sub.* 229 of his *Natural History*, says : "We see also that those that teach birds to sing do keep them waking to increase their attention."

with which we strive to prepare men's minds is uncalled for, that it is of the nature of parade, and got up for purposes of display, and should therefore desire to see denuded of all circumlocution and the scaffolding of preliminaries, a simple statement; assuredly such an insinuation, were it founded in truth, would come well recommended to us. Would that it were as easy for us to conquer difficulties and obstructions as to cast away idle pomp¹ and false elaboration. But this we would have men believe, that it is not within due exploration of the route that we pursue our path in such a desert, especially having in hand such a theme; as it were monstrous to lose by incompetent handling, and to leave exposed, as by an unnatural mother. Wherefore, duly meditating and contemplating the state both of nature and of mind, we find the avenues to men's understandings harder of access than to things themselves, and the labour of communicating not much lighter than of excogitating; and, therefore, which is almost a new feature in the intellectual world, we obey the humour of the time, and play the nurse, both with our own thoughts and those of others."

But in what work now attributed to Lord Bacon did he, and as "almost a new feature in the intellectual world," obey the humour of the times, and play the nurse both with his own thoughts and those of others? And thus much here upon this thought, though, to use a Baconian expression, "more remains behind."

While some of these writings, as *Crusoe* and a "New Voyage Round the World," were produced late in life, others, again, were probably produced prior to our headlight, the mentioned letter to Lord Burghley. The following from that letter, "Lastly, I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate civil ends; for I have taken all knowledge to be my providence; and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations, and verborities, the other with blind experiments and auricular traditions

¹ Note throughout the use of this word "pomp," and particularly in the plays. In *Hamlet*, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 284, we have:

"No; let the candid tongue lick absurd pomp,
And crook the pregnant hinges of the knee,
Where thrift may follow fawning."

and impostures, hath committed so many spoils ;¹ I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries, the best state of that providence," contains allusions, we think, to labor already expended upon that portion of the Defoe literature devoted to the weeding of the subjects of astrology, divination, and magic ; and as embraced in his Defoe's History of Duncan Campbell, A System of Magic, and the History and Reality of Apparitions. Much in Bacon's attributed writings may be found upon these subjects. Read please in this connection, ch. 4 of Book III. and ch. 3 of Book IV. of the *De Augmentis*. He closes ch. 2 of Book III. in these words : " And thus it is as lawful in natural theology² to investigate the nature of evil spirits as the nature of poisons in physics or the nature of vice in morality. But this part of knowledge relating to angels and spirits, which we call the appendage to natural theology, cannot be noted for deficient, as having been handled by many ; but we may justly tax³ no small part of the writers in this way, either with levity, superstition, or fruitless speculation."

The work entitled " The Storm," put forth by Defoe in 1704, while a prisoner in Newgate, is indeed a garbled piece of work, though its earliest pages, save an interlineation or two, are unquestionably from Lord Bacon's pen, as may readily be seen by comparison, both as to subject-matter and style, with Bacon's " History of the Winds" and other like writings concerning the winds. Of the six divisions of the Great Instauration the *De Augmentis* constitutes the first, and which is but a rewriting of the

¹ In the *New Atlantis* Bacon says : " We have also houses of deceits of the senses ; where we represent all manner of feats of juggling, false apparitions, impostures, and illusions ; and their fallacies." (Works, vol. i., p. 269.)

² Note here Lord Bacon's use of the words " natural theology" in connection with his already alluded-to statement that he had completed a host of divine works.

³ Note this use of the word " tax" throughout this literature. In " Much Ado About Nothing," Act ii., sc. 3, p. 182, we have :

" *Balth.* O ! good my lord, tax not so bad a voice
To slander music any more than once."

In " As You Like It," Act ii., sc. 7, p. 186, we have :

" *Jaq.* Why, who cries out on pride,
That can therein tax any private party ?"

Advancement of Learning in later years to fit it for its place in the system ; the *Novum Organum* is the second, and the Natural and Experimental History is the third.¹ This History, to represent the six days' works alluded to in the already quoted introduction to the *New Atlantis*, was divided by Lord Bacon into six sections—viz., History of the Winds ; History of Density and Rarity ; History of Heavy and Light ; History of Sympathy and Antipathy ; History of Sulphur, Mercury, and Salt ; and History of Life and Death.

To Lord Bacon's mind the winds seem to have been the most inexplicable of all natural and material things. Hence his History of the Winds is placed first in the mentioned Natural History, and which history, through his methods, was to expand, as he thought, by the additions of posterity, into that gigantic tree of experimental science and philosophy which was to be the utility of the ages. By his scheme of the *New Atlantis* he hoped to organize a central head that might guard, guide, and bear it forward, himself therein leaving the model by which its course was, in a measure, to be shaped. But it was too large for the race. Though its gains from it have been great, still they have not been at all in the lines of its methods, but rather by collateral nibblings therefrom.

The mentioned work, "*The Storm*," opens in these words :

"Though a system of exhalation, dilation, and extension, things which the ancients founded the doctrine of winds upon, be not my direct business, yet it cannot but be needful to the present design to note, that the difference in the opinions of the ancients about the nature and original² of winds is a leading step to one assertion which I have advanced in all that I have said with relation to winds—viz., that there seems to be more of God in the

¹ Concerning this Natural History, he, in the introductory matter to the *Novum Organum*, says : "For, in the first place, we begin with that species of natural history which is not so much calculated to amuse by the variety of its objects, or to offer immediate results by its experiments, as to throw a light upon the discovery of causes, and to present, as it were, its bosom as the first nurse of philosophy." (*Works*, vol. iii., p. 340.) Note that his Natural History was to be the nurse, the very bosom, to philosophy.

² This use of the word original will be found throughout this literature. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 161, we have : "This fair is

whole appearance than in any other part of operating nature.

“Nor do I think I need explain myself very far in this notion ; I allow the high original of nature to be the Great Author of all her actings, and by the strict reign of his providence is the continual and exact guide of her executive power ; but still it is plain that in some of the principal parts of nature she is naked¹ to our eye. Things appear both in their causes and consequences, demonstration gives its assistance, and finishes our further inquiries ; for we never inquire after God in those works of nature which, depending upon the course of things, are plain and demonstrative ; but where we find nature defective in her discovery, where we see effects but cannot reach their causes,² there it is most just, and nature herself seems to direct us to it, to end the rational inquiry and resolve it into speculation ; nature plainly refers us beyond herself, to the mighty hand of infinite power, the author of nature and original of all causes.

“Among these Arcana of the sovereign Economy, the winds are laid as far back as any. Those ancient men of genius who rifled nature by the torchlight of reason, even to her very nudities, have been run a-ground in this unknown channel ; the wind has blown out the candle of reason, and left them all in the dark.”

We omit here a paragraph which we think contains some interpolations, and continue : “This is what I quote them for, and this is all my argument demands ; the deepest search into the region of cause and consequence has

no new-erected business, but a thing of ancient standing. I will show you the original of it.” In Addison, vol. iii., p. 384, we have : “The first original of the drama was a religious worship consisting only of a chorus, which was nothing else but an hymn to a deity.” In Henry IV., part 2, Act i., sc. 2, p. 324, we have :

“*Fal.* It hath its original from much grief ; from study, and perturbation of the brain.”

¹ We shall find that Bacon originally couched his philosophy under the cover of certain ancient fables as interpreted by himself in his “Wisdom of the Ancients,” and among which Cupid served to explain the origin of things ; and so concerning the word “naked,” Bacon of Cupid says : “Most truly also is he represented as naked ; for all compounds (to one that considers them rightly) are masked and clothed ; and there is nothing properly naked, except the primary principles of things.” (Bacon’s Literary Works, vol. i., p. 731.)

² Promus, 227. (Upon wondering men begin to philosophize.)

found out just enough to leave the wisest philosopher in the dark, to bewilder his head and drown his understanding.¹ You raise a storm in nature by the very inquiry; and at last, to be rid of you, she confesses the truth and tells you, 'It is not in me; you must go home and ask my Father.'

"Whether, then, it be the motion of air and what that air is, which as yet is undefined; whether it is a dilation, a previous contraction, and then violent extension, as in gunpowder; whether the motion is direct, circular, or oblique; whether it be an exhalation repulsed by the middle region² and the antiperistatis of that part of the heavens

¹ Note throughout this distinctive Baconian use of the word "drown." In a letter to the king in 1617 Bacon says: "Now, therefore, not to hold your majesty with many words, which do but drown matter, let me most humbly desire your majesty to take into your royal consideration that your state is at this time not only in good quiet and obedience, but in good affection and disposition." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vi., p. 233.) He says: "*The drownings of metals* within other metals, in such sort as they can never rise again, is a thing of great profit." (Phil. Works, vol. iii., p. 802.) He also says: "So we see when two lights do meet, the greater doth darken and drown the less." (Bacon's Letters, vol. iii., p. 98.) See "The Pilgrim's Progress," pp. 72, 214, and 402. On page 72 we have:

"Would'st thou divert thyself from melancholy?
Would'st thou be pleased, yet be far from folly?
Would'st thou read riddles, and their explanation?
Or else be drowned in thy contemplation?" etc.

² Note Bacon's oft use of the words "middle place," "middle condition," and the distinctive views in his philosophy concerning the "middle region." Bacon says: "Who would not smile at Aristotle when he admireth the eternity and invariableness of the heavens, as there were not the like in the bowels of the earth? Those be the confines and borders of these two kingdoms, where the continued alteration and incursion are. The superficies and upper parts of the earth are full of varieties. The superficies and lower parts of the heavens, which we call the middle region of the air, is full of variety. There is much spirit in the one part, that cannot be brought into mass. There is much massy body in the other place, that cannot be refined to spirit. The common air is as the waste ground between the borders." (Works, vol. i., p. 79.) As with Bacon's views the principles of motion within the human body are what they are in the outlying world, so is this term applied also to it. And in the Anatomy of Melancholy, vol. i., p. 25, we have: "*Middle Region.*"] Next in order is the *middle region*, or chest, which comprehends the vital faculties and parts; which (as I said) is separated from the lower belly by the *diaphragma*, or *midriff*, which is a skin consisting of many nerves, membranes; and, amongst other uses it hath, is the in-

which is set as a wall of brass to bind up the atmosphere and keep it within its proper compass for the functions of respiration, condensing and rarefying, without which nature would be all in confusion—whatever are their efficient causes, it is not to the immediate design.

“It is apparent that God Almighty, whom the philosophers care as little as possible to have anything to do with, seems to have reserved this as one of those secrets in nature which should directly guide them to himself.”

And on the third page of the article we have: “When therefore I say the philosophers do not care to concern God himself in the search after natural knowledge, I mean as it concerns natural knowledge merely as such; for it is a natural cause they seek, from a general maxim, that all nature has its cause within itself; it is true, it is the darkest part of the search to trace the chain backward; to begin at the consequence, and from thence hunt counter, as we may call it, to find out the cause; it would be much easier if we could begin at the cause and trace it to all its consequences.

“I make no question the search would be equally to the advantage of science and the improvement of the world; for without doubt there are some consequences of known causes which are not yet discovered, and I am as ready to believe there are yet in nature some *terra incognita*¹ both as to cause and consequence too.

“In this search after causes, the philosopher, though he may at the same time be a very good Christian, cares not at all to meddle with his Maker; the reason is plain: we may at any time resolve all things into infinite power, and we do allow that the finger of Infinite is the first mighty cause of nature herself; but the treasury of immediate cause is generally committed to nature; and if at any time we are driven to look beyond her, it is because we

strument of laughing.” And in vol. iv., p. 148, of Addison, we have: “I look upon the play-house as a world within itself. They have lately furnished the middle region of it with a new set of meteors, in order to give the sublime to many modern tragedies. . . . Their lightnings are made to flash more briskly than heretofore; their clouds are also better furbelowed and more voluminous; not to mention a violent storm locked up in a great chest that is designed for the Tempest.”

¹ Note at p. 21 of this work and for future reference the expression “*Terra Australis Incognita*.”

are out of the way ; it is not because it is not in her, but because we cannot find it.

“ Two men met in the middle of a great wood ; one was searching for a plant which grew in the wood, the other had lost himself in the wood and wanted to get out ; the latter rejoiced when, through the trees, he saw the open country ; but the other man’s business was not to get out, but to find what he looked for ; yet this man no more undervalued the pleasantness of the champion country than the other.

“ Thus in nature the philosopher’s business is not to look through nature, and come to the vast open field of infinite power ; his business is in the wood ; there grows the plant he looks for ; and it is there he must find it. Philosophy’s aground if it is forced to any further inquiry. The Christian begins just where the philosopher ends ; and when the inquirer turns his eyes up to heaven, farewell philosopher ; it is a sign he can make nothing of it here.”¹

On pp. 4 and 5 we have :

“ And it seems a just authority for our search that some things are so placed in nature by a chain of causes and effects that upon a diligent search we may find out what we look for ; to search after what God has in his sovereignty thought fit to conceal may be criminal, and doubtless is so ; and the fruitlessness of the inquiry is generally part of the punishment to a vain curiosity ; but to search after what our Maker has not hid, only covered with a thin veil of natural obscurity, and which upon our search is plain to be read, seems to be justified by the very nature of the thing, and the possibility of the demonstration is an argument to prove the lawfulness of the inquiry.

¹ To show that these views were distinctly held by Lord Bacon, we need but quote the first words of the last chapter of his *De Augmentis*. He says : “ Seeing now, most excellent King, that my little bark, such as it is, has sailed round the whole circumference of the old and new world of sciences (with what success and fortune it is for posterity to decide), what remains but that, having at length finished my course, I should pay my vows ? But there still remains Sacred or Inspired Divinity ; whereof, however, if I proceed to treat, I shall step out of the bark of human reason and enter into the ship of the church ; which is only able by the Divine compass to rightly direct its course. Neither will the stars of philosophy, which have hitherto so nobly shone upon us, any longer supply their light.” (*Phil. Works*, vol. v., p. 111.)

“The design of this digression is, in short, that as where nature is plain to be searched into and demonstration easy, the philosopher is allowed to seek for it; so where God has, as it were, laid his hand upon any place, and nature presents us with an universal blank, we are therein led as naturally to recognize the infinite wisdom and power of the God of nature as David was in the texts before quoted.

“And this is the case here; the winds are some of those inscrutables¹ of nature in which human search has not yet been able to arrive at any demonstration.”

On pp. 5 and 6 we have :

“But that, therefore, all the causes of wind are from the influences of the sun² upon vaporous matter first exhaled, which being dilated are obliged to possess themselves of more space than before, and consequently make the particles fly before them; this does not seem to be a sufficient demonstration of wind; for this, to my weak apprehension, would rather make a blow like gunpowder than a rushing forward; at best, this is indeed a probable conjecture, but admits not of demonstration equal to other phenomena in nature.

“And this is all I am upon—viz., that this case has not equal proofs of the natural causes of it that we meet with in other cases: the Scripture seems to confirm this when it says, in one place, ‘He holds the wind in his hand;’ as if he should mean other things are left to the common discoveries of natural inquiry, but this is a thing he holds in his own hand, and has concealed it from the search of the most diligent and piercing understanding; this is farther confirmed by the words of our Saviour: ‘The wind blows where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh;’ it is plainly expressed to signify that the causes of the wind are not equally discovered by natural inquiry as the rest of nature is.

“If I would carry this matter on, and travel into the

¹ Note in Bacon’s attributed writings his oft use of this word “inscrutable,” and particularly as applied to the heart of kings.

² Bacon, in his “History of the Winds,” says: “Next to the natural motion of the air, before inquiring concerning the sun, which is the principal parent of the winds, we must observe whether anything be due to the moon and other stars, upon clear experimental evidence.” (Phil. Works, vol. v., p. 167.)

seas and mountains of America, where the mansones, the trade-winds, the sea breezes, and such winds as we have little knowledge of are more common, it would yet more plainly appear 'that we hear the sound, but know not from whence they come.'

"Nor is the cause of their motion parallel to the surface of the earth a less mystery than their real original, or the difficulty of their generation ;¹ and though some people have been forward to prove the gravity of the particles must cause the motion to be oblique, it is plain it must be very little so, or else navigation would be impracticable, and in extraordinary cases, where the pressure above is perpendicular, it has been fatal to ships, houses, etc., and would have terrible effects in the world, if it should more frequently be so.

"From this I draw only this conclusion, that the winds are a part of the works of God by nature, in which he has been pleased to communicate less of demonstration to us than in other cases ; that the particulars more directly lead us to speculations, and refer us to infinite power more than the other parts of nature do."

To the reader of the Baconian philosophy I need not say that this is his style, that these were his thoughts. And so throughout all of the writings under review do we find the subject of the winds emphasized and in the sense here set forth.

The field of final causes here touched upon was marked off by Lord Bacon from the realm of philosophy as fully as by Herbert Spencer, his in many respects great disciple. Spencer's field of the "Unknowable" is Bacon's "Virgin Consecrated to God." Bacon says : "The practical doctrine of nature we likewise necessarily divide into two parts corresponding to those of speculative ; for physics or the inquiry of efficient and material causes produces mechanics ; and metaphysics, the inquiry of forms, produces magic ;² whilst the inquiry of final causes is a barren

¹ This word "generation" as applied to wind is Baconian. He says : "The generation of the winds are not only original, but also accidental ; that is, arising from the compressions, percussions, and repercussions of the air." (Phil. Works, vol. v., p. 141.)

² In the play of *The Tempest*. Act v., sc. 1, p. 93, we have :

" But this rough magic
I here abjure : and, when I have requir'd ;

thing or as a virgin consecrated to God." (De Augmentis, ch. 5, Book III.) And please see *Novam Organum*, Aph. 89, Book I.

As to magic, Bacon in sub. 93 of his *Natural History* says: "For this writing of our *Sylva Sylvarum* is, to speak properly, not natural history, but a high kind of natural magic. For it is not a description only of nature, but a breaking of nature into great and strange works." As to his use of the word magic, he says: "If, then, I have set down that part of metaphysics which treats of forms as deficient, it must follow that I do the like of natural magic, which has relation thereunto. But I must here stipulate that magic, which has long been used in a bad sense, be again restored to its ancient and honorable meaning. For among the Persians magic was taken for a sublime wisdom, and the knowledge of the universal consents of things; and so the three kings who came from the east to worship Christ were called by the name of Magi. I however understand it as the science which applies the knowledge of hidden forms to the production of wonderful operations; and by uniting (as they say) actives with passives, displays the wonderful works of nature." (De Augmentis, ch. 5, Book III.) Let the Defoe work on magic be called into relation with these thoughts, and be read in connection with what is found in the *De Augmentis* upon the subject.

But to return. Throughout this literature the word "wind" is made to apply subjectively to mind or its passions, as well as to material change in the outlying world.¹ In the *Advancement of Learning* (Works, vol. i., p. 225), Bacon says: "For as the ancient politicians in populous

Some heavenly music, (which even now I do,)
To work mine end upon their senses, that
This airy charm is for, I'll break my staff,
Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
And, deeper than did ever plummet sound,
I'll drown my book."

Note in the play of *Hamlet*, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 293, the use of the words "natural magic." And in the *Winter's Tale*, Act v., sc. 3, p. 139, we have:

"*Leon.* [*Embracing her.*] O, she's warm!
If this be magic, let it be an art
Lawful as eating."

¹ Please see foot-note 2, p. 20.

States were wont to compare the people to the sea and the orators to the winds ; because as the sea would of itself be calm and quiet, if the winds did not move and trouble it, so the people would be peaceable and tractable, if the seditious orators did not set them in working and agitation ; so it may be fitly said, that the mind in the nature thereof would be temperate and stayed, if the affections, as winds, did not put it into tumult and perturbation.”¹

In the Baconian philosophy wind, in other words, air in motion, is the potent influence within as without the animal body. In his *History of the Winds* he says : “ Winds in the bodies of men and animals excellently correspond to the winds of the greater world. For they are both generated from moisture² and alternate with it, as winds and rains do ; they are likewise dissipated and made to perspire by a strong heat.”³ And again : “ Bellows are with men as the bags of Æolus,⁴ whence a man may draw wind, according to the proportion of man.” (Phil. Works, vol. v., p. 195.) And on p. 160 he says : “ The poets have feigned that the kingdom of Æolus was situated

¹ Note in the plays the use of this great Baconian word perturbation. In *Macbeth*, Act v., sc. 1, p. 327, we have :

“ *Doct.* A great perturbation in nature ! to receive at once the benefit of sleep, and do the effects of watching.”

In *Henry IV.*, part 2, Act i., sc. 2, p. 324, we have :

“ *Fal.* It hath its original from much grief ; from study, and perturbation of the brain.”

And see Act iv., sc. 4, p. 413.

² Note in the *Anatomy of Melancholy* the oft use of the terms “ the moisture ” and “ the over-moisture of the brain ” as bearing upon the question of its disease. •

³ As he makes the words “ moisture ” and “ vapour ” apply to mental operations, we quote his interesting statement as to vapors thus : “ This, indeed, is certain, that winds are either natives or strangers ; for they are, as it were, traders in vapours, which they collect into clouds for importation or exportation to and from different countries, receiving winds in return by way of exchange.” (Phil. Works, vol. v., p. 159.)

⁴ Note here the word Æolus. In Addison, vol. ii., p. 239, we have : “ The rest that took up the same space, and made the same figure as the bags that were really filled with money, had been blown up with air, and called into my memory the bags full of wind, which Homer tells us his hero received as a present from Æolus.” Later we shall call sharply under review this word as used here, as used in the “ *Anatomy of Abuses* ” and in Defoe’s “ *Jure Divino*.” These heathen gods in the works last mentioned will be found succinctly defined.

in subterranean dens and caverns, where the winds were imprisoned, and whence they were occasionally let loose."¹

The preface itself to the mentioned work is in these words: "To men the winds are as wings. For by them men are borne and fly, not indeed through the air, but over the sea; a vast gate of commerce is opened, and the whole world is rendered accessible. To the earth, which is the seat and habitation of men, they serve for brooms, sweeping and cleansing both it and the air itself. Yet they damage the character of the sea, which would otherwise be calm and harmless; and in other respects they are productive of mischief. Without any human agency they cause strong and violent motion; whence they are as hired servants to drive ships and turn mills, and may, if human industry fail not, be employed for many other purposes. The nature of the winds is generally ranked among the things mysterious and concealed; and no wonder, when the power and nature of the air, which the winds attend and serve (as represented by the poets in the relation of *Æolus*² to Juno), is entirely unknown. They are not

¹ Bacon entertained distinctive views as to subterranean winds, both as expressed in his attributed writings and in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*. From "*Othello*," Act iv., sc. 2, p. 525, upon this point we give the following:

"What committed?

Heaven stops the nose at it, and the moon winks;
The bawdy wind, that kisses all it meets,
Is hush'd within the hollow mine of earth,
And will not hear it: what committed?—
Impudent strumpet!"

And in Henry VI., part 2, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 238, we have:

"What did I then, but curs'd the gentle gusts,
And he that loos'd them from their brazen caves,
And bid them blow toward England's blessed shore,
Or turn our stern upon a dreadful rock?
Yet *Æolus* would not be a murderer,
But left that hateful office unto thee;
The pretty vaulting sea refus'd to drown me,
Knowing that thou would'st have me drown'd on shore,
With tears as salt as sea through thy unkindness."

² From the mentioned work entitled "*The Storm*," we, p. 283, as to *Æolus*, quote as follows:

"The billows swell, and the haughty Neptune raves
The winds insulting o'er the impetuous waves."

primary creatures, nor among the works of the six days ; as neither are the other meteors actually, but produced according to the order of creation."

Note here and for future reference the mentioned word *Æolus*. Note likewise in the plays and elsewhere in this literature the word *weather*,¹ as applied to mental states or to the gusts and operations of the passions, and the words *mist*, *vapors*, and like words to mental operations. We have in the plays "the scolding wind," "the posting wind," "the wanton wind," "the bawdy wind, that kisses all it meets," and "Imperial Cæsar, dead and turned to clay, may stop a hole to keep the wind away." And from the word *air* we have the word *Ariel*, the sprightly serving spirit of *The Tempest*. The words "aired," "airless," "air-drawn," and others are said to have been first used in the plays, which have added several thousand words to our native tongue. Bacon's tentative processes with words and expressions will be later called under review.

In *Macbeth*, Act iv., sc. 1, p. 307, we, concerning the wind, have :

"*Macb.* I conjure you, by that which you profess,
(Howe'er you come to know it,) answer me :
Though you untie the winds, and let them fight
Against the churches ; though the yesty waves
Confound and swallow navigation up ;
Though bladed corn be lodg'd, and trees blown down ;
Though castles topple on their warders' heads ;
Though palaces, and pyramids, do slope
Their heads to their foundations ; though the treasure
Of nature's germins tumble all together,
Even till destruction sicken, answer me
To what I ask you."

And in *Romeo and Juliet*, Act iii., sc. 5, p. 121, we have :

"How now ! a conduit, girl ? what ! still in tears ?
Evermore showering ? In one little body

Thetis incensed, rises with angry frown,
And once more threatens all the world to drown,
And owns no Power but England's and her own.
Yet the *Æolian* God dares vent his rage ;
And ev'n the Sovereign of the seas engage."

¹ In *The Tempest*, Act ii., sc. 1, p. 48, we have :

"*Gon.* It is foul weather in us all, good sir,
When you are cloudy."

Thou counterfeit'st a bark, a sea, a wind ;
 For still thy eyes, which I may call the sea,
 Do ebb and flow with tears ; the bark thy body is,
 Sailing in this salt flood ; the winds, thy sighs ;
 Who,—raging with thy tears, and they with them,—
 Without a sudden calm, will overset
 Thy tempest-tossed body."

We now move to another point connected with the foregoing. Bacon believed in an irrational, as well as in the rational soul, the rational soul coming from the breath of the Infinite and the irrational soul from the spirits of the elements, or, as in some places stated by him, "the wombs of the elements." This sensitive, irrational, or produced soul he believed to be but an instrument of the rational one or spirit.

And so we here and for future reference call attention to Bacon's subtle and distinctive belief as to the spirit, in its connection with the lifeless spirits and the vital spirits within the human body. The words "lifeless spirits" he applies to all inorganic motions. The words—the "vital spirits" to organic motions. With the latter term he includes the living spirit. In his "History of Life and Death" he says: "The lifeless spirits are nearly of the same substance as the air ; the vital spirits more akin to the substance of flame."¹ Concerning them all he says :

"We should know therefore that there are diffused in the substance of every part of the human body, as the flesh, bones, members, organs, and the like, during lifetime, spirits of the same kind as those which exist in the same things—flesh, bones, members, and the rest—when separated and dead ; such likewise as remain in the corpse. But the living spirit, though it governs them and has some agreement with them, is very different from them, being integral and self-subsisting. But between the lifeless and

¹ It will be found that the same subtle views as to these spirits are held throughout the *Anatomy of Melancholy*. From vol. i., p. 21, we quote : "Of these spirits there be three kinds, according to the three principal parts, *brain, heart, liver*—natural, vital, animal. The *natural* are begotten in the liver, and thence dispersed through the veins to perform those natural actions. The *vital spirits* are made in the heart of the *natural*, which, by the arteries, are transported to all the other parts ; if these spirits cease, then life ceaseth, as in a syncope or swooning. The *animal spirits*, formed of the *vital*, brought up to the brain, and diffused by the nerves to the subordinate members, give sense and motion to them all."

vital spirits there are two special differences : the one, that the lifeless spirits are not continued in themselves, but are, as it were, cut off and surrounded by the grosser body which intercepts them, as air is mixed up in snow or froth. But all the vital spirit is contained in itself, by certain channels through which it passes, without being totally intercepted. And this spirit likewise is of two kinds : the one merely branched, and permeating through small, thread-like channels ; the other having a cell likewise, so that it is not only continued in itself, but also collected in a considerable quantity, according to the proportion of the body, in some hollow space ; and in this cell is the fountain of the streamlets which diverge from thence. This cell is chiefly in the ventricles of the brain, which in the lower animals are narrow ; so that the spirits seem rather to be diffused over the body than seated in cells, as may be seen in serpents, eels, and flies, the different parts whereof continue to move long after they are cut to pieces. So likewise birds quiver for some time after their heads are cut off, because they have small heads with small cells ; but the nobler animals, and men most of all, have larger ventricles. The other difference between the spirits is, that the vital spirit has in it a degree of inflammation,¹ and is like a breath compounded of flame and air, as the juices of animals contain both oil and water." (Phil. Works, vol. 5, p. 323.)

Again : " But air is a permanent body that is not dissolved ; for though new air be created out of watery moisture, yet the old air still remains ; whence comes that surcharge of the air mentioned in the title concerning the

¹ At this juncture we would make the following point. This word " inflammation," and for the use of which Addison is, in a foot-note, criticised, is distinctly Baconian. Bacon, as we may here see, had his distinctive reason for using it. And he often makes use of the word " flame" as applied to the passions. And so throughout the plays note the use of the word " flame" as applied to love, as well as to other passions of the mind. In Hamlet, Act iv., sc. 7, p. 341, we have :

" There lives within the very flame of love
A kind of wick, or snuff, that will abate it."

And in Act iii., sc. 4, p. 309, we have :

" O, gentle son !
Upon the heat and flame of thy distemper
Sprinkle cool patience."

winds.¹ But the spirit partakes of both natures, both of flame and air ; as likewise its nourishers are oil, which is homogeneous to flame, and air, which is homogeneous to water. For the spirit is not nourished by the oily part alone, nor by the watery part alone, but by both together ; and though air does not sort² well with flame nor oil with water, yet in a mixed body they agree well enough. Likewise the spirit gets from air its easy and delicate impressions and receptions,³ but from flame its noble⁴ and powerful motions and activity" (p. 335).

Again : " It would be an error to suppose that the living spirit, like flame, is perpetually generated and extinguished, and is of no sensible duration. For even flame does this not of its own nature, but because it lives among things hostile to it, since flame within flame is durable.⁵ But the living spirit lives among things that are friendly and obsequious. Therefore, whereas flame is momentary and air a

All unhealthful influences upon mind, not particularized, are by Bacon called "distempers," and so note the use of the word throughout all this literature.

These subtle Baconian views as to the vital and lifeless spirits are touched upon in the play of Henry IV., part 2, Act iv., sc. 3, p. 405, where we have "and then the vital commoners, and inland petty spirits, muster me all to their captain, the heart," etc.

¹ In the Anatomy of Melancholy, vol. i., p. 309, we have : " Rumbling in the guts is caused from wind, and wind from ill concoction, weakness of natural heat, or a distempered heat and cold ; palpitation of the heart, from vapours ; heaviness and aching, from the same cause. That the belly is hard, wind is a cause, and of that leaping in many pants." Note here also the use of the word "vapours." The Anatomy of Melancholy, the Anatomy of Abuses, and the A. D. B. Mask are so evidently Bacon's that we need devote comparatively little time to them.

² Note this use of this word "sort" throughout, and particularly in the plays. In Much Ado About Nothing, Act v., sc. 4, p. 247, we have :

" *Ant.* Well, I am glad that all things sort so well."

In Henry V., Act iv., sc. 1, p. 534, we have :

" *King.* It sorts well with your fierceness."

³ And hence Ariel of "The Tempest."

⁴ Note the word "noble" throughout this literature, and particularly in the works of Addison. It was Bacon's distinguishing word, as "duty" was Wellington's and "glory" Napoleon's.

⁵ We shall later find that Bacon believed the heavenly bodies to be self-sustained fire.

fixed substance, the living spirit partakes of the nature of both" (p. 315).

Again : " But the fabric of the parts is the organ of the spirit, as the spirit is the organ of the reasonable soul,¹ which is incorporeal and divine" (p. 335).

Again : " The actions or functions of the individual members follow the nature of the members themselves, as attraction, retention, digestion, assimilation, separation, excretion, perspiration, and even the sense itself, depends upon the properties of the several organs, as the stomach, liver, heart, spleen, gall, brain, eye, ear, and the rest" (p. 324).

With Bacon the principles of motion, both organic and inorganic, are in the human body what they are in the outlying world,² though subject to the " living spirit."

The subtle motions that govern matter reach also upon mind,³ and hence Bacon has not one set of words to apply to mental and another set to material things ; and so of all writers his words are the most definite, as they follow most closely the order of nature.

In order that thoughts found in the plays and elsewhere may be called into relation with the mentioned article, we further quote from it as follows : " With regard to the quieting of the violence of the spirits, I will speak of it presently when I come to inquire concerning their motion" ⁴ (p. 276). And " so much, then, for the motion of the spirits by the affections of the mind " (p. 280).

Again : " The nature of the spirits is, as it were, the

¹ In the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. 2, p. 52, we have : " The soul is an alien to the body, a nightingale to the air, a swallow in an house, and Ganymede in heaven, an elephant in Rome, a phenix in India ; and such things commonly please us best which are most strange and come furthest off."

² Bacon had a definite reason for calling these forces or activities below consciousness spirits, as he believed them to be instincts, as it were, and thus a species of intelligence, though mysterious to us, as will be seen in connection with his views upon perception, later touched upon.

³ Though the living spirit is in the light of reason, whatever affects it are springs of its motion, and apparent good often deceives it.

⁴ Concerning the " motions of the spirit," we, from Addison, vol. iii., p. 113, quote as follows : " A leap into the sea or into any creek of salt water very often gives a new motion to the spirits, and a new turn to the blood ; for which reason we prescribe it in distempers which no other medicine will reach."

master wheel which turns the other wheels in the body of men ; and therefore in the intention of longevity it ought to stand first" (p. 330).

Again : " With regard to the brain, where the court and university of the animal spirits is held,¹ the former inquiries concerning opium, niter, and their subordinates, and means for inducing quiet sleep, have some relation thereto" (p. 299).

Again : " The stomach (which is the master of the house, as they say, upon whose strength all the other digestions depend) should be so fortified and strengthened as to be moderately warm ; firm, not loose ; clean, and not charged with oppressive humours ; and yet (seeing it is supported by itself rather than by the veins) never absolutely empty or fasting ; lastly, it should be kept in good appetite, for appetite sharpens digestion" (p. 294).

Again : " Although a good digestion performed by the

¹ In " Coriolanus," Act i., sc. 1, p. 157, we, as to this court of the spirits, have :

" *Men.* Note me this, good friend ;
Your most grave belly was deliberate,
Not rash, like his accusers, and thus answer'd :
' True is it, my incorporate friends,' quoth he,
' That I receive the general food at first,
Which you do live upon ; and fit it is,
Because I am the store-house and the shop
Of the whole body : but, if you do remember,
I send it through the rivers of your blood
Even to the court, the heart ; to th' seat o' the brain ;
And, through the cranks and offices of man,
The strongest nerves and small inferior veins
From me receive that natural competency
Whereby they live."

Concerning the vital organs and the belly or middle region, we, in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. i., p. 23, have : " Of the *noble* there be three principal parts, to which all the rest belong, and whom they serve—*brain, heart, liver* ; according to whose site, three regions, or a three-fold division is made of the whole body ; as, first, of the *head*, in which the animal organs are contained, and brain itself, which by his nerves gives sense and motion to the rest, and is (as it were) a privy counsellor, and chancellor, to the *heart*. The second region is the chest, or middle *belly*, in which the heart as king keeps his court, and by his arteries communicate life to the whole body. The third region is the lower *belly*, in which the liver resides as a legate *a latere*, with the rest of those natural organs serving for concoction, nourishment, expelling of excrements."

internal parts is the principal thing for perfect alimentation, yet the actions of the exterior parts should also concur. And as the internal faculty sends forth and extrudes the nourishment, so outward faculties should attract and seize it" (p. 300).

Again : " Sleep after dinner, wherein vapours¹ are unpleasing (as being only the first dews of food) rise to the head, is good for the spirits, but bad and prejudicial to all other things that relate to the health" (p. 278).

Again : " For as motion attenuates and rarefies the spirit and stimulates and intensifies the heat thereof, so, on the other hand, sleep pacifies and subdues its motion and discursive action. For though sleep strengthens and furthers the actions of the parts and the non-vital spirits and all motion toward the circumference of the body, yet it greatly calms and lulls the proper motion of the living spirit" (p. 313).

Again : " Melting is the work of the spirits alone, and that only when they are excited by heat ; for then the spirits expanding themselves, and yet not going forth, insinuate and spread themselves among the grosser parts, and make them soft and molten, as appears in metals and wax ; for metals and other tenacious bodies are apt to restrain the spirit and prevent it from rushing forth when excited" (p. 322).

Again : " Vivification, therefore, always takes place in a matter tenacious and viscous, but at the same time soft and yielding, that there may be at once both a detention of the spirit and a gentle yielding of the parts, as the spirit moulds them. And this appears in the matter of all things, as well vegetable as animal, whether generated from putrefaction² or from seed ; for there is manifest in them all a matter hard to break through, but easy to yield."

¹ Note throughout the application of the word " vapour" to mental states, as well as to material conditions. As to material conditions, we, in " Measure for Measure," Act iv., sc. 2, p. 92, have :

" I shall attend your leisure ; but make haste ;
The vaporous night approaches."

See also Hamlet, Act ii., sc. 2, p. 258.

² In sub. 335 of Bacon's Natural History he says : " And we see that vivification (whereof putrefaction is the bastard brother) is effected by such soft heats as the hatching of eggs, the heat of the womb," etc.

Again : “ Therefore there appear plainly to be three porches¹ of death ; namely, destitution of the spirit, in the motion, refrigeration, and nourishment thereof ” (p. 315). And see this word porches as used in connection with the subject of death on pp. 222 and 311.

Again : “ To comfort the heart² cooling odours are better than hot ” (p. 297).

Again : “ Whence we see spiders, flies, or ants, entombed and preserved for ever in amber, a more than royal tomb, though they are tender substances and easily dissipated ” (p. 320).

Again : “ The polished surface likewise and closeness of the body (which does not permit the vapour of moisture to enter through the pores) accidentally dries it by exposure to the air ; as is seen in precious stones, looking-glasses, and sword blades, which, if you breathe upon them, appear at first covered with vapour, though it soon disperses, like a little cloud ” (p. 228).

Again : “ Joy suppressed and sparingly communicated comforts the spirits more than joy indulged and published ” (p. 279).

Again : “ There are two things in the body—namely, spirits and parts ;³ to both of which the way by nutrition is long ; but the way to the spirits by vapours⁴ or the

¹ See this unusual use of the word “ porch ” in *Hamlet*, Act i., sc. 5, p. 233, where we have:

“ Sleeping within mine orchard,
My custom always in the afternoon,
Upon my secure hour thy uncle stole,
With juice of cursed hebenon in a phial,
And in the porches of mine ear did pour
The leperous distilment ; ” etc.

² Concerning the expression “ comfort the heart,” we, from the *Anatomy of Abuses*, p. 201, quote as follows : “ I grant music is a good gift of God, and that it delighteth both man and beast, reviveth the spirits, comforteth the heart, and maketh it readier to serve God,” etc. And in *Hamlet*, Act i., sc. 2, p. 210, we have :

“ And, we beseech you, bend you to remain
Here, in the cheer and comfort of our eye,
Our chiefest courtier, cousin, and our son.”

³ Note a kind of distinctive use by Bacon of this word “ part,” and found in every phase of these writings.

⁴ In Addison, vol. ii., p. 238, we have: “ She appeared, indeed, infinitely timorous in all her behaviour ; and whether it was from

affections, and to the parts by emollients, is short" (p. 332).

Again : " Of all odours I recommend (as I have intimated before) those of plants growing and not gathered, and taken in the open air ; such as those of violets, pinks, and gilly-flowers, beau-blossoms, lime-flowers, the dust or flowers of vines, clary, the yellow wall-flower, musk roses (for other roses when growing give out little smell), strawberry plants, especially when dying ; sweet-brier, especially in early spring ; wild mint, and lavender flowers ; and in hot countries, oranges, citrons, myrtle, and laurel. We ought therefore to walk or sit among the breaths of these plants" (p. 298).

Again : " The medicines that make opiates are, first of all, saffron¹ and its flowers ; then Indian leaf, ambergris, a preparation of coriander seed, amomum and pseudamomum, lignum Rhodium, orange-flower water, or better still, the infusion of fresh orange-flowers in oil of almond, nutmegs pricked full of holes and soaked in rose-waters" (p. 272).

Again : " The best simples for the stomach are rosemary, elecampane, mastich, wormwood, sage, and mint"² (p. 295).

the delicacy of her constitution or that she was troubled with vapours, as I was afterward told by one who I found was none of her well-wishers, she changed colour and startled at every thing she heard."

¹ The word " saffron" is an oft-used word by Bacon, and found in all of these writings. In " The Tempest," Act iv., sc. 1, p. 82, we have :

" *Cer.* Hail, many-coloured messenger, that ne'er
Dost disobey the wife of Jupiter ;
Who, with thy saffron wings upon my flowers
Diffusest honey-drops, refreshing showers ;
And with each end of thy blue bow dost crown
My bosky acres, and my unshrubbed down,
Rich scarf to my proud earth ;—why hath thy queen
Summon'd me hither, to this short-grass'd green?"

Note this word also in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 404 ; in " All's Well that Ends Well," Act iv., sc. 5, p. 365 ; while in Addison, vol. iii., p. 176, we have : " This, says he, our Ovid himself has hinted, where he treats of these matters, when he tells us that the blue water-nymphs are dressed in sky-coloured garments ; and that Aurora, who always appears in the light of the rising sun, is robed in saffron."

² As to Bacon's knowledge of flowers, beasts, birds, music, gardens, magic, astrology, and kindred subjects, and spread everywhere

Again : " It is strange how men, like owls, see sharply in the darkness of their own notions, but in the daylight of experience wink and are blinded"¹ (p. 231). Note the oft use of these words " owl " and " wink " throughout the plays.

Again : " The gentler kinds of animals, as the sheep and dove, are not long-lived ; for bile acts as a whetstone or spear to many functions of the body " (p. 241). See later in the plays this word " whetstone."

We also in this brief " History of Life and Death " have such expressions as " effusion of blood," " flight of the spirits," " spur to assimilation," " appetite of the spirit," " fruit of speech," " leaf-joy," " the firmament of food," " the ways to death," " the ambient² or external air," " fortify the heart," " turn back the course of nature,"³ " sweet sorrow,"⁴ etc., and early in the article, p. 221, we have : " Inquire into the length and shortness of men's lives according to the times of their nativity, but so as to omit for the present all astrological and horoscopical observations. Admit only the common and manifest observa-

in the plays, see his " Natural History." But we stay too long upon our notes, and must hasten forward to more interesting and convincing fields.

¹ Promus, 657. Let the cat wink and let the mouse run.

² The outer air is distinguished by Bacon from that active within the body by the word ambient. Concerning this ambient air and heat, we, in the Anatomy of Melancholy, vol. i., p. 374, have : " If it be solid earth, 'tis the fountain of metals, waters, which by his innate temper turns air into water, which springs up in several chinks, to moisten the earth's *superficies*, and that in a tenfold proportion (as Aristotle holds) ; or else these fountains come directly from the sea, by secret passages, and so made fresh again by running through the bowels of the earth ; and are either thick, thin, hot, cold, as the matter of metals are by which they pass ; or, as Peter Martyr (*Ocean. Decad.*, lib. 9) and some others hold, from abundance of rain that falls ; or from that ambient heat and cold, which alters that inward heat, and so *per consequence*, the generation of waters. Or else it may be full of wind, or sulphureous innate fire, as our meteorologists inform us, which sometimes breaks out, causeth those horrible earthquakes which are so frequent in these days in Japan, China, and oftentimes swallow up whole cities."

³ In Romeo and Juliet, Act ii., sc. 1, p. 62, we have :

" Turn back, dull earth, and find thy centre out."

⁴ And same Act, sc. 2, p. 73 :

" Good night, good night ! parting is such sweet sorrow.
That I shall say good night, till it be morrow."

tions (if there be any) as whether the birth took place in the 7th, 8th, 9th, or 10th month, whether by night or by day, and in what month of the year."

Concerning the knowledge of flowers, displayed in the plays, we here from the *Winter's Tale*, Act iv., sc. 3, p. 90, give place to the following :

" O Proserpina,¹
For the flowers now, that, frightened, thou let'st fall
From Dis's wagon ! daffodils,
That come before the swallow dares, and take
The winds of March with beauty ; violets dim,
But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes,
Or Cytherea's breath ; pale primroses,
That die unmarried ere they can behold
Bright Phœbus in his strength, a malady
Most incident to maids ; bold oxlips, and
The crown imperial ; lilies of all kinds,
The flower-de-luce² being one. O ! these I lack,
To make you garlands of, and, my sweet friend,
To strew him o'er and o'er."

But it may be asked, How is it possible that Lord Bacon could have been the author of these writings, in addition to those generally attributed to him, in the light of the wide legal learning which he concededly possessed ?

The answer must be :

1. That many of his attributed writings consist of accumulated letters and legal papers.

2. A considerable portion of the work was performed doubtless in early years.

3. To the amount of qualitative mental labor which he was able to perform in a brief period of time.

¹ See, please, in Bacon's "*Wisdom of the Ancients*" his interpretation of the fable entitled "*Proserpina ; or, Spirit.*" In Addison, vol. ii., p. 291, we have : " I remember the last opera I saw in that merry nation was the rape of Proserpine ; where Pluto, to make the more tempting figure, puts himself in a French equipage, and brings Ascalaphus along with him as his valet de chambre. This is what we call folly and impertinence, but what the French look upon as gay and polite."

² As to the word "*flower-de-luce*," we, from Addison, vol. iv., p. 366, quote thus : " Count Tarriff appeared just the reverse of Goodman Fact. He was dressed in a fine brocade waistcoat, curiously embroidered with flower-de-luces. He wore also a broad-brimmed hat, a shoulder-knot, and a pair of silver-clocked stockings." These words will be found covers for occult meanings, as well in Addison as in the plays. The system was begun in the youthful treatise the "*Anatomy of Abuses*," and which is a great onslaught upon the subject of apparel.

4. To his thirst for knowledge and unceasing labor, joined with the resolution, "I have taken all knowledge to be my providence."

5. To his known habit of ruminating or re-embodiment his thought, in order that it might appear in more terse statement ; and hence the concentration of thought reached in the so-called Shakespeare plays.

6. To method, concerning which he himself says : " In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it ; but whatever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times ; for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves, so as the spaces of other business or studies will suffice."

7. And generally to those rare mental gifts concerning which Macaulay, in his Essay on Bacon, says : " With great minuteness of observation he had an amplitude of comprehension, such as has never yet been vouchsafed to any other human being."

And from a piece of this literature, later to be called under review, and which we have called the Head Light to our Head Light, we quote as follows :

" In my dispose of employments of the brain, I have thought fit to make invention the master, and to give method and reason the office of its lackeys. The cause of this distribution was from observing it my peculiar case to be often under a temptation of being witty upon occasions where I could be neither wise, nor sound, nor any thing to the matter in hand. And I am too much a servant of the modern way to neglect any such opportunities, whatever pains or improprieties I may be at to introduce them."

Bacon, and closely upon the heels of the Reformation, as we shall see, undertook the establishment of a system of philosophy in which things, or actualities only, and the orderly relations unfolding from them, even to the very fringes thereof, should be taken or stand as supreme. In other words, he urged that the mind should be taught to stay upon material change, rather than upon speculative meditation, if we would know nature or her truths in native or orderly unfoldment ; and he carried this idea forward into all of his doings. He read to his age the lesson that it was not enough that conclusions follow from premises under the then existing logic, but that we must

know that the premises themselves be true, otherwise errors with truths may commingle, and thus render worthless the fabric. He urged not merely greater definiteness as to the particulars themselves of knowledge, but that the judgment upon the particular required aid, and which his inductive tables, or tabular methods—the centre of his system—were intended to supply.

He himself sought the face of every unfoldment in nature, character, and life, and made facts royal. Wherever force was active in material change, there were his eyes, his life, his mind, and he thus reformed the philosophy, the stage, and the general literature of his day, by catching each actuality as it arose. He taught that mind is a divine instrument lent for good, and not to be used merely upon itself, but upon the vast universe without; and so in his Shakespeare he says: "Heaven with us as we with torches do, not light them for themselves."

In his article entitled "Of the Interpretation of Nature" (Works, vol. i., p. 84), he says: "For as¹ in inquiry of divine truth the pride of man hath ever inclined to leave the oracles of God's word and to vanish in the mixture of their own inventions, so, in the self-same manner, in inquisition² of nature, they have ever left the oracles of God's works, and adored the deceiving and deformed imagery, which the unequal mirrors of their own minds have represented unto them. Nay,³ it is a point fit and

¹ Note throughout this literature, as in this sentence, the use of the words "as" and "so" to present contrasted thought in the same sentence. We do not mean to say that this form is not somewhat used by others, but only that it is a noticeable earmark in the works under review. We give an example from the "Anatomy of Melancholy," vol. i., p. 256: "For as the distraction of the mind, amongst other outward causes and perturbation, alters the temperature of the body, so the distraction and distemper of the body will cause a distemperature of the soul; and 'tis hard to decide which of these two do more harm to the other."

² Note this use of the word "inquisition" for inquiry in all of the works under review. In *The Tempest*, Act i., sc. 2, p. 22, we have:

"You have often
Begun to tell me what I am; but stopp'd,
And left me to a bootless inquisition;
Concluding, 'Stay, not yet.'"

³ Note, please, in every phase of these writings the use of the word "nay" and the words "I say."

necessary in the front, and beginning of this work, without hesitation or reservation to be professed, that it is no less true in this human kingdom of knowledge, than in God's kingdom of heaven, that no man shall enter into it 'except he become first as a little child.' " Concerning this child, the true babe of philosophy, we shall later have something to say in a somewhat singular connection.

Even in his *Crusoe* material things are so co-ordinated and marshalled as to their just relations that we are inclined to overlook the author's matchless genius, nature being held with so true a hand as that all imagination, contrivance, or invention seems absent from the work ; and it is only by mental effort that we can make it seem unreal. There is here, indeed, that semblance of artlessness which is the perfection of art.

As bearing in the direction of *Crusoe*, we quote from a letter by Bacon in 1622 to Father Redemptus Baranzano, Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics at Anneci, wherein, among other things, he says : " The novelists whom you name—*Petricius*, *Telesius*,¹ besides others whom you do not mention, I have read. There may be any number of the kind,—as were also in ancient times *Anaximenes*, *Anaxagoras*, *Democritus*, *Parmenides*, and others (for I omit *Pythagoras*, as superstitious). Between these, as well ancient as modern, I observe great difference in point of faculty ; in point of truth, very little. The sum of the matter is this : if men will submit themselves to things, something will be done ; if not, those wits will come round again in the circle."² (*Bacon's Letters*, vol. vii., p. 377.)

Crusoe when put forth was a new departure in the literary world, nothing of its kind having before appeared. This and other like writings gave Defoe the credit of being the first English novelist. As differing from the then works of fiction, they paint men as existing and acting their manners, habits, and passions amid present or existing environments. They bear, in fact, about that relation

¹ In sub. 69, of Bacon's *Natural History*, he, concerning certain views there presented touching the production of cold, says : " It was the opinion of *Telesius*, who hath renewed the philosophy of *Parmenides*, and is the best of the novelists."

² In the introduction to his fragment entitled " *The Holy War*," written in 1622, he said that he intended to write " some patterns of natural story," as we shall see.

to the then works of fiction that the Shakespeare plays did to the old miracle plays.

But it may be said, What, then, are you going to do with the rest of these actors, and particularly with the accredited chief, Defoe? As to Defoe, we purpose to note the incongruity between the man himself and his reputed work, and let him alone. It is, indeed, somewhat amusing to one possessed of the facts yielded by close investigation upon our subject to see what turns, shifts, devices, and excuses Defoe's biographers have been compelled to resort to, in order to clear his record from assaults made upon him by reason of his ignorance and assumptions, and who at the age of twenty-seven years was but a kind of livery-man in London, as we shall see, and at about which time the Defoe literature began its inundation, though until some years later fathered upon no one. The conclusions of Defoe's biographers will be found to have been drawn, not from the character and personal history of the man himself, but almost wholly from the writings attributed to him, and which confessedly show not only great inherent subtlety and merit, but exhaustive research into all of the wisdom of the ancients, including ancient biography, mythology, astrology, apparitions, second sight, and magic; and a like research into Scripture, geography, history, philology, cipher writing, general literature, finance, art, science, and philosophy.

But there are doubtless those who will prefer to shut their eyes to developments, preferring that these marks shall stand for or represent the genius of the ages, than to know the truth; in other words, than to have their idols disturbed. From such little need be expected in aid of any truth. We write, however, for those who, while carefully guarding landmarks, are still willing to open their eyes; for those who, as Bacon says, "while not hasty to affirm, or unrestrained in doubting, hold every new field but as in probation."

From such we invite investigation, and ask no more than suspended judgment until our lights be set.

The supreme desire of Lord Bacon, and especially in his later years, was that the cream of his work, so to speak, his far-reaching philosophy, might be accepted by the world; and for this, among other reasons, it may well be considered as to whether he was not willing, by means of a

cipher or key, as has been claimed, to bide his time as to his other writings, which, if they had all been claimed and put forth at once, might thus by mere voluminousness have caused neglect of all, but which, by system, would render all available. It should also be considered as to whether, realizing the power and malignity of envy and his then depressed condition, he did not see that a future period would be more just, both to him, and to his writings. The subject of cipher writing is known to have been unusually familiar to him, as will appear in many places in his writings, and particularly in ch. 1, Book VI. of the *De Augmentis*, where he presents the subject and gives what he regards as the most perfect example of this kind of writing. As the work was issued but three years prior to his death, it shows the subject late in life still prominent in his thoughts. But later we shall find a deeper thread.

Again, suppose the key should fail. In that event, were the branches of this philosophy, as telltales to the system, stayed by method to some specific period, and in part foiled, either by intrigue, by plunder, by fear in handling, or by all combined, or were they stayed without method?

Whichever of these views be accepted, by reason of the facts and circumstances made to appear under our title *Harley and Defoe*, they will in no way affect the fact as to whether these are or are not the writings of Lord Bacon, as that must now be determined upon other grounds.

They will at least be found to elaborate and explain Lord Bacon's subtle views upon certain branches of philosophy. They will likewise be found to furnish forth the best extant material to sustain the theory of his authorship of the so-called Shakespeare plays, as the reader will be made to realize when sufficiently advanced in our subject.

In ch. 1, Book III., of the *De Augmentis*, he, as to the sciences, says: "We shall therefore divide sciences into theology and philosophy. In the former we do not include natural theology, of which we are to speak anon,"¹

¹ This will be found an oft-used word in the plays. In *All's Well that Ends Well*, Act. i., sc. 3, p. 284, we have:

"*Count.* Get you gone, sir: I'll speak with you more anon."
In "*The Pilgrim's Progress*," p. 351, we have: "When Apollyon was beat, he made his retreat to the next valley, that is called the Valley of the Shadow of Death, unto which we shall come anon."

but restrict ourselves to inspired divinity, the treatment of which we reserve as the close of the work, as the fruit and sabbath of all human contemplation.”¹ And please see the next chapter, where he defines natural theology and makes it a distinct branch of philosophy.

In this line it was, as we shall claim, that portions of the Defoe literature were produced by him. In the introductory matter to his *Great Instauration* (Works, vol. iii., p. 341), he says: “But after furnishing the understanding with the most surest² helps and precautions, and having completed by a rigorous levy a complete host of divine works, nothing remains to be done but to attack philosophy herself.” Do the words “and having completed by a rigorous levy a complete host of divine works” mean anything? He does not speak of them as in contemplation, but says they have been completed. Where are they? It is needless to say that Lord Bacon left no treatise of this character that has ever been attributed to him, and hence the oft-mooted question as to his real religious convictions. We have much, indeed, to unearth, and a period in English history is yet to be written. As to the divine works alluded to, he at least says they were “completed by a rigorous levy,” whatever that may mean. Later we shall call attention to an instance of this levy, as set out in that distinguished allegory known as *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, the claimed product from the pen of an untaught rustic, though justly pronounced the finest specimen of well-sustained allegory in any language.

Lord Bacon was favorable to this *Pilgrim’s Progress* method of couching religious thought, as will appear in many places in his attributed writings. See what he says concerning the subject of allegory in ch. 13, Book II., of the *De Augmentis*, while in ch. 2, Book VI., as to aphorisms, he says: “But that other way of delivery by aphorisms has numerous advantages over the methodical. And, first, it gives us a proof of the author’s abilities and shows whether he hath entered deeply into his subject or not. Aphorisms are ridiculous things unless wrought from the

¹ Did he attempt the performance of this Sabbath day work in “*The Pilgrim’s Progress*”?

² Even the errors in these writings are the same. In Henry IV., part 2, Act iii., sc. 1, p. 370, we have the expression:

“And in the calmest and most stillest night.”

central parts of the sciences ; and here all illustration, excursion, variety of example, deduction, connection, and particular description is cut off, so that nothing besides an ample stock of observations is left for the matter of aphorisms.¹ And, therefore, no person is equal to the forming of aphorisms, nor would ever think of them, if he did not find himself copiously and solidly instructed for writing upon subjects."

In the light of Bacon's consummate skill in deciphering ancient fables, as will appear in his "Wisdom of the Ancients," it may not be amiss for the reader to investigate some of the Defoe literature other than *Crusoe*, to see whether it may not be allegoric, *Crusoe* being a claimed allegory of the life, or life aims, of its author.

As to securing mental instruction through device or allegory, as sought in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, we, from the Defoe *History of Apparitions*, Talboy edition, p. 43, quote as follows :

"But hold ! whither am I going ? This looks like religion, and we must not talk a word of that if we expect to be agreeable. Unhappy times ! where to be serious is to be dull and grave, and consequently to write without spirit. We must talk politely, not religiously ; we may show the scholar, but must not show a word of the Christian ; so we may quote profane history, but not sacred ; and a story out of Lucan or Plutarch, Tully or Virgil will go down, but not a word out of Moses or Joshua.

"Well, we must comply, however ; the humour of the day must prevail ; and as there is no instructing you without pleasing you, and no pleasing you but in your own way, we must go on in that way ; the understanding must be refined by allegory and enigma ; you must see the sun through the cloud and relish light by the help of darkness ; the taste must be refined by salts, the appetite whetted by bitters ; in a word, the manners must be reformed in masquerade, devotion quickened by the stage,² not the pulpit, and wit be brightened by satires upon sense."

¹ Let this thought be applied to that pruning that produced *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

² Bacon says : "For it is a rule in the art of transmission, that all knowledge which is not agreeable to anticipations or presuppositions must seek assistance from similitudes and comparisons." (*De Augmentis*, ch. 2, Book 6.) In the same book, ch. 4, he, as to the stage, says : "It is a thing, indeed, if practiced professionally, of low re-

In the same sense the author of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, in his apology for his book, says :

" You see the ways the firsherman doth take
To catch the fish ; what engine doth he make !
Behold how he engageth all his wits ;
Also his snares, lines, angles, hooks, and nets ;
Yet fish there be, that neither hook nor line,
Nor snare, nor net, nor engine, can make thine ;
They must be groped for, and be tickled too,
Or they will not be catch'd, whate're you do.

" How does the fowler seek to catch his game ?
By diverse means, all which one cannot name ;
His guns, his nets, his lime-twigs,¹ light and bell :
He creeps, he goes, he stands ; yea, who can tell
Of all his postures ? Yet there's none of these
Will make him master of what fowls he please.
Yea, he must pipe and whistle, to catch *this* ;
Yet, if he does so, *that* bird he will miss.

" If that a pearl may in toad's head² dwell,
And may be found, too, in an oyster-shell ;

pute ; but if it be made a part of discipline, it is of excellent use. I mean stage-playing : an art which strengthens the memory, regulates the tone and effect of the voice and pronunciation, teaches a decent carriage of the countenance and gesture, gives not a little assurance, and accustoms young men to bear being looked at."

¹ As to "lime-twigs" Bacon says : " And what though the Master of the Rolls, and my Lord of Essex, and yourself, and others think my case without doubt, yet in the mean time I have a hard condition, to stand so that whatsoever service I do to her majesty it shall be thought to be but *servitium viscalum*, lime-twigs and fetches to place myself ; and so I shall have envy, not thanks." (Bacon's Letters, vol. i., p. 359.) What shall we say as to these adroitly used Baconian subtilities by the itinerant Bunyan ? In *Macbeth*, Act iv., sc. 2, p. 314, we, as to lime-twigs, have :

" *L. Macd.* Poor bird ! thou'dst never fear the net, nor lime,
The pit-fall, nor the gin."

In the "Two Gentlemen of Verona," Act iii., sc. 2, p. 174, we have :

" But you, Sir Thurio, are not sharp enough ;
You must lay lime, to tangle her desires,
By wailful sonnets, whose composed rhymes
Should be full fraught with serviceable vows."

² Concerning the "toad's head," we, in Bacon's *Natural History*, sub. 967, have : "*Quere*, if the stone taken out of the toad's head be not of the like virtue ; for the toad loveth shade and coolness." And in vol. iii. of the *Phil. Works*, p. 818, we have : " They speak of a stone engendered in a toad's head."

In "As You Like It," Act ii., sc. 1, p. 170, we have :

If things that promise nothing, do contain
 What better is than gold ; who will disdain,
 That have an inkling of it, there to look,
 That they may find it ? Now, my little book
 (Though void of all those paintings that may make
 It with this or the other man to take),
 Is not without those things that do excel
 What do in brave and empty notions dwell."

Bacon had a distinct belief that Homer and others, of the ancients, had used these concealed methods, and he evidently attempted to outdo in all directions what had gone before him. In the light of this statement, we quote the opening words of one of the many articles in Addison concerning fables and allegories, thus :

" Fables were the first pieces of wit that made their appearance in the world, and have been still highly valued, not only in times of the greatest simplicity, but among the most polite ages of mankind. Jotham's fable of the tree is the oldest that is extant, and as beautiful as any which have been made since that time. Nathan's fable of the poor man and his lamb is likewise more ancient than any that is extant, besides the above-mentioned, and had so good an effect, as to convey instruction to the ear of a king without offending it, and to bring the man after God's own heart to a right sense of his guilt and his duty. We find *Æsop* in the most distant ages of Greece ; and if we look into the very beginning of the commonwealth of Rome, we see a mutiny among the common people appeased by a fable of the belly and the limbs, which was indeed very proper to gain the attention of an incensed rabble, at a time when perhaps they would have torn to pieces any man who had preached the same doctrine to them in an open and direct manner.¹ As fables took their birth in the very infancy of learning, they never flourished more than when learning was at its greatest height. To justify this assertion, I shall put my reader in mind of Horace,

" Sweet are the uses of adversity ;
 Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
 Wears yet a precious jewel in his head ;
 And this our life, exempt from public haunt,
 Finds tongues in trees, books in the running brooks,
 Sermons in stones, and good in everything."

¹ To this fable we have already called attention and shown its Baconian connections, p. 56.

the greatest wit and critic in the Augustan age ; and of Boileau, the most correct poet among the moderns, not to mention La Fontaine, who, by this way of writing, is come more into vogue than any other author of our times.

“ The fables I have here mentioned are raised altogether upon brutes and vegetables, with some of our own species mixed among them, when the moral hath so required.¹ But, besides this kind of fable, there is another in which the actors are passions, virtues, vices, and other imaginary persons of the like nature. Some of the ancient critics will have it that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer are fables of this nature ; and that the several names of gods and heroes are nothing else but the affections of the mind in a visible shape and character.² Thus they tell us that Achilles, in the first *Iliad*, represents anger, or the irascible part³ of human nature. That upon drawing his sword against his superior in full assembly, Pallas is only another name for reason, which checks and advises him upon that occasion ; and at her first appearance touches him upon the head, that part of the man being looked upon as the seat of reason.” (Addison, vol. iii., p. 45.)

But, again, what became of the works in which Lord Bacon played the nurse both with his own thoughts and those of others ?

Bacon, in 1624, and thus but two years prior to his death, and when all had been published that was published during his life, says : “ But I account the use that a man should seek of the publication of his own writings before his death, to be but an untimely anticipation of that which is proper to follow a man, and not to go along with him.” (Works, vol. ii., p. 436.)

We would now focalize most sharply the attention of the reader upon chs. 1, 2, 3 and 4 of Book VI. of the *De Augmentis*. It is, indeed, a wonder that these matters should have slept so long. In ch. 4 we have the “ critic’s chair” referred to, and which we would have the reader

¹ The works of Addison, in the particulars here enumerated, will, we apprehend, yet lend aid in unfolding much that is in the plays. See Bacon’s allusion to “cooking” in connection with rhetoric, in ch. 3 of Book 6 of the *De Augmentis*.

² The names of the characters or actors in *The Pilgrim’s Progress* but stand for mental qualities.

³ Note throughout this Baconian use of the word “part.” See p. 58, note 3.

note for future reference.¹ In ch. 2 we have covert methods touched upon for the handing on of writings to posterity, and called "the wisdom of transmission." He in this notes a deficiency in these words: "Therefore I note it as deficient, and term it the Handing on the Lamp, or Method of Delivery to Posterity." In ch. 3 the method of transmission by cipher writing is presented, and to which we have already alluded. Under the head of sophisms in this chapter may be found covert allusions, we think, to his own troubles, later to fall under review. The first alluded-to chapter opens thus:

"It is permitted to every man (excellent King) to make merry with himself and his own matters. Who knows, then, but this work of mine is copied from a certain old book found in the most famous library of St. Victor, of which Master Francis Rabelais made a catalogue? For there is a book there entitled 'The Ant-Hill of Arts.' And certainly I have raised up here a little heap of dust, and stored under it a great many grains of sciences and arts; into which the ants may creep and rest for a while, and there prepare themselves for fresh labours. Now the wisest of kings refers sluggards to the ants; and for my part I hold all men for sluggards who care only to use what they have got, without preparing for new seed-times and new harvests of knowledge.

"Let us now proceed to the art of Transmitting, or of producing and expressing to others those things which have been invented, judged, and laid up in the memory; which I will call by a general name the Art of Transmission. This art includes all the arts which relate to words and discourse. For although reason be, as it were, the soul of discourse, yet in the handling of them reason and discourse should be kept separate, no less than soul and body. . . .

"I must speak concerning the Organ of Transmission in general. For it seems that the art of transmission has some other children² besides Words and Letters. This, then, may

¹ Bacon, as Addison, sat in that chair, and said what he liked, in laudation of his work. Sitting within this veil, or "weed," gave freedom to speak a century after he was in his grave. His purpose in this undisclosed work will later come into view, and hinted at by the word "use" in the previous paragraph.

² Let the reader keep his eye a little upon the word "children" as here applied to literary products.

be laid down as a rule ; that whatever can be divided into differences sufficiently numerous to explain the variety of notions (provided those differences be perceptible to the sense) may be made a vehicle to convey the thoughts of one man to another. For we see that nations which understand not one another's language carry on their commerce well enough by means of gestures. And in the practice of some who had been deaf and dumb from their birth and were otherwise clever, I have seen wonderful dialogues carried on between them and their friends who had learned to understand their gestures.¹ Moreover, it is now well known that in China and the provinces of the furthest East there are in use at this day certain *real characters*, not nominal ; characters, I mean, which represent neither letters nor words, but things and notions ; insomuch that a number of nations whose languages are altogether different, but who agree in the use of such characters (which are more widely received among them), communicate with each other in writing, to such an extent, indeed, that any book written in characters of this kind can be read off by each nation in their own language.

“The Notes of Things, then, which carry a signification without the help or intervention of words, are of two kinds :—one *ex congruo*, where the note has some congruity with the notion, the other *ad placitum*, where it is adopted and agreed upon at pleasure.² Of the former kind are Hieroglyphics and Gestures ; of the latter the Real Characters above mentioned. The use of Hieroglyphics is very old, and held in a kind of reverence, especially among the Egyptians, a very ancient nation. So that they seem to have been a kind of earlier born writing, and older than the very elements of letters, except perhaps among the Hebrews. Gestures are as transitory Hieroglyphics. For as uttered words fly away, but written words stand, so Hieroglyphics expressed in gestures pass, but expressed in pictures remain.
. . . Real characters, on the other hand, have nothing

¹ Read in this connection the early chapters, and particularly ch. 3, of the Defoe work entitled Duncan Campbell, a dumb philosopher, and which shows research here, and great research into the subject of second sight.

² Promus, 1133. Motion of the mind. Explicate in words, implicate in thoughts. I judge best implicate in thoughts. I hail or mark because of swiftness collocat and differ to make words sequac (sic).

emblematic in them, but are merely surds, no less than the elements of letters themselves, and are only framed *ad placitum*, and silently agreed on by custom. It is evident, however, that a vast multitude of them is wanted for writing ; for there ought to be as many of them as there are radical words. This portion, therefore, of the doctrine of the Organ of Discourse, which relates to the Notes of Things, I set down as wanting.”

These methods, and please note them for future reference, were in great part the outcome of Bacon’s mental amplitude. The mechanism of language was too cumbersome for him, and he delighted to wing his way in methods by which he might in a single mark or letter embody an entire idea, and for aught we know an entire piece of writing. In this, fables, in a measure, lent him aid. To express thought in puzzles, enigmas, or colors, was to him a pleasure, and his mind seems as if framed for allegory. Whatever was difficult was a pleasure, and knots and the undoing of them was a delight. As he delighted in embodying the particulars of a thought in a single mark, so did he delight to sweep from his table particulars of knowledge, second thoughts.

It is, indeed, probable that the cipher method was early employed in the plays ; but there is matter appearing at the beginning of ch. 2 that inclines us to think that it may have been abandoned for another. Concerning these ideas, we from ch. 2 quote as follows : “ And first, for the ‘ one and only method,’ with its distribution of everything into two members, it is needless to speak of it ; for it was a kind of cloud that overshadowed knowledge for awhile and blew over ; a thing no doubt both very weak in itself and very injurious to the sciences. For while these men press matters by the laws of their method, and when a thing does not aptly fall into those dichotomies, either pass it by or force it out of its natural shape, the effect of their proceeding is this : the kernels and grains of the sciences leap out, and they are left with nothing in their grasp but the dry and barren husks. And therefore this kind of method produces empty abridgments¹ and destroys the solid substance of knowledge.

¹ And in Hamlet, Act ii., sc. 2, p. 264, we have :

“ The first row of pious chanson will show you more ; for look, where my abridgment comes.”

“ Let the first difference of Method, then, be this : it is either Magistral or Initiative. Observe, however, that in using the word ‘ initiative,’ I do not mean that the business of the latter is to transmit the beginnings only of sciences, of the former to transmit the entire doctrine. On the contrary, I call that doctrine *initiative* (borrowing the term from the sacred ceremonies) which discloses and lays bare the very mysteries of the sciences. The magistral method teaches ; the initiative intimates. The magistral requires that what is told should be believed ; the initiative that it should be examined.¹ The one transmits knowledge to the crowd of learners ; the other to the sons, as it were, of science.”

That he intended a portion of his writings should be handed down through some chosen device may be seen from his article entitled “ Of the Interpretation of Nature,” which ends thus : “ But the method of publishing these things is to have such of them as tend to seize the correspondences of dispositions and purge the areas of minds given out to the vulgar and talked of ; and to have the rest handed down with selection and judgment. Nor am I ignorant that it is a common and trite artifice of impostors to keep apart from the vulgar certain things which are nothing better than the impertinences they set forth to the vulgar. But without any imposture, from sound providence, I foresee that this formula of interpretation, and the inventions made by it, will be more vigorous and secure when contained within legitimate and chosen devices. Yet I undertake these things at the risk of others. For none of those things which depend upon externals concern me ; nor do I hunt after fame, or, like the heretics, take delight in establishing a sect ; and to receive any private emolument from so great an undertaking, I hold to be both ridiculous and base. Sufficient for me is the consciousness of desert, and the very accomplishment itself of things, which even fortune cannot withstand.” (Works, vol. 2, p. 550.)

He says : “ Yet I undertake these things at the risk of others.” And what risk ? We shall later see when we

¹ Bacon seemed to desire to be ever hunted for and yet not found ; and so that when thought in the grasp, to slip on a little before. In other words, he kept the globe of his knowledge turning. Of this globe he was the radiating centre, and was both its latitude and longitude.

come to that gigantic stage prepared for the actors of another historic period. As to how well they performed their parts, that is a matter which, to use a Baconian expression, "*may be considered by itself.*"

We would have the reader here note the words "providence" and "fortune" as used in the foregoing quotation, and which will be found to have their distinctive Baconian use throughout the works under review. The word providence will, indeed, be found a royal word in the Baconian philosophy, and it may not improperly be said to be a kind of key to its entrance. This word, and in the same sense of use as in our noted headlight—his letter to Lord Burghley—is in some publications changed to "province," thinking it doubtless an erroneous use of the word, and which but shows the care that should be exercised before changing an author's chosen words. Mr. Montagu changes the word in said letter to "province," yet preserves the true word in a foot-note, while Mr. Spedding and others change it, and without note or explanation.

Bacon makes this word stand for all that which is provisional in mind, and as extending thence over operating nature. When a providing, provision, or providence, is by mere human ideation, it is a human provision or providence; but back of or influential in this ideation is that which is divine. And so in his interpretation of the fable entitled "Prometheus, or the State of Man," he says: "For this one reason no doubt was, that the nature of man includes mind and intellect, which is the seat of Providence; and since to derive mind and reason from principles brutal and irrational would be harsh and incredible, it follows almost necessarily that the human spirit was endowed with providence not without the precedent and intention and warrant of the greater providence."

We likewise find him using the expression "and from the deepest providence of my mind;" and in this sense it was that he undertook to have a provision or providence over all human learning. And so in the play of Hamlet he makes the king, concerning the killing of Polonius, say:

"Alas ! how shall this bloody deed be answered ?
It will be laid to us, whose providence
Should have kept short, restrain'd and out of haunt,
This mad young man."

What shall we say to this? Here we have a word, and an exceedingly important one, used in so unusual a sense that all of Bacon's biographers have seen fit to substitute for it another; and yet in the same identical Baconian sense do we find it used in the plays.

Bacon, in his "Essay on Truth," says: "Certainly it is heaven on earth to have a man's mind move in charity, rest in providence,¹ and turn upon the poles of truth." When such mental state exists the human and Divine Providence are, according to Bacon's views, at one or in accord, and hence the reaching of ends otherwise unattainable.

Concerning the Divine Providence he says:

"That notwithstanding God had rested and ceased from creating since the first Sabbath, yet, nevertheless, he doth accomplish and fulfil his divine will in all things, great and small, singular and general, as fully and exactly by providence, as he could by miracle and new creation, though his working be not immediate and direct, but by compass; not violating nature, which is his own law, upon the creature."²

"That at the first, the soul of man was not produced by heaven or earth, but was breathed immediately from God; so that the ways and proceedings of God with spirits are not included in nature; that is, in the laws of heaven and earth; but are reserved to the law of his secret will and grace, wherein God worketh still, and resteth not from the work of redemption, as he resteth from the work of creation, but continueth working till the end of the world; what time that work also shall be accomplished and an eternal sabbath shall ensue."³ (Works, vol. ii., p. 408.)

¹ In Addison, vol. iii., p. 357, we have: "When I consider this cheerful state of mind in its third relation, I cannot but look into it as a constant habitual gratitude to the great Author of nature. An inward cheerfulness is an implicit praise and thanksgiving to Providence under all its dispensations. It is a kind of acquiescence in the state wherein we are placed, and a secret approbation of the Divine Will in his conduct towards men." This most admirable article should be read.

² As to the winds, Bacon says: "They are not primary creatures, nor among the works of the six days; as neither are the other meteors actually; but produced according to the order of creation" (p. 51).

³ In Addison, vol. iii., p. 129, we have: "But what I would chiefly insist upon here, is, that we are not at present in a proper sit-

In ch. 4 of Book III. of the *De Augmentis* he says : “Nor does this call Divine Providence in question, but rather highly confirms and exalts it ; for as he is a greater politician, who can make others the instruments of his will, without acquainting them with his designs, than he who discloses himself to those he employs ; so the wisdom of God appears more wondrous when nature intends one thing, and Providence draws out another, than if the characters of Providence were stamped upon all the schemes of matter and natural motion.”

In his interpretation of the fable of *Pau*, ch. 13, Book II. of the *De Augmentis*, he, concerning the shepherd’s crook, says : “That shephook, also representing empire, contains a noble metaphor, alluding to the mixture of straight and crooked in the ways of nature. And this rod or staff is crooked principally in the upper part ; because all of the works of Divine Providence in the world are mostly brought about in a mysterious and circuitous manner, so that while one thing appears to be doing another is doing really ; as the selling of Joseph into Egypt and the like. Moreover, in all wise human governments, those who sit at the helm can introduce and insinuate what they desire for the good of the people more successfully by pretexts and indirect ways than directly. Nay (which perchance may seem strange), even in mere natural things you may deceive nature sooner than force her ; so ineffectual and self-impeding are all things which are done

uation to judge of the counsels by which Providence acts, since but little arrives at our knowledge, and even that little we discern imperfectly ; or, according to the elegant figure in holy writ, ‘we see but in part, and as in a glass darkly.’ It is to be considered that Providence, in its economy, regards the whole system of time and things together, so that we cannot discover the beautiful connections between incidents which lie widely separated in time, and by losing so many links of the chain our reasonings become broken and imperfect. Thus those parts in the moral world which have not an absolute, may yet have a relative beauty, in respect to some other parts concealed from us, but open to His eyes before whom ‘past, present, and to come’ are set together in one point of view ; and those events, the permission of which seems now to accuse His goodness, may, in the consummation of things, both magnify his goodness and exalt his wisdom. And this is enough to check our presumption, since it is in vain to apply our measures of regularity to matters of which we know neither the antecedents nor the consequents, the beginning nor the end.” This admirable article should be read in full.

directly ; whereas, on the other hand, the indirect and insinuating way proceeds smoothly and gains its end.”¹

In the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. i., p. 392, it is said : “ For I am of his mind,² that Columbus did not find out America by chance, but God directed him at that time to discover it ; it was contingent to him, but necessary to God ; he reveals and conceals to whom and when he will ; and, which one said of history and records of former times, God in his providence, to check our presumptuous inquisition,³ wraps up all things in uncertainty, bars us from long antiquity, and bounds our search within the compass of some few ages.”

In the *A. D. B. Mask*, p. 24, we have : “ Finally let this most memorable verse also like and delight every courtier and honest Christian :

“ In God’s Almighty hand of Providence
Lies all my Lot, Health, Wealth, Inheritance.”

And ch. 5 of the *Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe* will be found a succinct collation of Lord Bacon’s distinctive views, not as to a human, but as to the Divine Providence. We will give place to some passages from it, and first to one from p. 65, where occurs Lord Bacon’s expression, and in his sense of use, “ lead by the hand.”

“ You may easily observe the differences between the directions and warnings of Providence when duly listened to and the notices of spirits from an invisible world—viz., that these are dark hints of evil, with very little direction to avoid it ; but those notices which are to be taken from the proceedings of Providence, though the

¹ And so in *Hamlet*, Act ii., sc. 1, p. 243, we have :

“ Your bait of falsehood takes this carp of truth ;
And thus do we of wisdom and of reach,
With windlances, and with assays of bias,
By indirections find directions out :
So, by my former lecture and advice,
Shall you my son.”

² The expressions “ For I am of his mind,” and “ For I am of his opinion,” were common with Bacon. He says : “ For I am of his opinion that said pleasantly, *That it was a shame to him that was a suitor to the mistress, to make love to the waiting-woman ;* and therefore to woo or court common fame otherwise than it followeth upon honest courses, I, for my part, find not myself fit nor disposed.” (*Bacon’s Letters*, vol. iii., p. 141.)

³ See Bacon’s use of this word “ inquisition,” p. 63.

voice be a kind of silent or soft whisper, yet it is generally attended with an offer of the means for escaping the evil, nay, very often leads by the hand¹ to the very proper steps to be taken, and even obliges us, by a strong conviction of the reason of it, to take those steps."

And from the Defoe History of Apparitions, Talboy edition, p. 41, we have : "Julius Cæsar had several hints given him of his approaching fate ; one particular soothsayer pointed out the very day to him, namely, the ides of March, but he had no power to avoid his fate. The kind spirit that foreboded and gave hints to him that he was in danger, as if contented with having done his part, left him to be murdered. No assistance given him to rouse up his spirits to take the alarm : he is not led by the hand, and told, Go not into the senate-house, as was done for Lot, *Escape for thy life*. The kind monitor does not name the traitors and assassins to him, and say, Brutus, and Cassius, Casca, and others, wait there to kill you ; as the angel to Joseph, *Herod will seek the young child to destroy him*.

"And, on the other side, Cæsar, bold and unalarmed, indolent, and having things not sufficiently explained to him (and the good spirit, as may be supposed, able to do no more for him), goes on, enters the senate-house, mocks the soothsayer, and tells him the ides of March are come,

¹ In one of his articles on the "Interpretation of Nature" Bacon says : "But I almost agree with thee, my son, and will lead thee higher by the hand." (Works, vol. ii., p. 544 ; see also p. 551.) And, Phil. Works, vol. iv., p. 413, it is said, "but when he uses some direction and order in experimenting, it is as if he were led by the hand ; and this is what I mean by Learned Experience." In The Pilgrim's Progress, p. 97, we have : "I saw, moreover, in my dream that the Interpreter took him by the hand, and had him into a little room, where sat two little children, each one in his chair. The name of the eldest was Passion, and the name of the other Patience." It may be noticed that in each instance in The Pilgrim's Progress where the penitent is presented with a form or pattern for thought, that the Interpreter takes him by the hand and leads him to it. This pattern, as to "Passion" and "Patience," should be noted, and let the reader keep his eye a little upon the word "patience" as used in the plays. And in Addison, vol. iv., p. 94, we have : "There was sent, in her stead, a goddess of a quite different figure : her motions were steady and composed, and her aspect serious but cheerful. She every now and then cast her eyes towards heaven, and fixed them upon Jupiter ; her name was Patience."

who sharply returned, But they are not past.¹ In a word, neglecting his own safety, and wanting a complete information, he goes into the senate and is murdered.”² Read in this connection Bacon’s interpretation of the fable Nemesis ; or, The Vicissitude of Things.

But we return to Crusoe, and from p. 60 quote thus :

“ I have already hinted that he that made the world we are sure guides it, and his Providence is equally wonderful as his power. But nothing in the whole course of his Providence is more worthy our regard, especially as it concerns us his creatures, than the silent voice, if it may be allowed me to call it so, of his managing events and causes. He that listens to the Providence of God, listens to the voice of God, as he is seen in the wonders of his government, and as he is seen in the wonders of his omnipotence.

“ If, then, the events of things are his, as well as the causes, it is certainly well worth our notice, when the sympathy or relation between events of things and their causes most eminently appears ; and how can any man, who has the least inclination to observe what is remarkable in the world, shut his eyes to the visible discovery which there is in the events of Providence of a supreme hand guiding them ; for example, when visible punishments follow visible crimes, who can refrain confessing the apparent direction of supreme justice ? When concurrence of circumstances directs to the cause, men that take no notice of such remarkable pointings of Providence openly condemn³ heaven, and frequently stand in the light of their own advantages.

“ The concurrence of events is a light to their causes, and the methods of heaven, in some things, are a happy guide to us to make a judgment in others ; he that is deaf

¹ Bacon says : “ No conquest of Julius Cæsar made him so remembered as the calendar.” (Bacon’s Letters, vol. i., p. 335.) He also began an article entitled A Civil Character of Julius Cæsar, but which was never finished. As to Cæsar’s character and the ides of March, see Addison, vol. iv., pp. 98 and 99.

² Bacon recommended the writing of a History of Diagnostics ; or, Secret Natural Judgments ; also a History of Natural Divination.

³ Note throughout the plays and in every phase of this literature the use of this word “ contemns.”

to these things shuts his ears to instruction, and, like Solomon's fool, hates knowledge."

And on p. 63 we have :

"It would be an ill account we should give of the government of Divine Providence in the world, if we should argue that its events are so unavoidable and every circumstance so determined that nothing can be altered, and that therefore these warnings of Providence are inconsistent with the nature of it. This, besides that I think it would take from the sovereignty of Providence, and deny even God himself the privilege of being a free agent, it would also so contradict the experience of every man living, in the varieties of his respective life, that he should be unable to give any account for what end many things which Providence directs in the world are directed, and why so many things happen which do happen. Why are evils attending us so evidently foretold, that by those foretellings they are avoided, if it was not determined before they should be avoided and should not befall us?

"People that tie up all to events and causes strip the Providence of God which guides the world of all its superintendency, and leave it no room to act as a wise disposer of things.

"It seems to me that the immutable wisdom and power of the Creator and the notion of it in the minds of men is as dutifully preserved and is as legible to our understanding, though there be a hand left at liberty to direct the course of natural causes and events. It is sufficient to the honour of an immutable Deity, that, for the common incidents of life, they be left to the disposition of a daily agitator—namely, Divine Providence, to order and direct them as it shall see good, within the natural limits of cause and consequence.

"This seems to me a much more rational system than that of tying up the hands of the Supreme Power to a road of things,¹ so that none can be acted or permitted but such as was so appointed before to be acted and permitted."

¹ Aphorism 41, book 2 of the *Novum Organum* opens thus : "In the eighteenth rank of prerogative instances we will class the instances of the road, which we are also wont to call itinerant and jointed instances. They are such as indicate the gradually continued motions of nature."

And we may add that the activities, in the outer world may be equally traced into the automatic and influential activities within the human body itself, as manifested in its organic and in its influential system of nerves. The influential system gathers from and is chiefly concerned with that which is external. And the organic or automatic, on which it rests, with that which is internal. While these internal processes give organization, and thence sustentation to the influential, they still function not into the influential or ideational field. They, however, or their formative vessels, manifest a kind of providence, wisdom, or intelligence in their selection and use of material far transcending ideation, which is but a human process resulting from accumulated and retained impressions from things, upon that kind of intelligence which we call human ; and which rests not in mere consciousness, but in a consciousness of self, as separate from other things. As the dog seeks the lowest point to jump the fence, so the formative vessels step outside their routine of work and repair the broken bone. And yet is either process ideation ? and if so, must not both be ?¹ In man, instinct—the law upon the creature—is broken. To have ideation, there must be a consciousness of self, and to have a consciousness of self, is to be a person. There is, therefore, a kind of wisdom within organization itself that is creative ; one that functions not into human consciousness, and which is wiser in its providence—that is, in its provisional selection and use of material, than is ideation ; one that not only builds but sustains structure until an influential or spiritual building may be erected and tenanted by material effect, and whence alone a future without matter is rendered possible. Is there more wonder

¹ The forces in nature below self-consciousness were by Bacon believed to be, as it were, species of instincts, and in Addison, vol. ii., p. 460, we have : “ There is not, in my opinion, anything more mysterious in nature than this instinct in animals, which thus rises above reason, and falls infinitely short of it. It cannot be accounted for by any properties in matter, and at the same time works after so odd a manner, that one cannot think it the faculty of an intellectual being. For my own part, I look upon it as upon the principle of gravitation in bodies, which is not to be explained by any known qualities inherent in the bodies themselves, nor from any laws of mechanism, but according to the best notions of the greatest philosophers, is an immediate impression from the first mover, and the Divine energy acting in the creatures.”

as to outward activities, than as to those within the body, and which give its genesis?

The influential in man has a limited control over the automatic both without and within the body, and in two ways, and, as Bacon says, in but two. He says: "Whereas men ought, on the contrary, to have a settled conviction that things artificial differ from things natural, not in form or essence, but in the efficient; that man has in truth no power over nature, except that of motion—the power, I say, of putting natural bodies together or separating them—and the rest is done by nature working within." (Phil. Works, vol. v., p. 506.)

This brings us to the consideration of that other noted Baconian word "fortune," and concerning which Bacon says:

"Such a cause as fortune is in the universe, such is the will in man." ¹ (Works, vol. ii., p. 544.)

The following from Bacon will be found variously spread in the plays: "Fortune makes him a fool whom she makes her darling." ² (Works, vol. i., p. 128.)

"If a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see fortune; for though she be blind, she is not invisible." ³ (Works, vol. i., p. 130.)

"But I will leave you to the scorn of that mistress whom you undertake to govern; that is, to fortune, to whom Philautia hath bound you." (Bacon's Letters, vol. i., p. 385).

"Corrupt Statesman, you that think by your engines and motions to govern the wheel of fortune; do you not mark that clocks cannot be long in temper, that jugglers

¹ See the able article upon the subject of fortune in Addison, vol. iii., pp. 303-306.

² In *Romeo and Juliet*, Act iii., sc. 1, p. 97, we have:

"*Rom.* Oh! I am fortune's fool."

³ In *Henry V.*, Act iii., sc. 6, p. 517, we have:

"*Flu.* By your patience, anchient Pistol. Fortune is painted plind, with a muffler afore her eyes, to signify to you that fortune is plind: And she is painted also with a wheel, to signify to you, which is the moral of it, that she is turning, and inconstant, and mutability, and variation: and her foot, look you, is fixed upon a spherical stone, which rolls, and rolls, and rolls. In good truth, the poet makes a most excellent description of it: fortune is an excellent moral."

⁴ Particularly note this use of the word "engine" throughout these writings. See our quotation from *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 69.

are no longer in request when their tricks and slights are once perceived?" (Bacon's Letters, vol. i., p. 384.)

"And lastly, it is not amiss for men in their race toward their fortune to cool themselves a little with that conceit which is elegantly expressed by the emperor Charles the Fifth in his instructions to the King his son, that fortune hath somewhat of the nature of a woman, that if she be too much wooed she is the further off." (Phil. Works, vol. iii., p. 473.)

"Fortune is like Proteus ; if you persevere, she turns to her shape." (Phil. Works, vol. iv., p. 482.)

"For fortune is the child of the vulgar, and has only found favour with the lighter kind of philosophers." (Phil. Works, vol. iv., p. 321.)

"For the things necessary for the acquisition of fortune are neither fewer nor less difficult nor lighter than those to obtain virtue ; and it is as hard and severe a thing to be a true politician, as to be truly moral. But the handling hereof concerns learning greatly, both in honour and substance ; in honour principally, that pragmatistical men may not imagine that learning is like a lark, which can mount and sing and please itself and nothing else ; but may know that it rather partakes of the nature of a hawk, which can soar aloft, and can also descend and strike upon its prey at pleasure. Again, it tends to the perfection of learning, because it is the perfect law of the inquiry of truth, 'that nothing be in the globe of matter which has not its parallel in the globe of crystal or the understanding' ; that is, that there be nothing in practice whereof there is no theory and doctrine ; not, however, that learning admires or esteems this architecture of fortune otherwise than as an inferior work ; for no man's fortune can be an end worthy of the gift of being that has been given him by God ; and often the worthiest men abandon their fortunes willingly, that they may have leisure for higher pursuits.¹ But, nevertheless, fortune as an instrument of virtue and merit deserves its own speculation and doctrine.

¹ In Addison, vol. iv., p. 57, we have : "Men of warm imaginations and towering thoughts are apt to overlook the goods of fortune which are near them for something that glitters in the sight at a distance ; to neglect solid and substantial happiness for what is showy and superficial ; and to condemn that good which lies within their reach, for that which they are not capable of attaining."

"To this doctrine are attached certain precepts, some summary and some scattered or various; whereof the former relate to the just knowledge of ourselves and others. Let the first precept, then (on which the knowledge of others turns), be set down as this: that we obtain (as far as we can) that window which Momus¹ required; who, seeing in the frame of man's heart such angles and recesses, found fault that there was not a window to look into its mysterious and tortuous windings." (Phil. Works, vol. v., pp. 58, 59.)

"Of much like kind are those impressions of nature which are imposed upon the mind by the sex, by the age, by the region, by health and sickness, by beauty and deformity, and the like, which are inherent and not extern;² and again those which are caused by extern fortune; as sovereignty, nobility, obscure birth, riches, want, magistracy, privateness, prosperity, adversity, constant fortune, variable fortune, rising *per saltum*, *per gradus*, and the like." (Phil. Works, vol. iii., p. 436.)

In the quotation last given the gifts of nature and the gifts of fortune are distinctly marked off, or classed by themselves; and so are they in the following, from the play of "As You Like It," Act i., sc. 2, p. 154:

¹ Note the word Momus for future reference. And in Addison, vol. iv., p. 196, we have: "You must understand, sir, I had yesterday been reading and ruminating upon that passage where Momus is said to have found fault with the make of a man, because he had not a window in his breast. The moral of this story is very obvious, and means no more than that the heart of man is so full of wiles and artifices, treachery and deceit, that there is no guessing at what he is from his speeches and outward appearances." And same vol., p. 149, we have: "Envy and cavil are the natural fruits of laziness and ignorance; which was probably the reason that in the heathen mythology Momus is said to be the son of Nox and Somnus, of Darkness and Sleep. Idle men, who have not been at the pains to accomplish or distinguish themselves, are very apt to detract from others; as ignorant men are very subject to decry those beauties in a celebrated work which they have not eyes to discover. Many of our sons of Momus, who dignify themselves by the name of critics, are the genuine descendants of those two illustrious ancestors." Later we shall find these thoughts in the A. D. B. Mask and in the Anatomy of Melancholy, and they will all be brought into relation with the same use of the word by Swift upon the subject of critics.

² This Baconian word "extern" we shall later find used in one of the sonnets.

" *Ros.* What shall be our sport then ?

" *Cel.* Let us sit and mock the good housewife, Fortune, from her wheel, that her gifts may henceforth be bestowed equally.

" *Ros.* I would we could do so ; for her benefits are mightily misplaced ; and the bountiful blind woman doth most mistake in her gifts to women.

" *Cel.* 'Tis true ; for those that she makes fair, she scarce makes honest ; and those that she makes honest, she makes very ill-favouredly.

" *Ros.* Nay, now thou goest from fortune's office to nature's : fortune reigns in gifts of the world, not in the lineaments of nature.

Enter TOUCHSTONE.

" *Cel.* No : When nature hath made a fair creature, may she not by fortune fall into the fire ?¹—Though nature hath given us wit to flout at fortune, hath not fortune sent in this fool to cut off the argument ?

" *Ros.* Indeed, there is fortune too hard for nature, when fortune makes nature's natural the cutter off of nature's wit.

" *Cel.* Peradventure,² this is not fortune's work neither, but nature's ; who, perceiving our natural wits too dull to reason of such goddesses, hath sent this natural for our whetstone :³ for always the dulness of the fool is the whetstone of the wits.—How now,⁴ wit ? whither wander you ?"

And in Act ii., sc. 7, p. 184, we have :

" ' Good morrow,⁵ fool,' quoth I : ' No, sir,' quoth he, ' call me not fool, till heaven hath sent me fortune.' " ⁶

Having now touched briefly upon the subtle and distinctive views spread in this literature, as to the winds, the spirits, providence, and fortune, we conclude these points in a word concerning the play of *The Tempest*, said to have been the last of the poet's dramatic works. We may here find represented the mentioned subordinate or human providence so blended with the Divine Providence that it seems a kind of royal magic.

The powers of Prospero in this play seem ever worked to but just and beneficent ends, and so in harmony with circumstances as to leave doubt, as to whether he controls their movements or falls in with them.

His genius, the airy spirit, Ariel, links him with the

¹ Promus, 666. To leap out of the frying pan into the fire.

² Promus, 1371. Peradventure, can you, Sp. (what can you).

³ Promus, 1066. (Therefore I discharge the office of a whetstone, which, itself incompetent to cut, can render iron sharp.)

⁴ Promus, 313. And how now.

⁵ Promus, 1189. Good morrow.

⁶ Promus, 493. God sendeth fortune to fools.

world above him, or, in another sense, with the better age to come. Caliban, the monster, the warning, represents the low deformed bodily organism, or body of the times ; in another sense the discordant and undeveloped age of science. Miranda—his philosophy—the daughter (Bacon says : “ For truth is the daughter of time, not of authority”), links him with the world about and within him, and in which is wrapped the end for which he acts. At his advent upon the island, the powers that so obey his art were discordant, as in Caliban, the monster. But through him or his art they became somewhat harmonized, and so a triumph of art over nature.

The magic here represented by Bacon, as Prospero, is the magic of genius, and in a sense so, in the direction pointed out. But in another sense it presents him following his troubles as still above the tempest of elements at work against him, and the elements controlled perplexing ones in his own life. The Spanish Minister Gondomar, as Gonzalo in the play, was the friend that is said to have given back his library or books after being abandoned by both Buckingham and the king ; and after his dukedom, his Milan, his empire of learning, had, by Buckingham, the false brother, been “ bowed to most ignoble stooking.” In still another sense the play may lay deeper in metaphysics or theology. Bacon claims truth to be an island. He claims errors to be monsters. The monster, the Roman Church and the rabble, were here upon his truth, his island, and claimed now to be “ the lord on’t.”

The view secondly presented, will, so far as space permits, be the one which we shall in due time undertake to elaborate.

Bacon, though in a blind way, and as in an under-plot,¹

¹ Would the reader peruse the views and criticisms of the great Shakespeare himself upon the subject of tragedies ? Let him, then, read the articles in Addison upon that subject. Concerning under-plots in plays, we from one of these articles quote the following : “ The same objections which are made to tragi-comedy may in some measure be applied to all tragedies that have a double plot in them ; which are likewise more frequent upon the English stage than upon any other ; for though the grief of the audience, in such performances, be not changed into another passion, as in tragi-comedies, it is diverted upon another object, which weakens their concern for the principal action, and breaks the tide of sorrow by throwing it into different channels. This inconvenience, however, may in a great measure be cured, if

will be found largely self-centred in his work. Either chosen or self-prepared framework is made ever to proceed his mountings, analysis, and concentration.

In *Hamlet* we behold him entering as the central figure, prepared to exercise his providence over all knowledge, and to read lessons, not merely to his own age, but to the ages; and there he will ever stand in his subtle and scholastic methods. He was indeed a seer. And how truly were his words to Horatio, in the ending of this great play, pertinent to the close of his own life, where he says :

“ O God !—Horatio, what a wounded name
Things standing thus unknown, shall live behind me !”

Nor in his lifetime, more than in the play, did Bacon, save inferentially, make known the true cause of his troubles, as we shall later undertake to make manifest. He in the play says :

“ You that look pale and tremble at this chance,
That are but mutes or audience to this act,
Had I but time, (as this fell sergeant, death,
Is strict in his arrest,) O ! I could tell you—
But let it be.—Horatio, I am dead ;
Thou liv'st ; report me and my cause aright
To the unsatisfied.”

But Bacon had no Horatio, unless posterity shall be such.

In this play, initiatory of his forthcoming work, is presented the abuse of that ruling passion of the mind, which precipitates all the others upon the will ; and hence gives to the play its philosophic and melancholic air. Life is robbed of its charm, the most subtle cause of which is resi-

not wholly removed, by the skilful choice of an under-plot, which may bear such a near relation to the principal design as to contribute toward the completion of it, and be concluded by the same catastrophe.” (Addison, vol. ii., p. 309.) The article immediately preceding this one opens thus : “ As a perfect tragedy is the noblest production of human nature, so it is capable of giving the mind one of the most delightful and most improving entertainments. ‘ A virtuous man (says Seneca) struggling with misfortunes is such a spectacle as gods might look upon with pleasure ;’ and such a pleasure it is which one meets with in the representation of a well-written tragedy. Diversions of this kind wear out of our thoughts everything that is mean and little. They cherish and cultivate that humanity which is the ornament of our nature. They soften insolence, soothe affliction, and subdue the mind to the dispensations of Providence.”

dent in sex, and out of the abuse of which grew the murder of the king, Hamlet's father, and his own, and Ophelia's malady. And the slough of despond is reached.

The mind early in the play is focalized upon the life to come, and the will puzzled, by the introduced ghost, and air of mystery.¹ The platform is here indeed designed to draw on the building. Bacon says: "Great matters (especially if they be religious) have (many times) small beginnings; and the platform may draw on the building."

He also says: "The human understanding is most excited by that which strikes and enters the mind at once and suddenly, and by which the imagination is immediately filled and inflated." While Bacon sought to weed the subjects of magic and apparitions, by means of the Defoe literature upon those subjects, he was still, in a sense, a believer both in the doctrine of second sight and apparitions, as we shall see; and hence the ghost, and ghosts of the plays.² While in the Defoe literature we have a most astute philosopher, we still have not a philosophy, but merely Baconian branches of a philosophy.

The play of Hamlet was in many ways typical of Bacon's forthcoming work, as that of *The Tempest* was of its close; and its searchings were to be such as to be likened to that tracing in imagination of the noble dust of Alexander, until it finds it "stopping a bung-hole."

¹ Promus, 227. (Upon wondering, men begin to philosophize.) The apparition was to this play what the unaccounted for footprint in the sand was to *Crusoe*. Promus, 456. (*The manes of fable—i.e., the shades of the departed ghosts.*)

² Mr. Spedding says: "Whence Bacon derived his idea of the nature of the Persian magic is a question with which we need not trouble ourselves here. For the present occasion it is enough to know that it was formerly the subject of many speculations; inferences perhaps from a remark in Plato, that the princes of Persia were instructed in politics and in magic by the same persons, and that the method of analogy in which Bacon supposed it to consist was believed by him not only at this time but ever after, to be a sound one." (Bacon's Letters, vol. iii., p. 89.) See in this connection the Addison article on apparitions, vol. ii., pp. 440-443, and from which we quote as follows: "I should not have been thus particular upon these ridiculous horrors, did not I find them so much prevail in all parts of the country. At the same time, I think a person who is thus terrified with the imagination of ghosts and spectres, much more reasonable than one who, contrary to the reports of all historians, sacred and profane, ancient and modern, and to the traditions of all nations, thinks the appearance of spirits fabulous and groundless."

Concerning the idols of the theatre, Bacon, in Aph. 44 of the *Novum Organum*, Book 1, says: "Lastly, there are idols which have crept into men's minds from the various dogmas of peculiar systems of philosophy, and also from the perverted rules of demonstration, and these we denominate idols of the theatre; for we regard all the systems of philosophy hitherto received or imagined, as so many plays brought out and performed, creating fictitious and theatrical worlds."

And so referring in this great play to his own then unpublished philosophy as a babe, he says: "Hark you, Guildenstern;—and you too;—at each ear a hearer: that great baby, you see there, is not yet out of its swaddling clouts."

But in 1605, after its publication, that is, after the publication of the *Advancement of Learning*, which involved it, he accompanied a letter with a copy of the work to his literary friend, Toby Mathews, saying: "I have now at last taught that child to go, at the swaddling whereof you were."¹ (*Works*, vol. iii., p. 197.)

In some editions of the play this word is improperly changed to "swathing-clouts."

In 1585, the year in which the play is by some supposed to have been written, Bacon sketched or outlined this babe—his philosophy—under the title, *The Noblest Birth of Time*. And in a letter in later years concerning his writings he refers to it as a juvenile work, and as having the mentioned pompous title. (*Works*, vol. iii., p. 64.)

In a letter in 1609 to Bishop Andrews, the Bishop of Winchester, and whom he called his "inquisitor," and which he accompanied with his treatise entitled *Visa et cogitata*, he refers to science as the child of philosophy, and says:

"My very good Lord, now your Lordship hath been so long in the church and in the palace disputing between kings and popes, methinks you should take pleasure to look into the field,² and refresh your mind with some matter of philosophy, though that science be now through

¹ As to this swaddling of infancy Bacon again says: "For it is most true that a discourser of Italy saith: 'There was never state so well swaddled in the infancy as the Roman was, by the virtue of their first kings.'" (*Bacon's Letters*, vol. vii., p. 360.)

² *Promus*, 675. When thrift is in the field he is in the town.

age, waxed a child again,¹ and left to boys and young men ; and because you were wont to make me believe you took liking to my writings, I send you some of this vacation fruit, and thus much more of my mind and purpose. I hasten not to publish ; perishing I would prevent. And I am forced to respect as well my times as the matter. For with me it is thus, and I think with all men in my case,² if I bind myself to an argument, it loadeth my mind ; but if I rid my mind of the present cogitation, it is rather a recreation. 'This hath put me into these miscellanies,³ which I propose to suppress, if God give me leave to write a just and perfect volume of philosophy, which I go on with, though slowly. I send not your Lordship too much, lest it may glut you. Now let me tell you what my desire is. If your Lordship be so good now as when you were the good Dean of Westminster, my request to you is, that not by pricks,⁴ but by notes, you would mark unto me whatsoever shall seem unto you

The words "field" and "town" are important in the unmasking. Note them in the plays and in *The Pilgrim's Progress*. They will later be called under review.

¹ "*Ham.* Hark you, Guildenstern ; and you too ;—at each ear a hearer : that great baby, you see there, is not yet out of his swaddling clouts.

"*Ros.* Haply, he's the second time come to them ; for, they say, an old man is twice a child."

² Note throughout a constant and distinctive use of the word "case," and in exclusion to like or synonymous words. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 275, we have : "Alas to be in my case, who that so was could but have done so ?" And again, p. 345, we have : "But when he was come at the river where was no bridge, there again he was in a heavy case." In "*As You Like It*," Act v., sc. 4, p. 255, we have : "What a case am I in, then, that am neither a good epilogue nor cannot insinuate with you in the behalf of a good play ?"

³ One branch of the Harleian collection was distinguished as the "Harleian Miscellanies."

⁴ This word "pricks" we find even in the youthful treatise the *Anatomy of Abuses*, where, at p. 201, we have : "Plutarch complaineth of music, and saith that it doth rather effeminate the mind as pricks into vice, than conduce to godliness as spurs unto virtue." Let the reader now particularly note this word as used in the Greek play *Troilus and Cressida*, Act i., sc. 3, p. 404, and where we have :

"And in such indexes, although small pricks
To their subsequent volumes, there is seen
The baby figure of the giant mass
Of things to come at large."

either not current in the style, or harsh to credit and opinion, or inconvenient for the person of the writer ; for no man can be judge and party, and when our minds judge by reflection¹ on ourselves they are more subject to error. And though for the matter itself my judgment be in some things fixed, and not accessible by any man's judgment that goeth not my way, yet even in those things the admonition of a friend may make me express myself diversely. I would have come to your Lordship but that I am hastening to my house in the country. And so I commend your Lordship to God's goodness." (Works, vol. iii., p. 30.)

Bacon's Natural History, as we have seen, was to be the nurse, the bosom to philosophy, and here we have the babe.

In the play the babe is not yet out of these miscellanies, its swaddling clouts ; while in the letter to Mathews in 1605 it has been taught to go. Concerning this swaddling of truth, the author of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, in his apology for his book, says :

" Come, truth, although in swaddling clothes I find,
Informs the judgment, rectifies the mind ;
Pleases the understanding, makes the will
Submit ; the memory too it doth fill
With what doth our imagination please ;
Likewise it tends our troubles to appease."

In vol. i., p. 31, of the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, we have : " They play with babies of clouts and such toys, we with greater babies." ²

¹ " And, since you know you cannot see yourself
So well as by reflection, I, your glass,
Will modestly discover to yourself
That of yourself which you yet know not of."

—Julius Cæsar, Act i., sc. 2, p. 335.

² Promus, 356. (Like as children do with their babies [dolls] ; when they have played enough with them, they take sport to undo them.) Bacon in 1615, concerning Salisbury's great scheme for revenue, hereafter to be considered, among other things says : " And afterward either out of variety, or having met with somewhat that he looked not for, or otherwise having made use of the opinion, in the end undid his baby that he had made—then grew the change." (Bacon's Letters, vol. v., p. 179.) We would have the reader particularly note the words "undo" and "undone" as spread in the narrational portions of this literature, as well as in the plays. It will be found many times used in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and on p. 274 we have : " I had much ado to forbear crying out, Undone."

But again, one of the chief ends in view, we think, in this typical play may be found in Horatio's speech in Act i., sc. 1, p. 202, concerning the state of Rome: "A little ere the mightiest Julius fell," and which state was "prologue to the omen coming on."

Bacon early, as at the close of his work, had much fear for the Reformed faith, as we shall see; and not merely from Rome, but from influences with which pagan forms had already tainted it. After the parties in the play were sworn that they would in no way disclose Hamlet or his methods, he then says to them: "The times are out of joint; O cursed spite! that ever I was born to set it right."

Julius here referred to was Pope of Rome from 337 to 352, and during the same period Julian the Apostate was emperor, who, as against the Christian faith, became a convert to paganism through an acquired love for the Greek forms and philosophy, and which much tainted the early Church. Bacon set himself not merely to stay, but to undo some of those influences, and which he doubtless thought his work would accomplish, as in due time will, we think, appear. Note the reference in the play to Wittenberg, the door, as it were, of the Reformation; and where Horatio and Marcellus as well as Hamlet are represented as students or school-fellows.¹ By his philosophy, however, there was now to be a course new mapped. One slow, silent, deep laid, and which was to be telling only in its outcome or issues.

Though space will not permit an elaboration here of this particular feature of the play, we may still indicate thus much.

In no country of Europe was the Reformed faith introduced with more ease and less blood than in Denmark. In 1018 Canute the Great became King of England as well as Denmark, and he resided generally in England. The Danish dynasty came to a close in England, however, in 1042 for want of male heirs. In 1219 the Danish King Valdemar the Second set out upon a vast crusade against the pagans in Esthonia, and the whole was forcibly overrun and the inhabitants converted. By earlier con-

¹ Later we shall call the word "fellows" under review, and the word "school-fellow" will be found used in these writings wherever occasion presents.

quests his authority had become recognized over a large portion of Northern Germany. Bacon had ever his forefinger upon the world's pulse ecclesiastic, and was watchful in this regard to the entire governmental influences of the world, and with its globe, as it were, beneath his eye. Denmark or the Danish crown had at this time control of both sides of the entrance to the Baltic Sea, and the sound was regarded as its own, and the world's mercantile vessels were required to pay tribute or toll in their passage. At the writing of this play there were influences both within and without England which Bacon much feared should Denmark, with its mentioned natural advantages, fall under control of the Catholic powers of Europe. In the north of England most of the people at this time, as well as the lords, longed to see the restoration of the Roman faith and the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots claimed, in Elizabeth's stead, to be the rightful heir to the English throne. Therefore, when Hamlet was mad, he was "mad north-northwest."

These features, however, concern but the outer circle of this piece of foreshadowed work. More properly we may say, perhaps, that the state of man by nature is the outer circle, and that these features fall next within it.

The value set by Bacon upon his babe, his offspring of science, may in a measure be seen in his dedicatory letter to King James, of the *Novum Organum*, in 1620 (Works, vol. iii., p. 333), and which opens in these words :

"Your Majesty will, perhaps, accuse me of theft, in that I have stolen¹ from your employments time sufficient for this work. I have no reply, for there can be no restitution of time, unless, perhaps, that which has been withdrawn from your affairs might be set down as devoted to the perpetuating of your name and to the honour of your age were what I now offer of any value. It is at least new, even in its very nature, but copied from a very ancient pattern, no other than the world itself, and the nature of things, and of the mind. I myself (ingeniously to confess the truth) am wont to value this work rather as the offspring of time than of wit ; for the only wonderful

¹ This use of the word "stolen" as applied to time may be found in many of these writings. In *Measure for Measure*, Act iii., sc. 1, p. 74, we have : "I have no superfluous leisure ; my stay must be stolen out of other affairs ; but I will attend you a while."

circumstance in it is, that the first conception of the matter, and so deep suspicions of prevalent notions should ever have entered into any person's mind ; the consequences follow. But, doubtless, there is naturally a chance (as we call it), and something, as it were, accidental in man's thoughts, no less than in his actions and words. I would have this chance, however (of which I am speaking), to be so understood that if there be any merit in what I offer, it should be attributed to the immeasurable mercy and bounty of God and to the felicity¹ of this your age ; to which felicity I have devoted myself whilst living with the sincerest zeal, and I shall, perhaps, before my death have rendered the age a light unto posterity, by kindling this new torch amid the darkness of philosophy."

And upon sending a copy of the work to his friend Mathew (p. 71, same volume), he says :

"And I must confess my desire to be, that my writings should not court the present time, or some few places in such sorts as might make them either less general to persons or less permanent in future ages. As to the Instauration, your so full approbation thereof I read with much comfort, by how much more my heart is upon it, and by how much less I expected consent and concurrence in matters so obscure. Of this I can assure you, that though many things of great hope decay with youth (and multitude of civil business is wont to diminish the price though not the delight of contemplation), yet the proceeding in that work doth gain with me upon my affection and desire both by years and business. And, therefore, I hope even by this that it is well pleasing to God, from whom and to whom all good moves. To him I most heartily commend you."

And in the following so-called Shakespeare Sonnet (59), and to which we invite careful thought, a comparison is inferred between his own philosophy and that then extant, or that of the Greeks ; and wherein he breathes the wish, that when "five hundred courses of the sun" shall have rolled away he might be then present to see what the world would say of his work, his child, his philosophy. He says :

¹ In the A. D. B. Mask we, p. 27, have : "Obedience is the mother of felicity." Let this word be noted throughout, as also the here used words "kindle" and "torch." And note in all of these writings this ever-fixed eye upon posterity.

“ If there be nothing new, but that which is
 Hath been before, how are our brains beguil'd,
 Which, labouring for invention, bear amiss
 The second burthen of a former child ?¹
 O ! that record could with a backward look,
 Even of five hundred courses of the sun,
 Show me your image in some antique book,
 Since mind at first in character was done !
 That I might see what the old world could say
 To this composed wonder of your frame ;
 Whether we're mended, or where better they,
 Or whether revolution be the same.
 O ! sure I am,² the wits of former days
 To subjects worse have given admiring praise.”

Bacon, as to these five hundred years, says : “ All the philosophy of nature which is now received is either the philosophy of the Grecians or that other of the alchemists. That of the Greeks hath the foundations in words, in ostentation, in confutation, in sects, in schools, in disputations. The Grecians were, as one of themselves saith, ‘ you Grecians, ever children.’ They knew little antiquity ; they knew, except fables, not much above five hundred years before themselves. They knew but a small portion of the world. That of the alchemists hath the

¹ Bacon says : “ But things too ancient wax children with us again.” (Bacon's Letters, vol. vi., p. 66.)

² As to the expression “ sure I am” Bacon says : “ But sure I am the argument is good, if it had lighted upon a good author.” (Bacon's Letters, vol. iii., p. 254.) While king's attorney in 1616, he writes thus to Buckingham : “ The times I submit to you, who know them best ; but sure I am, there were never times which did more require a King's attorney to be well armed, and (as I once said to you) to wear a gauntlet and not a glove.” (Bacon's Letters, vol. v., p. 260.) And in vol. ii. of said Letters, p. 86, we have : “ Sure I am that the treasure that cometh from you to her Majesty is but as a vapour which riseth from the earth and gathereth into a cloud, and stayeth not there long but upon the same earth it falleth again ; and what if some drops of this do fall upon France or Flanders ?” This expression was quite frequent with Bacon. And in the Anatomy of Abuses, p. 74, we have : “ But, howsoever it falleth out, sure I am they are ensigns of pride, allurements to sin, and provocations to vice.” In Hamlet, Act ii., sc. 2, p. 246, the Queen says :

“ *Queen.* Good gentlemen, he hath much talk'd of you ;
 And, sure I am, two men there are not living, to whom he more
 adheres.”

Very much more might be introduced upon all of these points did space permit. And many points might be made which are not made for like reason.

foundation in imposture, in auricular traditions and obscurity. It was catching hold of religion, but the principle of it is *Populu vult decipi*. So that I know no great difference between these great philosophies, but that the one is a loud crying folly, and the other is a whispering folly." See likewise Aphs. 78, 122, 125, Book 1 of the *Novum Organum*.

In a letter to Mr. Mathew, in 1609, he says: "Nay it doth more fully lay open that the question between me and the ancients is not the virtue of the race, but the rightness of the way."

As to the words "Since mind at first in character was done," see Bacon's thoughts, p. 73 of this work.

The word "old" in this sonnet in the expression "What the old world would say" is used in its distinctive and Baconian sense, and explained by Bacon in Aph. 84, Book 1 of the *Novum Organum* thus: "The opinion which men cherish of antiquity is altogether idle, and scarcely accords with the term. For the old age and increasing years of the world should in reality be considered as antiquity, and that is rather the character of our own times than of the less advanced age of the world in those of the ancients; for the latter with respect to ourselves are ancient and elder, with respect to the world modern and younger.¹ And as we expect a greater knowledge of human affairs and more mature judgment from an old man than from a youth, on account of his experience and the variety and number of things he has seen, heard, and meditated upon, so we have reason to expect much greater things of our own age (if it knew but its strength and would essay and exert it) than from antiquity, since the world has grown older and its stock has been increased and accumulated with an infinite number of experiments and observations."

We shall therefore claim to the reader, that this sonnet refers to philosophy, that it refers to a distinctive philosophy, that it refers to The Great Instauration; and that its word "old" is used in this Baconian sense, as are also the words "antique book."

We have here a wonder referred to, a composed wonder, "the composed wonder of your frame," and that frame

¹ Promus, 1268. (Things old to us were new to men of old.)

the frame of nature, or the world. See Bacon's letter to King James, p. 95.

Note the use of the word "frame" throughout this literature. Bacon says: "It is certain that of all powers in nature heat is the chief both in the frame of nature and in the works of art." ¹ (Works, vol. ii., p. 23.)

Already have we seen that Lord Bacon set great value upon his love, his child of philosophy, his Instauration; and so in Sonnets 124 and 125 and pending the ruin of his name, he says:

"If my dear love were but the child of state,
It might for fortune's bastard be unfather'd,
As subject to time's love or to time's hate,
Weeds among weeds, or flowers with flowers gather'd.
No, it was builded far from accident;
It suffers not in smiling pomp, nor falls
Under the blow of thrall'd discontent,
Whereto the inviting time our fashion calls:
It fears not policy, that heretic,
Which works on leases of short-number'd hours;
But all alone stands hugely politic,
That it nor grows with heat, nor drowns with showers.
To this I witness call the fools of time,
Which die for goodness, who have lived for crime."

"Were't aught to me I bore the canopy,
With my extern² the outward honouring,
Or laid great basis for eternity,
Which prove more short than waste or ruining?
Have I not seen dwellers on form and favour
Lose all, and more, by paying too much rent;
For compound sweet foregoing simple savour,
Pitiful thrivers in their gazing spent?
No; let me be obsequious in thy heart,
And take thou my oblation, poor but free,
Which is not mix'd with seconds, knows no art,
But mutual render, only me for thee.
Hence, thou suborn'd informer! a true soul,
When most impeach'd, stands least in thy control."

Note in this last sonnet and for future reference the words

¹ In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act iv., sc. 1, p. 217, we have:

"Chid I for that at frugal nature's frame?"

In *Hamlet*, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 295, we have:

"Good, my lord, put your discourse into some frame, and start not so wildly from my affair."

² See Bacon's use of this word *extern*, p. 86.

"I bore the canopy" and the words "suborned informer," also the word "oblation," directed to the king.

In Sonnet 122 the words "thy tables are within my brain" refer, as we shall claim, to the tables of the Instauration, to which all else in his system is subservient. He says :

"Thy gift,¹ thy tables,² are within my brain
Full character'd with lasting memory,
Which shall above that idle rank remain
Beyond all date, even to eternity ;
Or, at the least, so long as brain and heart
Have faculty by nature to subsist :
Till each to raz'd oblivion yield his part
Of thee, thy record never can be miss'd.
That poor retention could not so much hold,
Nor need I tallies, thy dear love to score ;
Therefore to give them from me was I bold,
To trust those tables that receive thee more :
To keep an adjunct to remember thee,
Were to import forgetfulness in me."

He says in this sonnet, that until these tables, as well as his brain, have "to raz'd oblivion" yielded their part, his record cannot be missed.

If it be asked why he permitted himself to be submerged without a defence, the answer may in part appear in Sonnet 121, but more fully when relation facts are made to appear. In this sonnet he says :

"'Tis better to be vile, than vile esteem'd,
When not to be receives reproach of being ;
And the just pleasure lost, which is so deem'd,
Not by our feeling, but by others' seeing :

¹ Bacon realized that he had unusual gifts, as will later appear in a noted prayer by him at this period.

² In Hamlet, Act i., sc. 5, p. 235, we have:

"Remember thee ?
Yea, from the tables of my memory
I'll wipe away all trivial fond records," etc.

Bacon says : "In tables, unless you erase what has before been written, you can write nothing else. But in the mind, on the contrary, unless you inscribe something else, you cannot erase what has before been written." (Works, vol. ii., p. 549.) And from some private memoranda by Bacon we have : "To take notes in Tables when I attend y^e counsell, and sometymes to moove owt of a Memoriall hewd and seen." (Bacon's Letters, vol. iv., p. 93.) And see the tables of the Instauration.

For why should others' false adulterate eyes
 Give salutation to my sportive blood ?
 Or on my frailties why are frailer spies,
 Which in their wills count bad what I think good ?
 No, I am that I am ; and they that level¹
 At my abuses, reckon up their own :
 I may be straight, though they themselves be bevel.
 By their rank thoughts my deeds must not be shown ;
 Unless this general evil they maintain,—
 All men are bad, and in their badness reign."

And what official position did William Shakespeare hold to permit a levelling at his abuses ?

But Bacon became self-condemnatory, as may be seen in Sonnet 62. He says :

" Sin of-self-love possesseth all mine eye,
 And all my soul, and all my every part ;
 And for this sin there is no remedy,
 It is so grounded inward in my heart.
 Methinks, no face so gracious is as mine,
 No shape so true, no truth of such account ;
 And for myself mine own worth do define,
 As I all other in all worths surmount.
 But when my glass shows me myself indeed,
 Bated and chapp'd with tann'd antiquity,
 Mine own self-love² quite contrary I read ;
 Self so self-loving were iniquity.
 'Tis thee (myself) that for myself I praise,
 Painting my age with beauty of thy days."

Had William Shakespeare felt thus as to his work, would he have gone to his grave as he did in 1616, without the slightest preparation made to perpetuate his writings ? By the words " thee," " thy," and " thou" the author of the sonnets often alluded to himself, as may be distinctly seen in this sonnet, and to which end chiefly we quote it.

Pending his troubles, Bacon goes down to his old home at Gorhambury, and there : 1. Makes his will, wherein he says : " For my name and memory I leave it to men's charitable speeches to foreign nations, and to the next ages ; and 2. He composed a notable prayer, in which, among other things that had been uppermost in his thoughts, says : " I have hated all cruelty and hardness of

¹ Bacon says : " That which I level at is your standing and greatness, which nevertheless I hold for a main pillar for the K's service." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 442.)

² Note Bacon's use of the word " self-love" in his noted letter to Lord Burghley, p. 24.

heart ; I have (though in a despised weed) procured the good of all men.”¹ (Bacon’s Letters, vol. vii., p. 229.)

In what, please, did this “weed” consist, wherein he had procured the good of all men? Was it his mask or masks, or was it but his Shakespeare cover or mask? In Sonnet 76 he of this “weed” says :

“Why is my verse so barren of new pride,
So far from variation or quick change?
Why, with the time do I not glance aside
To new-found methods and to compounds strange?
Why write I still all one, ever the same,
And keep invention in a noted weed,
That every word doth almost tell my name,²
Showing their birth, and where they did proceed?
O! know, sweet love, I always write of you,
And you and love are still my argument;
So, all my best is dressing old words new,
Spending again what is already spent:
For as the sun is daily new and old,
So is my love still telling what is told.”

Do the words “though in a despised weed” in the mentioned prayer, and the words “keep invention in a noted weed” in this sonnet, have any covert meaning? And are they not used in the same covert sense in each expression? And what occasion had William Shakespeare to keep invention in a noted weed? Were not the plays and sonnets put forth in his name?

But this use of the word “weed” as a cover, was distinctly Baconian. Referring in his speech in the Essex trial to the flight of the French king, caused by the uprising of the Duke of Guise, he says: “The king was forced to put himself into a pilgrim’s weed,³ and in that disguise stole away to escape their fury.” (Bacon’s Letters, vol. ii., p. 230.)

In his History of Henry the Seventh he says: “This fellow, when Perkin took sanctuary, chose rather to take a holy habit than a holy place, and clad himself like a

¹ This prayer will be found in full later in the work.

² How true this statement! We may almost see his physiognomy in some of them.

³ In *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, p. 372, we have: “Then said Mr. Darenottie, ’Tis true; they have neither the pilgrim’s weed nor the pilgrim’s courage; they go not uprightly, but all awry with their feet; one shoe goeth inward, another outward; and their hosen are out behind; here a rag, and there a rent, to the disparagement of their Lord.”

hermit, and in that weed wandered about the country till he was discovered and taken." (Works, vol. i., p. 367.)

And concerning apparel and the philosopher's weed, we in the youthful treatise, the Anatomy of Abuses, p. 33, have :

"Diogenes so much contemned¹ sumptuous attire, that he chose rather to dwell in wilderness among brute beasts all his life long, than in the pompous courts of mighty kings one day to be cormorant ; for he thought if he had the ornaments of the mind, that he was then fair enough, and fine enough also, not needing any more. A certain other philosopher addressed himself towards a king's court in his philosopher's attire, that is, in mean, base, and poor array ; but so soon as the officers espied him, they cried, Away with that rogue ; what doth he so nigh the king's majesty's court ? The poor philosopher, seeing it lighten so fast, retired back, for fear of their thunderclaps, and repairing home, apparelled himself in rich attire, and came again marching towards the court ; he was no sooner in sight but every one received him plausibly, and with great submission and reverence. When he came in presence of the king and other mighty potentates, he, kneeling down, ceased not² to kiss his garments. The king and nobles marveling not a little thereat, asked him wherefore he did so ? who answered, O noble king, it is no marvel,³ for that which my virtue and knowledge could not do, my apparel hath brought to pass ; for I coming to thy gates in my philosopher's weed, was repelled, but having

¹ Note throughout these writings this oft-used word "contemn."

² It seems as though one might almost prove these writings by the unusual placing of this word "not." Notice it throughout, and particularly in the plays.

Promus, 540. (*Take not up what thou layedst not down.* See Luke xix. 21.) Promus, 557. (*Hills meet not.*) Promus, 649. It may rhyme, but it accords not. Promus, 1128. He that outleaps his strength standeth not. Bacon says in a letter to Mr. Mathew in 1609 : "I have sent you some copies of my book of the *Advancement*, which you desired ; and a little work of my reereation, which you desired not. My *Instauration* I reserve for your conference ; it sleeps not." In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 276, we have : "Then, said Mercy, I confess my ignorance ; I spake what I understood not ; I acknowledge that thou doest all things well." In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act v., sc. 2, p. 241, we have : "And yours as blunt as the fencer's foils, which hit, but hurt not."

³ Note the use of the word "marvel" in every phase of these writings.

put upon me this rich attire, I was brought to thy presence with as great veneration and worship as could be."

Referring, subsequent to his troubles, to efforts made to submerge his great life work by the ruin of his name, hereafter to be considered, he in Sonnet 107 alludes to himself as the "mortal moon," and hence the first part of our title to this work; and declares that his thought shall at least live in these masked lines, and thence his monument, though death may "insult o'er dull and speechless tribes"—that is, tribes through dullness in not discerning the true facts, and hence "speechless" as to the honor due his name. He says:

"Not mine own fears, nor the prophetic soul
Of the wide world, dreaming on things to come,
Can yet the lease of my true love control,
Suppos'd as forfeit to a confin'd doom.
The mortal moon hath her eclipse endur'd,
And the sad augurs mock their own presage;
Incertainties now crown themselves assur'd,
And peace proclaims olives of endless age.
Now with the drops of this most balmy time
My love looks fresh, and death to me subscribes;
Since, spite of him, I'll live in this poor rhyme,
While he insults o'er¹ dull and speechless tribes;
And thou in this shalt find thy monument,
When tyrants' crests and tombs of brass are spent."

And see Sonnet 19. To what circumstances in the life of William Shakespeare can the foregoing sonnet be said to allude? In the brief sketch of Lord Bacon's life by his

¹ In the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. ii., p. 325, it is said that "love triumphs, contemns, insults over death itself." Bacon, in speaking of the heavens, makes mention of "the violence and insult of a contrary body." (*Phil. Works*, vol. v., p. 477.) In his expostulatory letter to Coke he says: "As in your pleadings you were wont to insult over misery, and to inveigh bitterly at the persons, which bred you many enemies, whose poison yet swell-eth and the effects now appear, so are you still wont to be a little careless in this point, to praise or disgrace upon slight grounds, and that sometimes untruly; so that your reproofs or commendations are for the most part neglected and contemned; when the censure of a judge, coming slow and sure, should be a brand to the guilty and a crown to the virtuous." (*Works*, vol. ii., p. 486.) In Addison, vol. iii., p. 27, we have: "There are many who take a kind of barbarous pleasure in the jealousy of those who love them, that insult over an aching heart, and triumph in their charms which are able to excite so much uneasiness." This expression "insult over" is also used by Defoe. See note 2, p. 50.

chaplain, Dr. Rawley, though evidently composed chiefly by Bacon himself, we have : “ It may seem the moon had some principal place in the figure of his nativity ; for the moon was never in her passion, or eclipsed, but he was surprised with a sudden fit of fainting ; and that though he observed not nor took any previous knowledge of the eclipse thereof ; and as soon as the eclipse ceased, he was restored to his former strength again.” (Phil. Works, vol. i., p. 17.) Later we may have occasion to refer to the cloaked arrangement of the sonnets.

While in Sonnet 123 he says the records do lie, he still defers them, thus :

“ No ! Time, thou shalt not boast that I do change :
 Thy pyramids, built up with newer might,
 To me are nothing novel, nothing strange ;
 They are but dressings of a former sight.
 Our dates are brief, and therefore we admire
 What thou dost foist upon us that is old,
 And rather make them born to our desire,
 Than think that we before have heard them told.
 Thy registers and thee I both defy,
 Not wondering at the present nor the past ;
 For thy records and what we see do lie,¹
 Made more or less by thy continual haste ;²
 This I do vow, and this shall ever be,—
 I will be true, despite thy scythe and thee.”

And see Sonnet 119, p. 28 of this work.

Bacon sought for himself, for his work, for his love, protection from the injuries of time ; or, as stated in Sonnet 63, from “ confounding age’s cruel knife.” He says :

“ Against my love shall be, as I am now,
 With time’s injurious hand crush’d and o’erworn ;
 When hours have drain’d his blood and fill’d his brow
 With lines and wrinkles ; when his youthful morn
 Hath travell’d on to age’s steepy night ;
 And all those beauties whereof now he’s king,
 Are vanishing or vanish’d out of sight,
 Stealing away the treasure of his spring :—
 For such a time do I now fortify
 Against confounding age’s cruel knife,

¹ And in Sonnet 65 he says :

“ O fearful meditation ! where, alack !
 Shall time’s best jewel from time’s chest lie hid ? ”

² We find Bacon speaking of his “ unhappy slowness ” and of his “ breaking the order of time,” etc.

That he shall never cut from memory
 My sweet love's beauty, though my lover's life :
 His beauty shall in these black lines be seen ;
 And they shall live, and he in them still green."¹

Bacon in his article entitled *Of the Interpretation of Nature* (Works, vol. ii., p. 550), says : " And from the injuries of time² I am almost secure ; but for the injuries of men I am not concerned." And how was he secure ? Had he made provisions in this direction ?

In a letter to his friend Mathew, following his troubles, he says : " It is true my labours are now more set to have those works which I have formerly published, as that of *Advancement of Learning*, that of *Henry VII.*, that of the *Essays*, being retractate and made more perfect, well translated into Latin by the help of some good pens, which forsake me not. For these modern languages will, at one time or other, play the bankruptcy with books ; and since I have lost much time with this age, I would be glad, as God shall give me leave,³ to recover it with posterity."

¹ And see Sonnets 55 and 64. Bacon says : " The monuments of wit survive the monuments of power : the verses of a poet endure without a syllable lost, while states and empires pass many periods." (Bacon's Letters, vol. i., p. 379.)

² And in Addison, vol. vi., p. 684, we have :

" Can neither injuries of time, or age,
 Damp thy poetic heat, or quench thy rage ?
 Not so thy Ovid in his exile wrote,
 Grief chill'd *his* breast, and check'd *his* rising thought ;
 Pensive and sad, his drooping muse betrays
 The Roman genius in its last decays."

³ We would here have the reader particularly note Bacon's suave and oft-used expression "give me leave" and changes rung upon it, as "he gave himself leave," etc. Note it everywhere in this literature, and particularly in the plays. We even find it several times used in *The Pilgrim's Progress*. At p. 311 of that work we have : "For you must give me leave to tell you that I believe it was a good dream ; and that as you have begun to find the first part true, so you shall find the second at last." In the *Winter's Tale*, Act v., sc. 3, p. 136, we have :

" *Per.* And give me leave,
 And do not say 'tis superstition, that
 I kneel, and then implore her blessing."

In Addison, vol. iii., p. 202, we have : " The limits of my paper will not give me leave to be particular in instances of this kind ; the reader will easily remark them in his perusal of the poem."

And he ends the letter thus : " For the great business, God conduct it well. Mine own fortune hath taught me expectation." (Works, vol. iii., p. 151.) Let these sonnets be viewed, please, in the light of Bacon's thoughts touching the Handing on of the Lamp to Posterity.

To Gondomar, subsequent to his fall and on June 6th, 1621 (Works, vol. iii., p. 216), Bacon writes : " Now that at once my age, my fortunes, and my genius, to which I have hitherto done but scarcely justice, call me from the stage of life, I shall devote myself to letters, instruct the actors on it, and serve posterity.¹ In such a course I shall, perhaps, find honour. And I shall thus pass my life as within the verge of a better." In this connection, please, see Sonnets 100, 101, and the close of ch. 3, Book 8 of the *De Augmentis*.

Bacon's intention, early formed, of throwing or shaking a spear at human foibles, combined with the fact that there was then upon the English stage one bearing the name which these two words " shake" and " spear" together make, made it, doubtless, the safest mask by name which he could well have assumed and it still be significant of his purposes in it. And we see no great mystery in this, and certainly not so great a one as to suppose that the untutored Shakespeare should have possessed not merely spontaneous wealth of thought, but concededly the widest and richest vocabulary in the language. Spontaneity, whatever else it may do, will not yield this. Nor will it yield that encyclopædic range of knowledge spread throughout the plays touching Scripture, history, geography, law, literature, art, science, and philosophy, to say nothing as to that displayed concerning the customs of courts of princes.

Richard Grant White concerning Shakespeare says : " The entire range of human knowledge must be laid under contribution to illustrate his writings." Are we, then, to believe that the plays are centred in miracle?

Bacon sought a mask : 1. That he might be free in his utterances. 2. Being the son of a noted English chancellor, he did not wish to be known as a playwright. And is there any mystery here?

¹ Did he instruct the actors? yea, did he prepare their parts? We shall see.

Read the introduction to the Anatomy of Melancholy as to the reasons for assuming a mask. The spear here thrown, as also in the plays, made a mask necessary to him. On p. 112 of that work it is said: "Object then and cavil what thou wilt, I ward all with Democritus buckler; his medicine shall salve¹ it; strike where thou wilt and when: *Democritus dixit*; Democritus will answer all."

But the chief mystery seems to be that Bacon's own age should not generally have been cognizant of these facts, and that he should have been willing to die without disclosing them. There were, indeed, those of his own day who believed him to be the author of the plays, but they could not prove it, and what particular inducement had they to try, more than if the same were to take place as to some author of our own day? The secret organization or company through which Bacon operated, and through which the Phoenix First Folio of 1623 was doubtless put forth (and under Bacon's own eye, as we shall claim), fell probably within the mask, and hence the ease of concealment.² We may thus see how so many important changes and additions to the plays found in the Great First Folio, and not found in them as originally written, as well as important matter stricken therefrom, came about.

We will not say that the following lines from the Defoe History of the Devil, p. 502, point to the mask, but will submit them for the reader's consideration.

"In short, it would make a merry world among us if we could but enter upon some proper method of such discriminations; but Lawr'd what a hurricane would it raise, if like —, who they say scourged the Devil so often that

¹ Already have we alluded to Bacon's use of the words "salve" and "plaster" as figures of speech. He says: "And it is not your interlacing of your 'God forbid' that will salve these seditious speeches; neither could it be a forewarning, because the matter was past and not revokable; but a very stirring up and incensing of the people." (Bacon's Letters, vol. v., p. 145.) Addison, vol. v., p. 239, says: "I am not unaware that it will be said that the frequent extinctions of families will salve this inconvenience, and make room for the rewarding of merit." In the A. D. B. Mask, p. 21, we have the expression "sovereign cure;" and in the Venus and Adonis, "Earth's sovereign salve to do a goddess good."

² Even the Masonic institution has been thought by some to have been co-ordinated or revived by Bacon from out the records of the past.

he durst not come near him in any shape whatever, we could find some new method out to make the Devil unmask ; like the angel Uriel, who, Mr. Milton says, had an enchanted spear, with which if he did but touch the Devil, in whatever disguise he had put on, it obliged him immediately to start up and show himself in his true original shape, mere Devil as he was.

"This would do nicely, and as I, who am originally a projector,¹ have spent some time upon this study, and doubt not in a little time to finish my engine, which I am contriving, to screw the Devil out of everybody, or anybody, I question not when I have brought it to perfection but I shall make most excellent discoveries by it ; and besides the many extraordinary advantages of it to human society, I doubt not but it will make good sport in the world, too ; therefore, when I publish my proposals, and divide it into shares, as other less useful projects have been done, I question not for all the severe act lately passed against bubbles, but I shall get subscribers enough," etc.

Do "the several acts" here alluded to relate to some of the known acts of Queen Elizabeth against actors ? As to dividing the enterprise into shares, Charles Reade in his work entitled "The Tenth Commandment," in presenting the question of remuneration for dramatic literary work, as between the paid authors and the sharing authors, at page 182 says : "These did not write so well as the sharers ; it was not in nature they should ; and the above

¹ The words "project" and "engine," as here used, will be found constant words in every phase of these writings. And they will be found to be somewhat distinctively used. Note the word "engine" in our quotation from *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 69, and note the oft use of the word "project" in the plays. In *The Tempest*, Act v., sc. 1, p. 91, we have:

Pro. Now does my project gather to a head :
My charms crack not ; my spirits obey ; and time
Goes upright with his carriage."

And in the "Epilogue" to the play we have :

"Gentle breath of yours my sails
Must fill, or else my project fails,
Which was to please."

This was an oft-used word by Bacon, and he even refers to his Great Instauration as a project. (*Phil. Works*, vol. iv., p. 8.)

was not bad pay for their crude and hasty though talented compositions. Shakespeare avoided that trap. He was paid from the first as the French dramatists are paid now—viz., by a share in the receipts in the house. And he wrote his best, because that system made it a man's interest to write his best."

From the mentioned History of the Devil, p. 458, we further quote :

"We find the Devil is a true posture-master : he assumes any dress, appears in any shape, counterfeits every voice, acts upon every stage ; here he wears a gown, there a long robe ; here he wears the jack-boots, there the small sword ; is here an enthusiast, there a buffoon ; on this side he acts the mountebank, on that side the merry-andrew ; nothing comes amiss to him, from the Great Mogul to the scaramouch ; the Devil is in them, more or less, and plays his game so well, that he makes sure work with them all : he knows where the common foible lies, which is universal passion, what handle¹ to take hold of every man by, and how to cultivate his interest, so as not to fail of his end or mistake the means."

Queries have existed as to why Lord Bacon failed to elaborate some system of metaphysics. It will, however, be found that he marked off metaphysics from the realm of philosophy, and caused it to be enacted in its subtleties before the eyes of men, instead of theorizing about it. And he here manifests as subtle watchfulness for objective material change and appearances, for the forms and shows of motives, in his sense of the idols of the den, of the tribe, of the market, and of the theatre, as for mere material

¹ We would have the reader particularly note this distinctively used Baconian word "handle," as we shall later have occasion to call it under review in connection with his treatment of the subject of memory ; and here quote him as follows : "It deceives, secondly, in respect of that principle of nature, that the decay of one thing is the generation of another ; so that the degree of extreme privation is sometimes of less disadvantage, because it gives a handle and stimulus to some new course." (Phil. Works, vol. iv., p. 466.) And in Addison, vol. ii., p. 255, we have : "This I know will be matter of great raillery to the small wits ; who will frequently put me in mind of my promise, desire me to keep my word, assure me that it is high time to give over, with many other pleasantries of the like nature, which men of a little smart genius cannot forbear throwing out against their best friends, when they have such a handle given them of being witty."

effects in the realm of physics.¹ He nowhere in his writings merely theorizes or speculates, but he ever sought in effects for fruit.

The mentioned idols of the den we often find covertly alluded to in the plays. In *Romeo and Juliet*, Act ii., sc. 4, p. 82, we have :

- “ *Nurse*. God ye good morrow, gentlemen.
 “ *Mer*. God ye good den, fair gentle woman.
 “ *Nurse*. Is it good den ?”

In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act v., sc. 1, p. 229, we have :

- “ *Ant*. Here comes the prince, and Claudio, hastily.
 “ *D. Pedro*. Good den, good den.
 “ *Claud*. Good day to both of you.”

In *Love's Labor's Lost*, Act iv., sc. 1, p. 405, we have :

- “ *Prin*. Here comes a member of the commonwealth.
 “ *Cost*. God dig-you-den all !”

Our Shakespeare commentators, for want of a better clew to this word “den,” tell us that it must in some places in the plays mean “day” and in other places “even ;” as, God give ye good day, and God give ye good even. We must claim to the reader, however, that this is a Baconian word, and alludes in its distinct Baconian sense to his idols or errors of the den, and the expression to mean, God give ye a good inner state of heart, life, mind, etc.

The expression in the last example, “God dig-you-den all,” Hudson says is “a corruption of God give ye good even.” But the meaning which we draw from the words is, that the corrupt den of them all needs to be dug or renovated. As between these interpretations the reader must judge.

¹ Bacon says : “ Knowledge of men may be derived and obtained in six ways : by their countenances and expressions, their words, their actions, their dispositions, their ends and, lastly, by the reports of others. With regard to the countenance, be not influenced by the old adage, ‘ Trust not a man's face ;’ for though this may not be wrongly said of the general outward carriage of the face and action, yet there are some more subtle motions and labours of the eyes, mouth, countenance, and gesture by which (as Q. Cicero elegantly expressed it), the ‘ door of the mind ’ is unlocked and opened.” (*De Augmentis*, ch. ii., Book 8.)

Concerning metaphysics, Bacon, in his already mentioned letter at p. 64, says :

“ I have read your letter with pleasure ; and since between lovers of truth ardour begets candour, I will return to your ingenious questions an ingenious reply.

“ I do not propose to give up syllogism altogether. Syllogism is incompetent for the principal things rather than useless for the generality.

“ In the mathematics there is no reason why it should not be employed. It is the flux of matter and the inconstancy of the physical body which requires Induction ; that thereby it may be fixed, as it were, and allowed the formation of notions well defined.

“ Be not troubled about Metaphysics.¹ When true Physics have been discovered, there will be no Metaphysics. Beyond the true Physics is divinity only.”²

And so in Aph. 127, Book 1 of the *Novum Organum* he says : “ And as common logic, which regulates matters by syllogisms, is applied not only to natural, but also to every other science, so our inductive method likewise comprehends them all. For we form a history and tables of invention for anger, fear, shame, and the like, and also for examples in civil life, and the mental operations of memory, composition, division, judgment, and the rest, as well as for heat and cold, light, vegetation, and the like. But since our method of interpretation, after preparing and arranging a history, does not content itself with examining the operations and disquisitions of the mind like common logic, but also inspects the nature of things, we so regulate the mind that it may be enabled to apply itself in every respect correctly to that nature. On that account we deliver numerous and various precepts in our doctrine of interpretation, so that they may apply in some measure to the method of discovering the quality and condition of the subject-matter of investigation.”

Here, as in many places in his writings, we are reminded that there are no common grounds even for comparison between Bacon's tabular methods and those extant, his

¹ Swift says : “ With regard to metaphysics, they look upon the entire subject as the baseless fabric of a vision.” (*Gulliver's Travels*, p. 125.)

² And so, again, may we see why Bacon had not words for mental, and others for material things.

being, as it were, mechanical, and grounded, not upon speculative thoughts or theories of logic, but wholly upon material changes as viewed through his system. Concerning other systems he says : " And, besides, so many and so vast are the troops¹ of errors which present themselves, that we must overthrow and dislodge them, not in close detail but in mass ; and if we would draw near unto them, and try conclusions, hand to hand with each of them individually, it were in vain ; the rule of all reasoning be set aside, differing as we do from them in our principles, and repudiating as we do the very forms and authority of their proofs and demonstrations." (Works, vol. ii., p. 556.)

From the foregoing it will appear why Bacon elaborated no separate treatise upon metaphysics. Instead of theorizing about what is in man, he, in his Shakespeare mask, held forth a true anatomy of, and enacted even in their very eyes, their most subtle passions and emotions, and this done with the particular aim of showing vigorously the outcome and end of bad motives ; and thus to lead men, as by sight, to realize and hence to shun them.

And thus did he in " a despised weed " procure the good of all men ; yea, and will for the ages yet to be. And this field of work, the real drama, and the reformation of the English stage, was doubtless intended to be included in our Head-light—" For I have taken all knowledge to be my providence."

In this way he read not merely to his age, but to the ages ; and not merely lessons in history or in the lives of English kings, but, as in Hamlet, the lesson of misgoverned sex ; in the Merchant, the lesson of greed ; in Lear, the lesson of ingratitude ; in Macbeth, the lesson of o'erweaning ambition ; in Romeo and Juliet, the outcome and end of violent party feuds ; in Othello, the lesson of jealousy

¹ This unusual use of the word " troops " is distinctly Baconian, and we find him using the expressions " troops of effects," " troops of fiction," " troops of fairies," etc. And in his Philosophical Works, vol. iv., p. 29, we have : " For I well know that axioms once rightly discovered will carry whole troops of works along with them, not here and there one, but in clusters." In Addison, vol. vi., p. 608, we have the expression " troop of forms," and on p. 612 " troop of commentators." And in Macbeth, Act v., sc. 3, p. 333, we have :

" And that which should accompany old age,
As honour, love, obedience, troops of friends,
I must not look to have."

awakened and fed by extrinsic evil influences, to the overthrow of noble natures, and thus to the end. And the full end being the good of men, we do find him in high terms commending, in some of the sonnets, his own mask, and this though things had greatly changed since his assuming it, and though fulsome praise was thereby to fall, not merely upon it, but upon the person of William Shakespeare as well ; and who had now, as we judge, the Lord Bacon somewhat in his power. See at least Sonnets 133 and 134 and the poem entitled *The Phoenix and the Turtle*, with which the Shakespeare writings are brought to conclusion.

Bacon would not now, by claiming these writings, permit the stain put upon his name to fall upon his mask ; and so in one of the introductory poems to the plays we have :

“ To draw no envy, Shakespeare, on thy name,
Am I thus ample to thy book and fame :
While I confess thy writings to be such
As neither man, nor muse, can praise too much :
'Tis true, and all men's suffrage. But these ways
Were not the paths I meant unto thy praise :
For silliest ignorance on these may light,
Which, when it sounds at best, but echoes right ;
Or blind affection, which doth ne'er advance
The truth, but gropes, and urgeth all by chance ;
Or crafty malice might pretend this praise,
And think to ruin, where it seem'd to raise :
These are, as some infamous bawd, or whore
Should praise a matron : what would hurt her more ?
But thou art proof against them ; and, indeed,
Above the ill fortune of them, or the need.”

And see Sonnets 36, 37, 38, and 39.

Though this poem is accredited to Ben Jonson, we still regard all of the poems introductory to the plays as framed at least by Lord Bacon himself. The issue of the *Phoenix First Folio* was, we judge, under his entire supervision.

And so in the *Anatomy of Abuses* we have painted forth man's abuses in externals, as in apparel, habits, customs, etc.; in the *Anatomy of Melancholy* we find anatomized his inward state by nature ; in the *Defoe History of the Devil*, the spirit of evil as the cause of that state ; in the plays we find presented the state and cause conjoined in operation upon the living stage ; while in the *Philosophical Writings* we find the plaster or remedy. In the mentioned works of *Roxana*, *Moll Flanders*, *Captain Jack*, and

others may be found displayed the working of passions amid relations too slow for the real drama, and which may have served somewhat as scaffolding thereto.

In Aph. 124, Book 1 of the *Novum Organum* Bacon says : "For we are founding a real model of the world in the understanding, such as it is found to be, not such as man's reason has distorted. Now this cannot be done without dissecting and anatomizing the world most diligently ; but we declare it necessary to destroy completely the vain little, and as it were apish imitations of the world, which have been formed in various systems of philosophy by men's fancies."

But again, if Shakespeare be not the real author of the writings attributed to him, is it not more than likely that they contain specific indications in this direction? In Sonnet 81 we may find the answer ; and wherein it is said that two persons are concerned in them, that one is to have all of the honor, and the other is to have but a common grave ; and that it is the pen of the one who is to have but the common grave, that has made the monument for the other, and this whether or not he shall live to make his epitaph. He says :

"Or I shall live your epitaph to make,
Or you survive when I in earth am rotten ;
From hence your memory death cannot take,
Although in me each part will be forgotten.
Your name from hence immortal life shall have,
Although I, once gone, to all the world must die :
The earth can yield me but a common grave,
When you entombed in men's eyes shall lie.
Your monument shall be my gentle verse,
Which eyes not yet created shall o'er-read ;
And tongues to be your being shall rehearse,
When all the breathers of this world are dead ;
You still shall live (such virtue hath my pen)
Where breath most breathes, even in the mouths of men."

Who did frame Shakespeare's question suggesting epitaph? Who did frame the question suggesting sign erected at Stratford? From an admirable article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July, 1861, "On Sun-Painting and Sun-Sculpture," we quote : "The cracked and faded sign projects as we remember it of old. In No. 1 you may read 'The Immortal. HAKESpere . . . Born in This House' about as well as if you had been to the trouble and expense of going there."

Through Bacon's troubles, his right of sepulchre was shorn away, and so in Sonnet 68, and where the days of Elizabeth are brought into contrast, we think, with those of James the First, he says :

“ Thus in his cheek the map of days outworn,
When beauty liv'd and died as flowers do now,
Before these bastard signs of fair were born,
Or durst inhabit on a living brow ;
Before the golden tresses of the dead,
The right of sepulchres, were shorn away,¹
To live a second life on second head,
Ere beauty's dead fleece made another gay.
In him those holy antique hours are seen,
Without all ornament, itself, and true,
Making no summer of another's green,
Robbing no old to dress his beauty new ;
And him as for a map doth Nature store,
To show false Art what beauty was of yore.”²

Whatever affected deeply the keen sensitive life of Lord Bacon may be found reflected in the sonnets. They are the curiously wrought keys by the study of which we may find reflected his inmost feelings. His pen here was often as subtle as in portions of his philosophy. It should be remembered, however, that the sonnets, whoever may have been their author, were not written consecutively. They are fragmentary, having been produced at different periods during the life of their author, and hence they are the outcome of different occasions and emotions, as we shall see as we advance. Lord Bacon possessed an abiding faith that the ages to come would do him justice, and so they will, as the light of new developments shall make for or against him ; and whatever conclusions may be reached as to elements of strength or weakness in his private character, we must look further and deeper than did Macaulay if we would arrive at truth.

In his fall, whatever may have been his personal losses, the world has been most richly blessed in the leisure which it brought, not merely to new literary work, but to that which otherwise would have been as good as lost. It likewise furnished forth the coloring for his great concluding drama, *The Tempest*.

¹ Promus, 1076 : (The loss of a tomb is easy [to bear].)

² This “ second life on second head ” will fall later under review.

RELATIONAL FACTS.

THE period falling within the general scope of this work may be said to extend through many reigns of English history, beginning with the birth of Sir Francis Bacon, January 22d, 1561, and ending with the death of Defoe, April 26th, 1731, a period of one hundred and seventy years.

Events immediately preceding and influencing this period, as well as a kind of relational survey of it, to the end of the reign of James the First, will be now made. Queen Elizabeth, in the third year of whose reign Lord Bacon was born, was a daughter of Henry the Eighth, under whom, in 1534, began the great Church reformation in England by his abjuring the Pope or ecclesiastical power of Rome, then supreme over all of the powers of the earth, and announcing himself as the head of all ecclesiastical power in England ; in other words, as now head of the English Church. This step by Henry was due chiefly to the fact of his excommunication in consequence of his divorce, without the Pope's consent, of his first, and then wife, Catherine of Aragon, a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, and his marriage with Anne Boleyn, the mother of Elizabeth, rather than from any special desire upon his part for church reform. He had, indeed, to this time been a zealous advocate of the Roman faith, and by the writing of a book against the then but opening doctrines of the Reformation had received from the Church of Rome the title of " Defender of the Faith." The mentioned event thus furnished but the rending or breach, so to speak, for the development of the then advancing thought, first initiated in 1517 by Martin Luther, Professor of the University of Wittenberg, in Germany, by his sermons and writings against abuses of the Roman Church in its granting, under the then new Pope, Leo X.

of what was known as the sale of indulgences, and which led to the opening of questions at first unaimed at.

Upon the mentioned breach with Rome the monasteries and nunneries in England were all suppressed or swept away, and the monastic property, amounting to more than a million of dollars, was given to the Crown. In the fall of the monasteries, the schools of England, and which were connected with them, shared their fate. And in 1549, carefully compiled from the old service books, appeared the first English Prayer-Book, concerning which great dissensions arose, as we shall see. It was adopted by an act which prohibited, under heavy penalties, all other forms of devotion, and was known as the Act of Uniformity.

Henry the Eighth was fruit of a marriage between the White and Red Rose, otherwise known in English history for several generations as the contending houses of York and Lancaster, his father, Henry the Seventh, being an illegitimate branch of the House of Lancaster, and his mother, a daughter of Edward the Fourth, being of the House of York. By this union, coupled with the fact of the prior defeat of the House of York, in the person of Richard the Third, on Bosworth Field by Henry the Seventh, in 1485, these great factions in England had become somewhat harmonized before the mentioned outbreak with Rome. Through the craft and covetousness of Henry the Seventh, together with the now proceeds of the monastic property, England had a full treasury. Not only this, but Henry the Eighth was the first king of unquestioned title since the reign of Richard the Second.

Prior to the death of Henry the Eighth, and which occurred in 1547, and but fourteen years prior to the birth of Lord Bacon, he by will, under the sanction of, and by a statute of Parliament known as the 'Thirty-five of Henry the Eighth, provided that the succession should fall upon his three children by different wives in the following order : First upon his son Edward, by his third wife, Jane Seymour ; then upon Mary, by his first wife, Catherine of Aragon ; then Elizabeth, by his second wife, Anne Boleyn. And as Henry the Seventh was the first, so was Elizabeth the last of the Tudor kings, this line having been spent in one generation and three successions without issue. The male line thus failing upon Elizabeth's death, entitled James the Sixth of Scotland to the throne as James the

First of England, he being directly descended of a marriage between Margaret, the eldest sister of Henry the Eighth, with the Scotch King James the Fourth. By this marriage the design of Henry the Seventh—the union of the two crowns of England and Scotland—was finally accomplished and without confusion. During his reign and in 1492 America was discovered, his reign having begun in 1485 and ended by his death, in 1509, and which event brought Henry the Eighth to the throne as stated. Under his son Edward, known in history as Edward the Sixth, the principles of the Reformation became somewhat securely rested or fixed, the father, Henry the Eighth, having done little more than to withdraw his kingdom from Papal authority. He himself still retained substantially the views of the ancient Church—the Church of Rome.

Upon the accession of Mary, however, unpleasantly known in history as Bloody Mary, terror was brought to the reforming party. She had become an avowed Catholic, and early in her reign became wedded to the Catholic prince, Philip the Second, the son, and on January 16th, 1556, successor of that powerful monarch Charles the Fifth of Spain, and who was head of the Catholic party in Europe; and thus was England returned to Catholic rule and to the terrible persecutions that followed.

At his accession Philip became King of Spain, Naples, and Sicily, Duke of Milan, Lord of Franche Comte and the Netherlands, Ruler of Tunis and the Barbary coast, the Canaries and Cape de Verd Islands, the Philippines and Spice Islands, large colonies in the West Indies, and vast territories in Mexico and Peru.

As applied merely to England, it was during Mary's reign that the great battle between Romanism and Protestantism was fought out, more than eight hundred victims having been burned to the stake, the effect of which but the more rapidly ripened the Protestant cause.

But Mary's reign was short, as had been Edward's, he having reigned but six and she five years. Upon Mary's death, in 1558, Elizabeth, at the age of twenty-five years, ascended the English throne, to the great comfort and satisfaction of the reforming party. During the reign of her sister her life had been much in jeopardy, but was preserved by concealment of her real convictions, and by con-

forming outwardly to the views and forms of the ancient Church. Upon her accession, however, she began the re-establishment of the Reformed or Protestant faith, at once setting free those who had been banished or imprisoned for their religious opinions, and her first Parliament, in 1559, again established the supremacy of the crown in ecclesiastical matters, and gave the Church of England its present form. The Book of Common Prayer, used in the reign of her brother, Edward the Sixth, with some alterations, was adopted and ordered to be read in all the churches. Ecclesiastical dignitaries, including the bishops, declined generally to take part in her coronation, and now refused to take the oath of supremacy. They were removed, and the Episcopal sees were filled with those ready to support the Reformed faith, and Parker became Archbishop of Canterbury. While all were required to attend the Established Church, there was no longer search made, as formerly, into men's opinions, with the view of punishing particular forms of belief, though heavy fines were imposed either for non-attendance at church, or for celebrating mass, and all Jesuits and persons trying to win over any to the Roman faith were treated as guilty of treason. While many conformed to the new laws, rules, and order of things, from mere worldly motives, many more, even among Protestants, could not conscientiously do so. Among these were those who were desirous—as was Lord Bacon, though he stood by the Established Church—of restoring what they thought to be the worship of the first century after Christ, and who became known as Puritans. These views had been brought from abroad by English exiles during the reign of Queen Mary. They sought to press their acceptance upon the English Church; but all Protestants who, for whatever cause, did not conform willingly to the new faith, the faith of the Church of England, were called Dissenters or Nonconformists. The Catholics, on the other hand, as a party, constituted a powerful opposition, and the whole of this and the next reign—the reign of James the First—was an almost uninterrupted struggle with these factions—the Church party, the Nonconformists, and the Catholics. And the earliest papers put forth by Defoe were upon these questions, as we shall find when we come to that branch of our subject.

Thus, by these but touched-upon events, may be seen

the breach between mediæval and modern times ; the breaking up of the old and the violent birth of the new. And as there must ever be a physical rending, so to speak, before the influential can go forward, so in the doings of Henry the Eighth may be seen that mere rending which aided the Reformation, as well Italian and German, as in England, to move to its birth, but in which Henry's ends were but his own personal desires and will.

To the time of Henry the Eighth the Pope had assumed to himself all power, both spiritual and temporal, over all of the kingdoms of the world, and he proclaimed and his adherents avowed the doctrine of his infallibility ; and the world was thus awed into obedience.

Following close upon such times, under such influences, and three years prior to the birth of Galileo and thirty-five prior to that of Descartes, was Lord Bacon born, at London, January 22d, 1561, at York House in the Strand, not then a street.

Upon Elizabeth's death, in 1603, after forty-five years of the most brilliant of the reigns of English history, James the Sixth of Scotland came to the throne as James the First of England, as already stated, and his reign continued twenty-two years and until his death, March 27, 1625. Lord Bacon is said to have died the year following.

The reign of James the First, and who was the first of the House of Stuarts, was followed by that of his son, Charles the First, twenty-four years, and whose head was brought to the block January 30, 1649. He left two sons, who ultimately as Charles the Second and James the Second came to the throne. But now followed the Long Parliament, four years ; Cromwell, five years ; his son Richard, two years, and until the restoration of the monarchy under the mentioned Charles the Second on April 25th, 1660, and whose reign continued twenty-five years, during the second year of which, and in 1661, both Harley and Defoe were born. During this reign The Pilgrim's Progress first appeared. Then came the Catholic prince, James the Second, four years, and until the Revolution of 1688 ; then William and Mary, twelve years ; then Anne, the last of the House of Stuarts, twelve years, and under whom was finally effected the union of laws between England and Scotland, they having, until this time, been but united in their crowns, as we shall see ; then came George the

First, the first of the House of Hanover, thirteen years ; then George the Second, thirty-three years, and whose reign ended in 1760. Defoe died in 1731, in the fourth year of this reign, at which time our period ends.

These briefly stated facts will as way-marks aid our investigation, and may give the reader a kind of general survey of the period falling within it. That portion of the period following the reign of James the First, as well as the later portion of that reign, embraces a very intriguing and desultory portion of English history.

Events following this reign will, however, be considered only in connection with the life of Defoe.

It should be here carefully noted by the reader, that prior to the Reformation, the spiritual and educational interests, not only of England, but of the world, were under the dictation of Rome, and that literary acquirements were confined almost wholly to the clergy. During the reign of Henry the Eighth, as well as of his son, Edward the Sixth, one who could not read Greek and Latin could read nothing or next to nothing. The entire books written in the vernacular during this period could, it is said, be placed on a single shelf of a gentleman's library, so few were they in number. The Latin was the language of the court, of diplomacy, and of the schools, as well as of theological speculations and controversies. This was but eleven years prior to the birth of William Shakespeare, Edward having died July 6th, 1553, and Shakespeare born April 23d, 1564.

But the Reformation initiated politically and in every way a new order of things. The nobles ceased now to be military chieftains with kept retinues to assist them in their feuds or wars. Priests ceased to possess a monopoly of learning, and in their stead there arose cautious, discreet, and learned politicians, made discreet and cautious by the general ferment and terrible persecutions which followed that event. The growing tendencies to secrecy and ciphers need not, therefore, be wondered at during and immediately following this transition period. These men have been truly called the first race of English statesmen, prominent among whom were Sir William Cecil—in other words, Lord Burghley, the mentioned uncle, and Sir Nicholas Bacon, the father of him concerning whose life and doings we purpose investigation. The

father, Sir Nicholas Bacon, as lord keeper, held the great seal of England during the first twenty years of Queen Elizabeth's reign and until his death, in 1579. As a statesman he is said to have been remarkable for clear thought and wise counsel. He was knighted early in Elizabeth's reign, and at the same time was made one of her privy council, and had, it is said, a considerable share in the settlement of ecclesiastical questions. He was born at Chislehurst, in Kent, in 1510, and so prior to the mentioned investigations by Luther. He was educated at Cambridge, one of England's two great national seats of learning, and where he afterward educated his sons, Anthony and Francis, and in which, as opposed to Oxford, were educated those statesmen to whom is chiefly due the secure establishment of the Reformed faith.

After leaving the university, he, as did later his son Francis, travelled for a time in France, where he made some considerable stay at Paris. Upon his return he settled at Gray's Inn, and applying himself to the law, soon gained distinction, and at the age of thirty-seven, in the last year of the reign of Henry the Eighth, he was appointed to the office of the court of wards, in which office he was continued by Edward the Sixth.

In 1552 he was elected treasurer of Gray's Inn. Earlier and upon the dissolution of the monastery of St. Edmundsbury, in Suffolk, in 1545, he received a grant of several manors from the king. During the dangerous reign of Queen Mary he exercised much prudence and moderation, and became, as stated, Elizabeth's first lord keeper, having succeeded Sir Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York.

During his term of office he, on one occasion, provoked the royal displeasure, was deprived of his seat at the council table, and it was even thought to deprive him of the seal. It arose from the thought that he had assisted Hales, the clerk of the hanaper, in his book on the succession, published in 1564, in which Hales sought, following the reign of Elizabeth, to sustain the claims to the crown of Lady Catherine Grey, second sister of Lady Jane Grey, who was a claimant at the death of Edward the Sixth, though he opposed those of Mary Queen of Scots, whom the Catholic party regarded as lawfully entitled to the crown instead of Elizabeth ; Elizabeth under their claims being illegitimate

by reason of the nullity of her father's divorce from Catherine of Aragon without the Pope's consent, as already mentioned, and for whose destruction they are said in various ways to have plotted during her reign. The mentioned Scotch Queen Mary was a daughter of James the Fifth of Scotland, who was fruit of the already alluded-to marriage between the eldest sister of Henry the Eighth and James the Fourth of Scotland, and from which marriage have sprung all the sovereigns of Great Britain following the reign of Elizabeth to the accession of George the First, in 1714, since which the House of Hanover has ruled to the present time. By her maternal uncles, residing in France, as well as by the King of France, where she had been educated in the Catholic faith, she had early in the reign of Elizabeth been induced to assume the arms and title of Queen of England, as well as of Scotland, and in opposition to the succession fixed by consent of Parliament upon the heirs of Henry the Eighth, as mentioned, and reaffirmed by Parliament as to Elizabeth at her accession ; and thus may be seen the relation of the Queen of Scots to the times.

Upon the opening of Parliament in 1571 Sir Nicholas Bacon, as lord keeper, made a somewhat eloquent speech, wherein he commented upon the past blessing of the queen, the setting at liberty of God's Word, the deliverance from Roman tyranny, the inestimable benefits of peace, and the clemency of the government. That this peace had been disturbed he imputed to Roman interference, and this is made the prelude to the first statute of the session, and which made it treason to set forth that the queen ought not to possess the crown, but some other person, or to affirm that she is a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usuper. Another clause of the act was even more particularly directed against the Queen of Scots, enacting that all persons of any degree, nature, or estate who during the queen's life should claim title to the crown should be disabled from inheriting the same, and that any claiming the right of succession contrary to any proclamation in the matter that might be issued by the queen should be declared guilty of high treason.

The strange, if not criminal conduct of the Queen of Scots, concerning the death of her husband, and otherwise, had so exasperated the opposition of her Protestant nobles

that she in 1567 was compelled to resign her crown of Scotland in favor of her infant son, James, who, as stated, thus became James the Sixth of Scotland, and following the death of Elizabeth, James the First of England. She had been twice married, first to the Dolphin of France and later to her profligate cousin, Lord Darnley, the father of James. Following her resignation and some ten months' imprisonment she made her escape, and having gathered a force of some six thousand men, she was defeated, and fled into England for protection, and where for many years she was held in custody by reason (1) of alleged crimes; (2) because any extended protection would, it was thought, be regarded by Scotland as an espousal of her cause; and (3) doubtless by reason of fear from her alleged claims to the crown of England.

The wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon by a second marriage and mother of Francis was one of the accomplished daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, a man of distinguished learning, who had been tutor of Edward the Sixth, and who was deep in the mysteries of the reforming party. Mildred, her sister, was wife to Lord Burghley, also by a second marriage, and thus was Burghley uncle to Sir Francis Bacon.

Anne, his mother, a stanch Puritan, was distinguished both as a linguist and as a theologian. She was not only an accomplished Greek and Latin scholar, but employed much time in the translation of different works. Bishop Jewel's great work, which stated the then theology of the Church of England, as against the Roman faith, and entitled *The Apology*, was translated by her, and it is said with great exactness. Being interested in the works of Bernardino Ochino, an Italian reformer, she translated from the Tuscan a series of his sermons on fate and free will. Ochino was anathematized alike by Wittenberg, Geneva, Zurich, and Rome, from which the Socinian sect derived its origin. Note the mention of the word Wittenberg in the play of Hamlet. This work upon the writings of Ochino is somewhat suggestive, in many ways, in the light of work afterward performed by her illustrious son.

Ochino was born at Siena in 1447, and died in 1564. For a more particular description than we may here give, see *Britannica*. Somewhat late in life he, from persecution, found an asylum in England, where he not only re-

ceived a pension from the privy purse of Edward the Sixth, but was made a prebendary of Canterbury, and here composed his capital work entitled *The Tragedy*.

The English stage at this period may be said to have been but in its infancy. The plays attributed to Shakespeare, whoever may have been their author, had not as yet been conceived, nor had the real drama yet matured. The moral plays had but taken the place of the miracle plays in the reign of Edward the Sixth. They were performed by persons representing qualities such as virtue, vice, etc.

The mentioned production by Ochino was written in Latin, and is said to be extant only in the translation of Bishop Ponet. It took form as a series of dialogues, and is said to be highly dramatic, and to bear so remarkable a resemblance to Milton's *Paradise Lost* that it is thought Milton, who is said to have sympathized with the Italian reformers, must have had acquaintance with it.

In plot it is as follows : Lucifer, enraged at the spread of Christ's kingdom, convokes the fiends in counsel, and resolves to set up the Pope as Antichrist. The state, represented by Phocas,¹ the Emperor of the East from 602 to

¹ In the introductory matter to the A. D. B. Mask we have : " The opinion, therefore, of Lucan we utterly dislike and repudiate as most absurd :

" Depart from Court, if thou wilt pious be
Goodness and Greatness will not, there, agree.

" It is a flash, a gew-gaw, a mere frivolous trifle, unless we have respect only to those Monsters of men Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Julian the Apostate, Phocas, and such like firebrands of fury, and patrons of impiety ; Never casting our eyes upon, nor rightly recogitating the most noble and renowned actions of those truly pious and prudent Courtiers, the most profitable and comfortable organs and instruments both of Church and Commonwealth ; in the number of whom I may first rank the most pious Patriarch Joseph, who at Court became the Prince and prime of all his Brethren, the Establisher of his people—yea, the very Basis, and (under God) the Atlas of his Nation ; to *whom* I add Moses, Abdias, David, Daniel, and Mordocai, who, with great prudence and providence, having waded through and vanquished the various storms and jeopardous casualties of the turbulent sea (as I may so say) of the court ; have even therein most gloriously achieved the eminent and ever permanent renown and excellency of virtue, wit, dignity, and perfect piety—yea, and have shown themselves the main props and pillars of the Church of God, and their Weal-public." In this quotation note the Baconian use of the words " providence" and " Atlas," and found in our mentioned Head-light.

610, is persuaded to connive at the Pope's assumption of spiritual authority. The other churches are intimidated into acquiescence, and Lucifer's projects seem fully accomplished when Heaven raised up Henry the Eighth and his son for their overthrow.

Upon the accession of Mary, Ochino was driven from England. His work entitled *The Labyrinth* is said to be among the most important of his works, and is a discussion upon the freedom of the will, and in which Calvin's doctrine of predestination is covertly assailed. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, in the *Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe*, in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, in *Hamlet*, and, in fact, in all of the works under review where occasion presents, the tangled doctrine of predestination is most carefully and adroitly touched upon. In *Hamlet*, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 291, we have :

" But, orderly to end where I begun,—¹
Our wills and fates do so contrary run,
That our devices still are overthrown ;
Our thoughts are ours, their ends none of our own :²

Bacon entitled the fourth part of his *Great Instauration* the "Scaling Ladder of the Intellect ; or, Thread of the Labyrinth."

In 1563 Ochino's *Thirty Dialogues* were published, whereupon a storm of obloquy burst upon him, from which he was never able to recover. It was claimed that in one of these he justified polygamy under the color of a pretended refutation. His dialogue on *Divorce* was also held obnoxious, as were those upon the Trinity. No ex-

¹ This distinctive expression "to end where I begun" was Baconian, and in the *De Augmentis*, ch. 2, book 8, he says : "For he must have a lucky and a happy genius to guide him who shall attempt to make the axioms of sciences convertible, and shall not withal make them circular, or returning into themselves."

² And in the same play, Act v., sc. 2, p. 369, we have :

"*Hor.* If your mind dislike any thing, obey it : I will forestal their repair hither, and say you are not fit.

"*Ham.* Not a whit, we defy augury : there is a special providence in the fall of a sparrow. If it be now, 'tis not to come ; if it be not to come, it will be now ; if it be not now, yet it will come : the readiness is all. Since no man of aught he leaves knows, what is't to leave betimes ? Let be."

In early years Bacon was unquestionably a close reader of Calvin, who manifested a considerable interest, at one time, in Ochino.

planations were permitted, and he, then at Zurich, was obliged to take refuge in flight, and he seems no longer to have been sustained anywhere.

These works are thought to have had an influence upon Milton. We think them to have had an early influence upon Bacon, and figured forth in his Bunyan's Holy War, his Defoe's History of the Devil, Conjugal Lewdness, Roxana, Moll Flanders, etc., as well as in his Shakespeare and in his generally attributed writings, as none of the distinctive views of Ochino's times escaped him, and more especially as his strictly Puritan mother was early interested in their translation.

Lust as a motive is made prominent in every branch of this literature, and by that individuality of handling, which shows its products to be from but one mind, and that mind Bacon's. It is in its effects everywhere brought to but the one issue, and nowhere more tersely or more beautifully expressed, perhaps, than in the Venus and Adonis, the claimed first product from Shakespeare's pen, but dedicated to Southampton, Bacon's early associate at Gray's Inn, and from which we quote as follows :

" Love comforteth like sunshiné after rain,
But lust's effect is tempest after sun;
Love's gentle spring doth always fresh remain,
Lust's winter comes ere summer half be done ;
Love surfeits not, lust like a glutton dies ;
Love is all truth, lust full of forged lies."¹

See these effects vividly pictured in the Anatomy of Melancholy, vol. ii., pp. 345-351, and in earlier pages is shown the dalliance, delight, and dotage of love, or rather of lust ; as it is said of love " 'tis nature's crown, and gold, and glory." And in Sonnet 116 we have :

" Let me not to the marriage of true minds
Admit impediments : love is not love,
Which alters when it alteration finds,
Or bends with the remover to remove :

¹ Bacon's essay entitled " Of Love" opens in these words : " The stage is more beholden to love than the life of man ; for as to the stage, love is even matter of comedies, and now and then of tragedies ; but in life it doth much mischief ; sometimes like a siren, sometimes like a fury." And it ends thus : " Nuptial love maketh mankind ; friendly love perfecteth it ; but wanton love corrupteth and embaseth it." Note here Bacon's word " siren" and the use of that word in Sonnet 119, p. 28.

O, no ! it is an ever-fixed mark,
 That looks on tempests, and is never shaken ;
 It is the star to every wandering bark,
 Whose worth's unknown, although his height be taken.
 Love's not Time's fool, though rosy lips and cheeks
 Within his bending sickle's compass come ;
 Love alters not with his brief hours and weeks,
 But bears it out even to the edge of doom.
 If this be error, and upon me prov'd,
 I never writ, nor no man ever lov'd.

After love has been o'erthrown, corrupted, or fallen, it is in the mentioned poem said :

" It shall be fickle, false, and full of fraud ;
 Bud and be blasted in a breathing-while ;
 The bottom poisoned, and the top o'erstraw'd¹
 With sweets, that shall the truest sight beguile :
 The strongest body shall it make most weak,
 Strike the wise dumb, and teach the fool to speak."

And in Sonnet 129 we have :

" Th' expense of spirit² in a waste of shame
 Is lust in action ; and, till action, lust
 Is perjur'd, murderous, bloody, full of blame,
 Savage, extreme, rude, cruel, not to trust ;
 Enjoy'd no sooner but despised straight ;
 Past reason hunted, and no sooner had,
 Past reason hated, as a swallow'd bait,
 On purpose laid to make the taker mad :
 Mad in pursuit, and in possession so ;
 Had, having, and in quest to have, extreme ;
 A bliss in proof, and, prov'd, a very woe ;
 Before, a joy propos'd ; behind, a dream :
 All this the world well knows ; yet none knows well
 To shun the heaven that leads men to this hell."³

¹ Note throughout these various works, and particularly in the Shakespeare writings, the use of this word "straw" and the following Baconian notes concerning the word :

Promus, 108. Best we lay a straw here. Pro., 596. An ass's trot and a fire of straw. Pro., 677. To stumble over a straw and leap over a block. Pro., 721. To judge the corn by the straw. In *The Tempest*, Act iv., sc. 1, p. 80, we have : "The strongest oaths are straw to fire in the blood." See *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 284, as to straws and the muck-rake. In Bacon's *Philosophical Works*, vol. ii., p. 447, he says that "hay and straw have a very low degree of heat, but yet close and smothering, and which drieth not."

² I think the reader will agree with us in saying that the expression "expense of spirit," as here used, is distinctive and unusual. We will in some further relations soon to be introduced show whence it had its origin.

³ Read, please, in this connection Bacon's interpretation of the fable

Hudson's introduction to the *Venus and Adonis*, p. 6, closes in these words :

"Shakespeare has here represented the animal impulse itself, so as to preclude all sympathy with it, by dissipating the reader's notice among the thousand outward images, and now beautiful, now fanciful circumstances, which forms its dress and scenery ; or by diverting our attention from the main subject by those frequent witty or profound reflection, which the poet's ever-active mind has deduced from, or connected with the imagery and the incidents. The reader is forced into too much action to sympathize with the merely passive of our nature. As little can a mind thus roused and awakened be brooded on by mean and indistinct emotion, as the low, lazy mist can creep upon the surface of a lake while a strong gale is driving it onward in waves and billows." And see Hudson's quotation from Coleridge, with which he closes his introduction to the *Rape of Lucrece*, by Tarquin. Tarquin was the seventh king from Romulus, the founder of the Roman State, and whose son ravished Lucretia. The father espoused the son, and was deposed, the monarchy dissolved, and the Roman Government turned into at first the best regulated commonwealth the world has seen. See these facts, please, in the notes to Book 8 of Defoe's *Jure Divino*.

In the poems, as in the plays and elsewhere in this literature, the mind, the attention, is first focalized by entertainment and until caught and stayed by reflection. The philosophy of Bacon has indeed been truly called the poetry of philosophy, and in sex it finds an all-powerful evolving centre—the centre of final causes, the "virgin consecrated to God," or, as Spencer has it, the field of the

entitled "Dionysus ; or, Desire." In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 349, we have : "Who could have thought that any one could so far be blinded by the power of lust?" On p. 324 : "And to the boys he said, Do you fly youthful lusts, and follow after godliness with them that are grave and wise." As to the expression "fly lusts," we from *Hamlet*, Act iv., sc. 7, p. 336, quote : "Let the king have the letters I have sent ; and repair thou to me with as much haste as thou would'st fly death." We find Bacon making use of such expressions as "flight of the spirits," "fly to their ends," "fly in the face," etc. In Addison, vol. vi., p. 604, we have : "Instances of this abound even in those copies of their verses that are writ the most in the spirit of lewdness (as superstition hath ever been an especial bawd to lust)".

"Unknowable." In connection with these thoughts see, please, Bacon's interpretation of the fable entitled "Cupid or an Atom" and his article entitled "Of the Principles and Origins of Nature According to the Fable of Cupid and Heaven." (Works, vol. i., pp. 298, 435.) In his article entitled "Thoughts on the Nature of Things," same volume, p. 408, he says: "And I know not but the investigations we are now handling, of the primary character of seminal and atomic particles, is of a unity greatly superior to all others whatsoever, as forming the sovereign¹ rule of action and of power and the true criterion of hope and operation."² Beneath the fables in Bacon's "Wisdom of the Ancients" are spread subtle principles of his philosophy, and concerning which Mr. Spedding says: "In July, 1608, remembering that a prophet is not without honour except in his own country, he was considering the expediency of beginning to print in France. And about the same time the idea of shadowing himself under the darkness of antiquity seems to have accorded to him; for I am much inclined to think that it was some such consideration which induced him, in 1609, to bring out his little book *De Sapientia Veterum*; where, fancying that some of the cardinal principles of his own philosophy lay hid in the oldest Greek fables, he took advantage of the circumstance to bring them forward under the sanction of that ancient prescription, and so made those fables serve partly as pioneers to prepare his way and partly as auxiliaries to enforce his authority." (Phil. Works, vol. iii., p. 174.)

In his interpretation of the fable "Pan; or, Nature," *De Augmentis*, Book 2, ch. 13, p. 100, he says:

"This fable is, perhaps, the noblest of all antiquity, and pregnant with the mysteries and secrets of nature.

¹ Note Bacon's use of the word "sovereign," as "sovereign rule," "sovereign honour," "sovereign remedy;" and in the *Venus and Adonis* we have "sovereign salve." Bacon says: "For, in my judgment, it would be an opinion more flattering than true, to think any medicine can be so sovereign or so happy as that the simple use of it can work any great cure."

² In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 122, we have: "And first they had him into the study, where they showed him records of the greatest antiquity; in which, as I remember my dream, they showed him the pedigree of the Lord of the hill, he was the Son of the Ancient of days, and came by eternal generation."

Pan, as the name imports, represents the universe, about whose origin there are two opinions—viz., that it either sprung from Mercury¹—that is, the Divine word, according to the Scriptures and philosophical divines; or from the confused seeds of things; for some of the philosophers held that the seeds and elements of nature were infinite in their substance; whence arose the opinion of homogeneous primary parts, which Anaxagoras either invented or propagated. Others, more accurately, maintain that the variety of nature can equally spring from seeds, certain and definite in substance, but only diversified in form and figure, and attribute the remaining varieties to the interior organization of the seeds themselves. From this source the doctrine of atoms is derived, which Democritus maintained and Leucippus found out. But others teach only one principle of nature—Thales, water; Anaximenes, air; Heraclitus, fire;—and defined this principle, which is one in act, to be various and dispensable in powers, and involving the seeds of all natural essences. They who introduced, as Aristotle and Plato, primordial matter every way disarranged, shapeless, and indifferent to any form, approached nearer to a resemblance of the figure of the parable; for they conceived matter as a courtesan and the forms as suitors; so that the whole dispute comes to these two points—viz., either that nature proceeds from Mercury or from Penelope² and all her suitors.”³

¹ Promus, 545. A Mercury cannot be made of every wood (but Priapus may.) (Ne e quoris ligno Mercurius fiat.—[Er. Ad. 499]—i.e., A dullard will never make a sage.) As to the use of this word “Priapus,” we, from the play of Pericles, Act iv., sc. 6, p. 359, quote thus:

“*Bard.* Fie, fie upon her! she is able to freeze the god Priapus, and undo a whole generation: we must either get her ravish’d, or be rid of her.”

² Promus, 781. Penelope’s web (Penelopes telam retexere.—Eras. Ad. 156.) In Coriolanus, Act i., sc. 3, p. 170, we have:

“*Val.* You would be another Penelope: yet they say all the yarn she spun in Ulysses’ absence did but fill Ithaca full of moths.”

In Addison, vol. v., p. 172, we have:

“*Vel.* But her character is unblemished. She has been as virtuous in your absence as a Penelope—

“*Sir Geo.* And has had as many suitors.”

³ Bacon’s interpretation of this fable, Pan, should be read in full. Pan is by Webster defined thus: “The god of shepherds, guardian of bees, and patron of fishing and fowling. He is usually represented as combining the form of a man with that of a beast, having the body of a man, a red face with a flat nose, horns upon his head,

Something about the foregoing recalls these lines from Richard II., Act v., sc. 5, p. 134 :

“ I have been studying how I may compare
This prison, where I live, unto the world :
And, for because the world is populous,
And here is not a creature but myself,
I cannot do it.—Yet I'll hammer't out.
My brain I'll prove the female to my soul ;
My soul, the father : and these two beget
A generation of still breeding thoughts,
And these same thoughts people this little world ;
In humours like the people of this world,
For no thought is contented.”

But it must be remembered that it is not intended that all finely expressed thought in the plays should represent Bacon's grounded conclusions. In order truly to represent the platform—that is, the present stage of being, he makes his characters say what he will, and what men, himself included, do everywhere say ; and thus to his purposes does he shape and show subtle ends or the events from which they may flow.

In his mentioned “ Cupid, or an Atom,” p. 298, Bacon represents both the coming of the egg, and the motion by which it comes, as veiled by Nox, or in night, and says : “ This fable tends and looks to the cradle of nature, love seeming to be the appetite or desire of the first matter, or, to speak more plain, the natural motion of the atom, which is that ancient and only power that forms and fashions all things out of matter, of which there is no parent—that is to say, no cause, seeing every cause is a parent to its effect. Of this power or virtue there can be no cause in nature, as for God we always except him,¹ for nothing was before it, and therefore no efficient cause of it.” ²

and the legs, thighs, tail, and feet of a goat.” Note in the plays the use of the words horns, thighs, legs, etc., in connection with the same words in Bacon's *Promus* notes. In *Lear*, Act ii., sc. 4, p. 475, we have : “ Horses are tied by the heads, dogs and bears by the neck, monkeys by the loins, and men by the legs : when a man is over-lusty at legs, then he wears wooden nether-stocks.”

¹ Let these thoughts be read in connection with our quotations from the Defoe work entitled “ The Storm.”

² Note in the *Venus* and *Adonis* and in the plays the couching of desire under Nox or in night. In the mentioned article concerning “ Cupid ; or, Heaven” (*Phil. Works*, vol. v., p. 463 and 465), Bacon says : “ It has been said, then, that the primitive

To this thought we may add that the evolution or coming, not only of all external forms in nature, but of all subjective ideation to consciousness, is ever from out the unseen. Even our words—the body in which ideation takes objective condition—are, when wholly impromptu, born instantly in the mind upon the utterance, we being unable for the slightest moment in advance of the words used while speaking, to think or know what word we will next make use of until its birth in the mind at the moment of utterance. So also the difficult point to be overcome or reached in all great inventions, when it comes, comes ever suddenly, and but as a flash of light, the will having in it no part, save the holding of the mental energies in the direction from which spontaneity is sought. Nor can we tell why present thought was not born to us at some earlier or later moment.

Bacon in the last-mentioned article, p. 299, further says : “ The Greek philosophers are observed to be very acute and diligent in searching out the material principles of things ; but in the beginnings of motion, wherein consists all the efficacy of operation, they are negligent and weak, and in this that we handle, they seem to be altogether blind and stammering ; for the opinion of the Peripatetics concerning the appetite of matter caused by privation is in a manner nothing else but words, which rather sound than signify any reality.”

Bacon everywhere emphasizes the subject of motion, and watched diligently its beginnings. In vol. iv., p. 257, of his *Philosophical Works*, he says : “ Among the parts of

essence, force and desire of things has no cause. How it proceeded, having no cause, is now to be considered. Now, the manner is itself also very obscure, and of this we are warned by the parable, where Cupid is elegantly feigned to come of an egg which was laid by Nox. . . . Now, that point concerning the egg of Nox bears a most apt reference to the demonstrations by which this Cupid is brought to light. For things concluded by affirmatives may be considered as the offspring of light ; whereas those concluded by negatives and exclusions are extorted and educed, as it were, out of darkness and night. Now this Cupid is truly an egg hatched by Nox ; for all the knowledge of him which is to be had proceeds by exclusions and negatives ; and proof made by exclusion is a kind of ignorance and, as it were, night, with regard to the thing included. . . . Let us now proceed to Cupid himself—that is, primitive matter, together with its properties, which are surrounded by so dark a night, and see what light the parable throws upon this.”

history which I have mentioned, the history of Arts is of most use, because it exhibits things in motion, and leads more directly to practice. Moreover, it takes off the mask and veil from natural objects, which are commonly concealed and obscured under the variety of shapes and external appearance. Finally, the vexations of art are certainly as the bonds and handcuffs of Proteus, which betray the ultimate struggles and efforts of matter; for bodies will not be destroyed or annihilated; rather than that, they will turn themselves into various forms." And in the mentioned fable concerning "Pan or Nature," he says: "Hence one of the moderns has ingeniously reduced all the power of the soul to motion, noting the precipitancy of some of the ancients, who, fixing their thoughts prematurely on memory, imagination, and reason, have neglected the cogitative faculty, which, however, plays the chief role in the work of conception. For he that remembers, cogitates, as likewise he who fancies or reasons; so that the soul of man in all her moods dances to the musical airs of the cogitations, which is that rebounding of the Nymphs."¹

The investigation of motion lies, indeed, at the very basis of Bacon's subtle views concerning forms, and in Aph. 51, Book 1 of the *Novum Organum* he says: "The human understanding is, by its own nature, prone to abstraction, and supposes that which is fluctuating to be fixed. But it is better to dissect than abstract nature; such was the method employed by the school of Democritus,

¹ Concerning Bacon's "places of invention" and the "park and deer" of the *Venus and Adonis*, we quote the following: "The invention of arguments is not properly an invention; for to invent is to discover that we know not, not to recover or resummon that which we already know. Now the use and office of this invention is no other than out of the mass of knowledge which is collected and laid up in the mind to draw forth readily that which may be pertinent to the matter or question which is under consideration. For to him who has little or no knowledge on the subject proposed, places of invention are of no service; and, on the other hand, he who is ready provided with matter applicable to the point in question will, even without art and places of invention (although perhaps not so expeditiously and easily), discover and produce arguments. So (as I have said) this kind of invention is not properly an invention, but a remembrance or suggestion with an application. Nevertheless, as the name has come into use, let it be called invention; for the hunting of any wild animal may be called a finding of it, as well in an enclosed park as in a forest at large." (*Phil. Works*, vol. iv., p. 421.)

which made greater progress in penetrating nature than the rest. It is best to consider matter, its conformation, and the changes of that conformation, its own action, and the law of this action or motion ; for forms are a mere fiction of the human mind, unless you will call the laws of action by that name."

That the word forms, as here used, is not intended to apply to the physiognomy or configuration of bodies, but rather to the discovery of laws falling within and proceeding from them, may be seen in Aphs. 2, 13, and 17 of Book 2 of the work mentioned : and see Aphs. 9, 15 and 18. To discover these forms was the object of his tables, and these, as stated, were the centre of his system, and which he applied as well to mind or metaphysics, as to physics. See Aph. 127, Book 1, and quoted in this work at p. 112. As to those ideational motions that concern mind itself in its tendencies to error, see the Idols of the Tribe, Idols of the Den, Idols of the Market, and Idols of the Theatre, Aphs. 38-63, Book 1, of said work.

Bacon to himself at least reduced all things in nature to simplicity, and so in his Interpretation of Nature (Works, vol. i., p. 86) he says : " So if the moral philosophers, that have spent such an infinite quantity of debate touching good and the highest good, had cast their eye abroad upon nature, and beheld the appetite that is in all things to receive and to give—the one motion affecting preservation, and the other multiplication—which appetites are most evidently seen in living creatures, in the pleasure of nourishment and generation, and in man do make the aptest and most natural division of all his desires, being either of sense of pleasure, or sense of power ; and in the universal frame of the world are figured, the one in the beams of heaven which issue forth, and the other in the lap of the earth which takes in ;¹ and again,

¹ Bacon evidently expended much thought upon the subject of sex, as connected with the source or origin of all molecular or material change. Note this subject in connection with his mythology or " Wisdom of the Ancients." In Aph. 27, Book 2 of the *Novum Organum*, he, among other things upon this subject, says : " Again, the resemblance and conformity of man to an inverted plant is not absurd. For the head is the root of the nerves and animal faculties, and the seminal parts are the lowest, not including the extremities of the legs and arms. But in the plant, the root (which resembles the head), is regularly placed in the lowest, and the seeds in the highest part."

if they had observed the motion of congruity, or situation of the parts in respect of the whole, evident in so many particulars ; and lastly, if they had considered the motion, familiar in attraction of things, to approach to that which is higher in the same kind : when by these observations, so easy and concurring in natural philosophy, they should have found out this quaternion of good, in enjoying or fruition, effecting or operation, consenting or proportion, and approach or assumption, they would have saved and abridged much of their long and wandering discourses of pleasure, virtue, duty, and religion. So likewise in this same logic and rhetoric, or acts of argument and grace of speech, if the great masters of them would but have gone a form lower, and looked but into the observations of grammar concerning the kinds of words, their derivations, deflections, and syntax, specially enriching the same, with the helps of several languages, with their differing properties of words, phrases, and tropes, they might have found out more and better footsteps of common reason, help of disputation, and advantages of cavillation, than many of these which they have propounded. So, again, a man should be thought to dally if he did note how the figures of rhetoric and music are many of them the same. The repetitions and traductions in speech, and the reports and hauntings of sounds in music, are the very same things.¹ Plutarch hath almost made a book of the Lacedæmonian kind of jesting, which joined every pleasure with distaste."

Bacon's thoughts touching the subject of sex, and spread throughout these writings, as well as his application of the word "Venus" thereto, will in a measure appear in subdivisions 693, 694, and 695 of his *Natural History*. To two of these we give place as follows : " 694. The pleasure in the act of Venus is the greatest of the pleasures of the senses ;² the matching³ of it with itch is improper ; though

¹ Let the Addison articles concerning music, sounds, and language be read in this connection, please.

² In the *Anatomy of Abuses*, p. 197, we have : " Ludovicus Vives saith, Amongst all pleasures, dancing and voluptuousness is the kingdom of Venus, and the empire of Cupid." And same work, p. 163 : " Aristotle debarreth youth of access to plays and interludes, least their seeking to quench the thirst of Venus do quench it with a pottle of fire." Again, Bacon recommended the writing of a " History of Venus as a Species of Touch ;" also a " History of Conception, Vivification, Gestation in the Womb, Birth, etc."

³ Note throughout this use of the word "match" instead of

that also be pleasing to the touch. But the causes are profound. First, all the organs of the senses qualify the motions of the spirits ; and make so many several species of motions, and pleasures or displeasures thereupon, as there be diversities of organs. The instruments of sight, hearing, taste, and smell are of several frame, and so are the parts for generation. Therefore Scaliger doth well to make the pleasure of generation a sixth sense ;¹ and if there were any other differing organs, and qualified perforations for the spirits to pass, there would be more than the five senses. Neither do we well know² whether some beasts and birds have not senses that we know not ; and the very scent of dogs is almost a sense of itself. Secondly, the pleasures of the touch are greater and deeper than those of the other senses, as we see in warming upon cold, or refrigeration upon heat ; for as the pains of the touch are greater than the offences of other senses, so likewise are the pleasures. It is true that the affecting of the spirits immediately, and, as it were, without an organ, is of the greatest pleasure, which is but in two things : sweet smells, and wine and the like sweet vapours. For smells, we see their great and sudden effect in fetching³ men again

“compare” or like words. In the *Winter’s Tale*, Act v., sc. 3, p. 137, we have :

“ O, sweet Paulina !
Make me to think so twenty years together :
No settled senses of the world can match
The pleasure of that madness. Let’t alone.”

¹ Note, and for future reference, this belief in a sixth sense, founded upon sex.

² Note throughout the expression “ well know.”

³ In Addison, vol. iv., p. 119, we have : “ In a word, a man might reply to one of these comforters as Augustus did to his friend who advised him not to grieve for the death of a person whom he loved, because his grief would not fetch him again.” See the distinctive use of this word “ fetch ” at p. 69, note 1. And note throughout its constant use. Bacon says : “ For as money will fetch all other commodities, so this knowledge is that which should purchase all the rest.” (Phil. Works, vol. iii., p. 384.) In Addison, vol. v., p. 161, we have : “ Why, yonder’s the fine Londoner and madam fetching a walk together, and methought they looked as if they should say they had rather have my room than my company.” In *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, p. 288, we have : “ If a man would live well, let him fetch his last day to him, and make it always his company keeper.” In *Measure for Measure*, Act iii., sc. 1, p. 70, we have :

when they swoon ; for drink, it is certain that the pleasure of drunkenness¹ is next the pleasure of Venus ; and great joys likewise make the spirits move and touch themselves ; and the pleasure of Venus is somewhat of the same kind.”

“ 693. It hath been observed by the ancients that much use of Venus doth dim the sight ; and yet eunuchs which are unable to generate are nevertheless also dim sighted. The cause of dimness of sight in the former is the expense of spirits ;² in the latter, the over-moisture³ of the brain ; for over-moisture of the brain doth thicken the spirits’ visual, and obstructeth their passages, as we see by the decay

“ Think you I can a resolution fetch
From flowery tenderness ? ”

In Hamlet, Act ii., sc. 1, p. 242, we have :

“ *Pol.* Marry, sir, here’s my drift,
And I believe it is a fetch of warrant : ” etc.

¹ In Othello, Act ii., sc. 3, p. 470, we have :

“ O, thou invisible spirit of wine ! if thou hast no name to be known by, let us call thee—devil.” In Addison, vol. iv., p. 111, we have : “ The sober man, by the strength of reason, may keep under and subdue every vice or folly to which he is most inclined ; but wine makes every latent seed sprout up in the soul, and show itself ; it gives fury to the passions, and force to those objects which are apt to produce them.”

² To this distinctive Baconian expression, “ expense of spirit,” we have called attention in connection with Sonnet 129. Bacon says : “ It is in expense of blood as it is in expense of money.” (Bacon’s Letters, vol. iv., p. 401.) In Sub. 352 of his Natural History he says : “ Fire and flame are in continual expense ; sugar shineth only while it is in scraping ; and salt water while it is in dashing ; glow-worms have their shining while they live, or a little after.” We have the glow-worm mentioned in the play of Hamlet, and one of the Addison articles is subscribed Martha Glow-worm. Sub. 634 of Bacon’s Natural History is as follows : “ It hath been noted that most trees, and specially those that bear mast, are fruitful but once in two years. The cause, no doubt, is the expense of sap ; for many orchard trees, well cultured, will bear diverse years together.” Note now the word “ mast ” as used in the foregoing by Bacon, and in the following from Shakespeare :

“ Why should you want ? Behold, the earth hath roots ;
Within this mile break forth a hundred springs ;
The oaks bear mast, the briars scarlet hips ;
The bounteous housewife, nature, on each bush
Lays her full mess before you.”

—Timon of Athens, Act iv., sc. 3, p. 104.

³ Note in the Anatomy of Melancholy the handling of this subject of the over-moisture of the brain.

in the sight in age, where also the diminution of the spirits concurrereth as another cause ; we see also that blindness cometh from rheums and cataracts. Now in eunuchs there are all the notes of moisture ; as the swelling of the thighs, the looseness of their belly, and the smoothness of their skin," etc.

From sub. 713 to 723 the passions of the mind will be found graphically set forth. Two of these we quote thus :

"713. The passions of the mind work upon the body the impressions following. Fear causeth paleness, trembling, the standing of the hair upright, starting and screeching. The paleness is caused, for that the blood runneth inward to succour the heart. The trembling is caused, for that through the flight of the spirits inward, the outward parts are destituted, and not sustained. Standing upright of the hair¹ is caused, for that by shutting of the pores of the skin, the hair that lieth aslope must needs rise. Starting is both an apprehension of the thing feared (and in that kind it is a motion of shrinking), and likewise an inquisition in the beginning, what the matter should be² (and in that kind it is a motion of erection), and therefore when a man would listen suddenly to anything, he starteth, for the starting is an erection of the spirits to attend. Screeching is an appetite of expelling that which suddenly striketh the spirits ; for it must

¹ In Hamlet we have the hair standing "like quills upon the fretful porcupine."

² Note the peculiar form of the expression, "what the matter should be." Bacon often makes the word "should" serve this kind of interrogative use. He will frequently be found to use the expression "what it should mean" in the identical sense found in the following from *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 333 : "Many have spoken of it ; but none can tell what the Valley of the Shadow of Death should mean until they come in it themselves." Bacon himself, following his fall, came into that valley, and so was able to describe it. Again in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 278, we have : "Now, Christiana, imagining what they should mean, made answer, We will neither hear, nor regard, nor yield to what you shall ask." And on p. 382, "Then they asked the shepherds what that should mean." And in Hamlet, Act iv., sc. 7, we have :

"What should this mean ! Are all the rest come back ?"

In Henry VIII., Act iii., sc. 2, p. 294, we have :

"*Wol.* What should this mean ?
What sudden anger's this ? how have I reap'd it ?

be noted, that many motions, though they be unprofitable to expel that which hurteth, yet they are offers of nature, and cause motions by consent, as in groaning, or crying upon pain."

"722. Lust causeth a flagrancy in the eyes, and priapism. The cause of both these is, for that in lust, the sight and the touch are the things desired, and therefore the spirits resort to those parts which are most affected. And note well in general (for that great use may be made of the observation), that, evermore, the spirits in all passions, resort most to the parts that labour most, or are most affected. As in the last which hath been mentioned, they resort to the eyes¹ and venerous parts; in fear and anger to the heart; in shame to the face; and in light dislikes to the head."

Bacon indeed believed in lusts and appetites in or through mere matter and below consciousness, and so in a kind of perception below sense. To this subject he devoted careful thought in connection with the subjects of the sensibility, perception, and the human soul. See ch. 3, Book 4, of the *De Augmentis*.

And in ch. 3 of Book 7 he as to the passions further says: "So likewise I find some particular writings of an elegant nature, touching some of the affections, as of anger, of tenderness of countenance, and some few others. But to speak the real truth, the poets and writers of history are the best doctors of this knowledge, where we may find painted forth with great life and dissected, how affections are kindled and excited, and how pacified and restrained, and how again contained from act and further degree; how they disclose themselves, though repressed and concealed; how they work; how they vary; how they are enwrapped one within another; how they fight and en-

¹ Note the emphasis upon this thought as to the eyes in all of these writings, and to which we shall again have occasion to refer. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act iv., sc. 3, p. 430, we have:

"From women's eyes this doctrine I derive:
They sparkle still the right Promethean fire;
They are the books, the arts, the Academes,
That show, contain, and nourish all the world;
Else, none at all in aught proves excellent."

Note the words "Promethean fire" in connection with Bacon's interpretation of the fable "Prometheus; or, The State of Man."

counter one with another; and many other particularities of this kind; amongst which this last is of special use in moral and civil matters; how, I say, to set affection against affection, and to use the aid of one to master another; like hunters and fowlers who use to hunt beast with beast, and catch bird with bird, which otherwise perhaps without their aid man of himself could not so easily contrive;¹ upon which foundation is erected that excellent and general use in civil government of reward and punishment, whereon commonwealths lean; seeing those predominant affections of fear and hope suppress and bridle all the rest. For as in the government of states it is sometimes necessary to bridle² one faction with another, so it is in the internal government of the mind."

In connection with the foregoing thoughts, let the use of the word "womb," as a figure of speech, be called into relation in all of the works under review.

In Love's Labour's Lost, Act iv., sc. 2, p. 412, we have :

"This is a gift that I have, simple, simple; a foolish extravagant spirit, full of forms, figures, shapes, objects, ideas, apprehensions, motions, revolutions: these are begot in the ventricle of memory, nourish'd in the womb of *piâ mater*, and deliver'd upon the mellowing of occasion: but the gift is good in those in whom it is acute, and I am thankful for it."³

See the use of this word "mellow" in Addison, vol. v., p. 227.

In Romeo and Juliet, Act ii., sc. 3, p. 74, we have :

"The earth, that's nature's mother, is her tomb;
What is her burying grave, that is her womb;
And from her womb children of divers kind
We sucking on her natural bosom find:
Many for many virtues excellent,
None but for some, and yet all different."

Bacon says: "If therefore, the theories we have mentioned were not like plants, torn up by the roots, but grew in the womb of nature, and were nourished by her,

¹ See our quotation from The Pilgrim's Progress, p. 69.

² The words "bridle," "snare," "spur" were frequent figures of speech with Bacon, and they are spread everywhere in the plays. In The Pilgrim's Progress, p. 350, we have: "For though to let loose the bridle to lusts, while our opinions are against such things, is bad; yet to sin, and plead a toleration so to do, is worse: the one stumbles beholders accidentally, the other leads them into the snare."

that which for the last two thousand years has taken place would never have happened, namely, that the sciences still continue in their beaten track, and nearly stationary, without having received any important increase, nay, having, on the contrary, rather bloomed under the hands of their first author, and then faded away." (Novum Organum, Book 1, Aph. 74.)

Again he says : " I mentioned a little before (in speaking of forms) the two different emanations of souls, which appear in the first creation thereof ; the one springing from the breath of God, the other from the wombs of the elements." (Phil. Works, vol. iv., p. 396.)

Again : " For I never saw but that business is like a child which is framed invisibly in the womb ; and if it come forth too soon, it will be abortive." (Bacon's Letters, vol. v., p. 237.) And on p. 303 of the same volume :

" The time since was due to another kind of deliverance too ; which was that some causes of estate which were in the womb might likewise be brought forth, not for matter of justice, but for reason of state."

Even in the youthful treatise the Anatomy of Abuses, he at p. 2 says : " Dame Nature brings us all into the world after one sort, and receiveth all again into the womb of our mother (the bowels of the earth)."

And in his Defoe's " Storm," referring at p. 262 to David's search into nature, he says : " Thus in another place we find him dissecting the womb of his mother, and deep in the study of Anatomy."

In the Venus and Adonis we have subtly couched elements, we think, touching the serpent and dove of Bacon's metaphysics.² And note in it Baconian words and ex-

¹ Read in this connection Bacon's interpretation of the fable entitled " Deucalion or Restoration ;" and where may be found the origin, we think, of the thought as to the burden upon the back in The Pilgrim's Progress and the " more offenses at my back," etc., in Hamlet.

² In his fable entitled Cupid ; or the Atom, Bacon says : " For Venus excites the general appetite of conjunction and procreation ; Cupid, her son, applies the appetite to an individual object. From Venus, therefore, comes the general disposition, from Cupid the more exact sympathy. Now the general disposition depends upon causes near at hand, the particular sympathy upon principles more deep and fatal, and as if derived from that ancient Cupid, who is the source of all exquisite sympathy." He here also says : " The blindness likewise of Cupid has an allegorical meaning

pressions, as "sovereign salve," "leaden appetite," "hard favor'd," "vapours," "contemn," "swelling passion," "provoke a pause," "womb," "treble wrong," "dull earth," "engine," "therefore no marvel," "nothing worth," "double wrong," "ill presage," "night of sorrow," "fear of slips," "honour's wrack," "out of hope," "maw," "kindle," "be ruled by me," "shifts," "much ado," "so fair a hope," "undone," "embracements," "good morrow," "swelling dugs," "sinews," "sovereign plaster," "consort," "doteth," "heavy tale," "match," etc.; likewise note the words "snail," "hunt the boar," etc.

full of wisdom. For it seems that this Cupid, whatever he be, has very little providence; but directs his course, like a blind man groping, by whatever he finds nearest; which makes the supreme divine providence all the more to be admired, as that which contrives out of subjects peculiarly empty and destitute of providence, and, as it were, blind, to educe by a fatal and necessary law all the order and beauty of the universe."

¹ In Bacon's Philosophical Works, vol. ii., p. 533, we have: "Belike it is cast away as nothing worth; inquire better of it, for the discovery of the nature of the plant." The expression may be again noted in Bacon's Letters, vol. vi., p. 116.

² "So we see that voices and consorts of music do make an harmony by mixture, which colours do not." (Bacon's Natural History, sub. 224.)

³ "As for air, when it is strongly pent, it matcheth a hard body." (Bacon's Natural History, sub. 164.)

⁴ Promus, 138. Not like a crab, though like a snail. In Love's Labour's Lost, Act iv., sc. 3. p. 429, we have:

"Love's feeling is more soft, and sensible,
Than are the tender horns of cockled snails," etc.

Promus, 1230. Hot cockles. And in the same act and scene. p. 431, we have:

"*Bir. Allons! Allons!*—Sow'd cockle reap'd no corn," etc. See The Pilgrim's Progress, p. 288. In the Taming of the Shrew, Act iv., sc. 3, p. 480, we have:

"A velvet dish:—fie, fie! 'tis lewd and filthy:
Why, 'tis a cockle or a walnut shell," etc.

See the use of this word cockle in the play of Hamlet, Act iv., sc. 5, p. 321. And in Addison, vol. iii., p. 140, we have: "I would gladly know in particular what notion you have of hot cockles; as also whether you think that questions and commands, mottoes, similes, and cross purposes, have not more mirth and wit in them than those public diversions which are grown so very fashionable among us." (See "snail" and "cockle," Addison, vol. ii., pp. 155 and 421.) If we might leave the line which we have marked out to ourselves any amount of like material might be introduced.

⁵ Promus, 830. (To send a wild boar to the fountains, a south

Returning now from this digression from our sketch, as to the father and mother of Sir Francis Bacon, we next introduce some thoughts touching his uncle, Sir William Cecil; in other words, Lord Burghley, and who had no inconsiderable influence upon his thoughts and life.

Burghley was indeed the foremost minister of the crown during nearly the whole of Elizabeth's long reign, and had even maintained a correspondence with her previous to her coming to the throne. He prepared the proclamation declaring her queen upon the death of her sister, Queen Mary. At Mary's accession he signed the instrument making over the crown to Lady Jane Grey, a then claimant, and niece of Henry the Eighth; and though he signed it but as a witness dangers threatened him on every hand during her reign. He was a son of Robert Cecil, Master of the Robes to Henry the Eighth, and was born in 1520. Having been educated at Cambridge, he entered Gray's Inn at the age of twenty-one. Through the friendship of Somerset, Protector during Edward the Sixth's minority, he was made Secretary of State. He shared Somerset's imprisonment, but later regained his office under Northumberland. Upon Elizabeth's accession he was at once made Secretary of State and a member of her privy council. He continued as Secretary of State until 1572, at which time he became Lord High Treasurer of England, which office he held until his death in 1597. He kept clear from religious difficulties by displaying no dislike to Catholics, and he is said to have had no special devotion to any particular form of doctrine. In this regard he did not enter into the deep passion of his times. During Mary's reign, he by great sagacity maintained his connection with his old friends, by manifesting slight if any opposition to the court party, and he may indeed be said to have been very worldly wise. Following the acces-

wind to the flowers. Said of those who bring evil upon themselves; wish for what would do them harm.) From Addison, vol. iii., p. 207, we quote: "We had the fortune to see what may be supposed to be the occasion of that opinion which Lucian relates concerning this river—viz., that this stream, at certain seasons of the year, especially about the feast of Adonis, is of a bloody colour; which the heathens looked upon as proceeding from a kind of sympathy in the river for the death of Adonis, who was killed by a wild boar in the mountains, out of which this stream rises." As to the wild boar and flowers, see Addison, vol. ii., p. 363, and vol. iv., p. 67.

sion of Elizabeth he apparently grew more pronounced toward the reformed faith. It is said of him that he would not scruple at any treachery to gain the secrets of his enemies, and that his emissaries were everywhere. It is still said of him that he was incorruptible in office. Concerning his mode of living, Hume, in his *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 577, says: "Burghley entertained the queen twelve several times in his country house, where she remained three, four, or five weeks at a time. Each visit cost him two or three thousand pounds. The quantity of silver plate possessed by this nobleman is surprising—no less than fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds weight, which, besides the fashion, would be above forty-two thousand pounds sterling in value."

Already have we seen England's growing fears touching the Queen of Scots ripen into a statute enacted by the Parliament addressed by Sir Nicholas Bacon in 1571; and now in 1584 papers in her interest were detected showing some treasonable project in the course of formation, and so more stringent acts were passed concerning her, as well as for the greater protection of the person of Queen Elizabeth.

Philip the Second of Spain and husband of Queen Mary, now deceased, had early in Elizabeth's reign offered himself to her in marriage, and with the view, doubtless, of again returning England to Catholic rule. This proposal, as all marriage proposals to Elizabeth, being rejected, was deeply resented by Philip, who thereupon resolved not only upon a gigantic invasion of England, but upon the overthrow of her Protestant queen and cause. The long-delayed preparations for the event were thought to have been due to plottings against Elizabeth centred about the Queen of Scots, held still in custody, but which were rapidly quickened and ripened by her trial and execution, which took place at Fotheringay Castle, February 7th, 1587. This now rapidly moved enterprise by Philip is said not to have been wholly due to the mentioned refusal of his suit, as complaints were made by him of what he regarded as depredations committed by the English, and especially by their great admiral, Sir Francis Drake, on the Spanish possessions in South America, and even upon the coast of Spain itself. Philip's great fleet for the mentioned undertaking consisted of sixty thousand men and

one hundred and thirty vessels, larger than had ever been seen in England. It was now proposed to sweep England from the seas, ravage her coasts, burn her towns, and dethrone her Protestant queen. The Pope blessed the expedition and offered the sovereignty of England as a prize to the conqueror, and the Catholics throughout Europe were so confident of the success of this renowned enterprise that they called the great fleet which was to accomplish it the Invincible Armada. It sailed from Lisbon for the English coast in May, 1588. Its anticipated arrival filled England with terror. Her undaunted queen in person superintended the preparations for the struggle, and having mustered the forces of the kingdom to the number of forty-five thousand men, she at the camp at Tilbury, on horseback, rode through the ranks, and personally addressed the soldiers in bold and animated language, saying, among other things: "I know that I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart of a king, and of the King of England, too, and think foul scorn that Parma, or Spain, or any prince of Europe should dare to invade the borders of my realms; for which, rather than any dishonor shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms; I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field."

The fleet suffered from a storm when off the French coast, and in passing through the English Channel was severely harassed by the light English vessels. Having by a further storm been compelled to anchor at Calais, it was suddenly thrown into the most utter confusion by means of a number of fire-ships prepared by the English, and so placed as to be driven by the violent winds into the very midst of this great fleet, so that the Spanish admiral no longer thought of victory but of escape from the flames and sulphurous stench from these burning hulks. As a stout wind from the south prevented his return, he coasted along the shores to the north of Scotland and Ireland, and was finally driven by the winds upon the coasts of Norway and Scotland. When off the Irish coast another great loss was experienced by the storm, and finally but a few scattered and straggling vessels from this mighty fleet reached Spain to tell its terrible fate. Had these events or the causes that lead to them, any influence upon the

play of Hamlet? This defeat of the Armada, chiefly by the winds, was in England regarded as providential.

From this time the commerce and naval power of Spain began to decline, notwithstanding its rich mines of gold and silver in the New World, though these were, let it be remembered, somewhat exhausted at the death of Philip, in 1598. These failures, though not at first apparent, involved all of Philip's other schemes. Of it he said: "I sent my ships against men, not against the billows. I thank God that I can place another fleet upon the sea." This, however, he did not prove able successfully to do. During his reign he was the most formidable and the foremost figure in European history, and he is said to have impressed upon the Spanish character much of that distinctiveness wherein it so greatly influenced European culture.

Following this event England is said to have tolerated, under Drake, Hawkins, Howard, Cavendish, Sir Walter Raleigh, and others if it did not encourage, a kind of piratical retaliation upon the Spanish possessions (see some of the works now attributed to Defoe) and which led the way to England's maritime and colonial glory, as Knight in his *History of England* says. He also says: "If they plundered somewhat too freely and destroyed too mercilessly, they had large national objects in view as well as private lucre." Chapters 7 and 8 of Knight's *History of England*, vol. iii., and Hume, vol. iii., pp. 494-96, will throw much light upon this branch of our subject, as in due time we shall claim to the reader that the piratical stories in the Defoe literature were products of this, and not of the Defoe period, and that they have more than a single object in view.

This was indeed an age of discovery. Drake, in 1577, in his "Golden Hind" had undertaken the circuit of the globe. In 1584 Sir Walter Raleigh, under a patent from Queen Elizabeth, sent out an expedition which visited the southern parts of North America north of the Spanish possessions, and the queen upon its return gave to the explored country, in pursuance of her claim as the virgin queen, the name of Virginia. The following year he sent another expedition which planted on Roanoke Island, Carolina, the first English colony in the New World, but which was abandoned the year after. In 1587 he made a further attempt by sending three vessels and one hun-

dred and fifty men and women, with a governor and counsel for the colony, which arrived on the coast of North Carolina in July, but what became of the colony was never known. Expeditions were sent also by other countries. In 1602 an English expedition was sent to the New England coast, which visited Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard. But no permanent English colony was planted in America, let it be remembered, during the reign of Elizabeth. During the next reign, the reign of James the First, several were sent out and permanently established, as we shall see further on, and for which the reign of James is chiefly noted.

Burghley is said to have taken much interest in many of the mentioned events. He advised prompt and vigorous action as to the Queen of Scots. By his official position he was the chief adviser of the queen, and is said nowhere to have shown greater sagacity than in his skill in neutralizing her fancies and variability, who, though possessed of the high qualities of a sovereign, was still by no means wanting in those personal vanities belonging to her sex. There were two subjects upon which she seems ever to have been extremely sensitive—namely, the subject of her successor and the subject of her marriage. Early in her reign she seems to have set her face against marriage, determined, as she said, to live and die a virgin queen. But Burghley did not hesitate to urge her marriage, though against her enjoined silence, and a paper presented to her upon the subject in 1584 or 1585 is extant; and wherein is sketched a great and noble policy for the Protestant or reformed faith. But this paper was evidently a product from the vigorous pen of the nephew Francis. That Bacon was author of this paper and of others attributed to Burghley, see Bacon's Letters, vol. i., pp. 43-47.

By this policy preparations were to be made for war both by sea and land; wealth and honor were to be applied to touch and attach the hearts of the foremost men of the nation, and no longer wasted on useless favorites; Ireland was to be treated in a conciliatory spirit and with attentive care; and lastly, there was to be a general grand alliance of all Protestant countries against the Catholics. Such an alliance Bacon, toward the close of the reign of James the First again advocated against the Turks, as we shall see in his fragment entitled *The Holy War*.

Much fear was entertained during a large portion of Elizabeth's reign, lest, in case of her death, unmarried and without issue, England might again be at the mercy of a Catholic prince; and hence the necessity for a Protestant heir to the throne of England, was a burden from which Sir Francis Bacon found relief in many a variably expressed so-called Shakespeare sonnet, and covertly designed, doubtless, to meet the eye of the queen.

From many such, and written evidently at different periods during her reign, we quote the following, giving first Sonnet 7, which is in these words :

“ Lo ! in the orient when the gracious light
Lifts up his burning head, each under eye
Doth homage to his new-appearing sight,
Serving with looks his sacred majesty ;
And having climb'd the steep-up heavenly hill,
Resembling strong youth in his middle age,
Yet mortal looks adore his beauty still,
Attending on his golden pilgrimage :
But when from highest pitch, with weary car,
Like feeble age he reeleth from the day,
The eyes, 'fore duteous, now converted are
From his low track, and look another way.
So thou, thyself outgoing in thy noon,
Unlook'd-on diest, unless thou get a son.”

He here represents her loyal subjects looking upon her as upon the sun, but says their gaze is mortal, as the eyes that succeed or come after must lose her form and look unless they may find it in her issue; and says, that their eyes in her increasing years will turn to her successor, and having no issue, her objective selfhood will be forever gone. Again, in Sonnet 13, he says :

“ O, that you were yourself ! but, love, you are
No longer yours than you yourself here live :
Against this coming end you should prepare,
And your sweet semblance to some other give.
So should that beauty, which you hold in lease,¹

¹ Bacon's unusual use of the word “lease” is found in several places in the sonnets. In sub. 390 of his *Natural History* he says : “Most odours smell best broken or crushed, as hath been said : but flowers pressed or beaten do lease the freshness and sweetness of their odour.” And in sub. 489 he says : “And therefore I think rosemary will lease in sweetness, if it be set with lavender or bays, or the like.” And in sub. 39 he says : “And therefore purgers lease (most of them) the virtue, by decoction upon the fire ; and for that cause are given chiefly in infusion, juice, or powder.” See also this work, p. 34.

Find no determination : then you were
 Yourself again, after yourself's decease,
 When your sweet issue your sweet form should bear.
 Who lets so fair a house¹ fall to decay,
 Which husbandry in honor might uphold
 Against the stormy gusts of winter's day,
 And barren rage of death's eternal cold ?
 O ! none but unthrift. Dear my love, you know,
 You had a father ; let your son say so."

He here alludes, we think, to her father, Henry the Eighth. Again, in Sonnet 12, he says :

" When I do count the clock that tells the time,
 And see the brave² day sunk in hideous night ;
 When I behold the violet past prime,
 And sable curls all silver'd o'er with white ;
 When lofty trees I see barren of leaves,
 Which erst from heat did canopy the herd ;
 And summer's green all girded up in sheaves,
 Borne on the bier with white and bristly beard ;
 Then of thy beauty do I question make,
 That thou among the wastes of time must go,
 Since sweets and beauties do themselves forsake,
 And die as fast as they see others grow :
 And nothing 'gainst time's scythe can make defence,
 Save breed, to brave him when he takes thee hence."

In the next two sonnets, 11 and 6, he refers, we think, to her fixed determination against marriage, and says :

" As fast as thou shalt wane, so fast thou growest
 In one of thine, from that which thou departest ;
 And that fresh blood, which youngly thou bestowest,
 Thou may'st call thine, when thou from youth convertest.
 Herein lives wisdom, beauty, and increase ;
 Without this, folly, age, and cold decay :
 If all were minded³ so, the times should cease,
 And threescore years would make the world away."

¹ In Bacon's Natural History, sub. 747, concerning this house of the human body, we have : " For there is the skull, of one entire bone ; there are the teeth ; there are the maxillary bones ; there is the hard bone that is the instrument of hearing ; and thence issue the horns ; so that the building of living creatures' bodies is like the building of a timber house ; where the walls and other parts have columns and beams, but the roof is, in the better sort of houses, all tile or lead or stone."

² Note Bacon's use of the word " brave" in every phase of these writings.

³ This use of the word " minded" was not uncommon with Bacon ; and in his Letters, vol. vii., p. 124, we have the expression " if we had been so minded."

Let those, whom nature hath not made for store,¹
 Harsh, featureless, and rude, barrenly perish :
 Look, whom she best endow'd, she gave the more :
 Which bounteous gift thou should'st in bounty cherish.
 She carv'd thee for her seal, and meant thereby,
 Thou should'st print more, nor let that copy die."

" Then, let not winter's ragged hand deface
 In thee thy summer, ere thou be distill'd :
 Make sweet some phial ; treasure thou some place
 With beauty's treasure, ere it be self-kill'd.
 That use is not forbidden usury,
 Which happies those that pay the willing loan ;
 That's for thyself to breed another thee,
 Or ten times happier, be it ten for one :
 Ten times thyself were happier than thou art,
 If ten of thine ten times refigur'd thee.
 Then what could death do, if thou should'st depart,
 Leaving thee living in posterity ?
 Be not self-willed ; for thou art much too fair
 To be death's conquest, and make worms thine heir."

The next two sonnets, 9 and 2, will show, first, that no private person is referred to in the sonnets here quoted, and, second, that a public successor is sought. He says :

" Is it for fear to wet a widow's eye,
 That thou consum'st thyself in single life ?
 Ah ! if thou issueless shalt hap to die,
 The world will wail thee, like a makeless wife ;
 The world will be thy widow, and still weep,
 That thou no form of thee hast left behind,
 When every private widow well may keep,
 By children's eyes, her husband's shape in mind.
 Look, what an unthrift in the world doth spend,
 Shifts but his place, for still the world enjoys it ;
 But beauty's waste hath in the world an end,
 And, kept unus'd, the user so destroys it.
 No love toward others in that bosom sits,
 That on himself such murderous shame commits."

" When forty winters shall besiege thy brow,
 And dig deep trenches in thy beauty's field,
 Thy youth's proud livery, so gazed on now,
 Will be a tatter'd weed, of small worth held :

¹ This word "store" is here used in its distinctive Baconian sense. In sub. 35 of Bacon's Natural History he says : "It is reported of credit, that if you lay good store of kernels of grapes about the root of a vine, it will make the vine come earlier and prosper better." And in sub. 573 we have : "It is certain that some plants put forth for a time of their own store, without any nourishment from earth, water, stone," etc. In fact this is ever his word for this place.

Then, being ask'd where all thy beauty lies,
 Where all the treasure of thy lusty days ;
 To say, within thine own deep-sunken eyes,
 Were an all-eating shame, and thriftless praise.
 How much more praise deserv'd thy beauty's use,
 If thou could'st answer, ' This fair child of mine
 Shall sum my count, and make my old excuse ' —
 Proving his beauty by succession thine.
 This were to be new made¹ when thou art old,
 And see thy blood warm when thou feel'st it cold."

See also Sonnets 1 and 4.

Bacon says : " And as sometimes it cometh to pass that men's inclinations are opened more in a toy,² than in a serious matter, a little before that time being about the middle of Michaelmas term, her majesty had a purpose to dine at my lodge at Twicknam Park at which time I had, though I profess not to be a poet, prepared a sonnet directly tending and alluding to draw on her majesty's reconciliation to my lord ; which, I remember, also I showed to a great person, and one of my lord's nearest friends, who commended it." (*Apology Concerning the Earl of Essex, Works, vol. ii., p. 336.*) And thus much, at least, as to Bacon's having made sonnets concerning the queen. Also in a letter to the poet Sir John Davis, dated March 28, 1603, Bacon desires Davis to interest himself in his (Bacon's) behalf, and closes his letter thus : " So desiring you to be good to concealed poets, I continue your very assured. Fr. Bacon."

Mr. Spedding in a foot-note to this letter says : " The allusion to ' concealed poets ' I cannot explain. But as Bacon occasionally wrote letters and devices, which were to be fathered by Essex, he may have written verses for a similar purpose, and Davis may have been in the secret." (*Bacon's Letters, vol. iii., p. 65.*)

Concerning Elizabeth, Bacon says : " Now if there by any severer natures that shall tax³ her for that she suffered herself, and was very willing to be courted, wooed, and to have sonnets made in her commendation ; and that she

¹ These words " new made " are thus used by Bacon : " You know the difference of obliging men in prosperity and men in adversity, as much as the sowing upon a pavement and upon a furrow new made." (*Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 406.*)

² Let this use of the word toy be noted throughout.

³ Note please this use of the word " tax " throughout, and particularly in the plays.

continued this longer than was decent for her years ; notwithstanding, if you will take this matter at the best, it is not without singular admiration, being much like unto that which we find in fabulous narrations of a certain queen in the Fortunate Islands, and of her court and fashions, where fair purposes and love making was allowed, but lasciviousness banished. But if you will take it at the worst,¹ even so it mounteth to a most high admiration, considering that these courtships did not much eclipse her fame,² and not at all her majesty ; neither did they make her less apt for government, or choke with the affairs and businesses of the public, for such passages as these do often entertain the time³ even with the greatest princes. But to make an end⁴ of this discourse, certainly this princess was good and moral, and such she would be acknowledged ; she detested vice, and desired to purchase fame only by honorable courses. . . . Besides she was not a little pleased if any one should fortune to tell her, that suppose she had lived in a private fortune, yet she could not have escaped without some note of excellency and singularity in her sex. So little did she desire to borrow or be beholding to her fortune for her praise. . . . Thus much in brief according to my ability : but to say the truth, the only commender of this lady's virtues is time ; which for as many ages as it hath run, hath not yet showed us one of the female sex equal to her in the administration of a kingdom." (Works, vol. i., p. 400, Felicities of Queen Elizabeth.)

¹ Concerning this form of expression as to taking matters at the best or at the worst, we, from *Timon of Athens*, Act i., sc. 2, p. 41, quote as follows :

"1. *Lady*. My lord, you take us even at the best.

"*Apem*. Faith, for the worst is filthy, and would not hold taking, I doubt me."

² Note this word "fame" in every phase of this literature, and in Addison see the essays upon the subject of fame.

³ In "All's Well that Ends Well," Act ii., sc. 2, p. 304, we have :

"*Count*. I play the noble housewife with the time, to entertain it so merrily with a fool."

⁴ In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 392, we have : "I promise you this was enough to discourage you ; but did you make an end there ?" And on p. 348 : "For after Mr. Greatheart had made an end with Mr. Fearing, Mr. Honest began to tell them of another, but his name was Mr. Selfwill." This form of expression was quite common with Bacon.

He also says : “ For Queen Elizabeth being a princess of extreme caution, and yet one that loved admiration above safety ; and knowing the declaration of a successor might in point of safety be disputable, but in point of admiration and respect assuredly to her disadvantage ; had, from the beginning, set it down for a maxim of estate, to impose a silence touching succession. Neither was it only reserved as a secret of estate, but restrained by severe laws, that no man should presume to give opinion, or maintain argument touching the same : so, though the evidence of right drew all the subjects of the land to think one thing ; yet the fear of danger of law made no man privy to other’s thought.” (Works, vol. i., p. 387.)

Hence covertly by these sonnets was breathed forth, not merely the wish, but the inducements that should move her to wed.

He also, in the mentioned Felicities of Queen Elizabeth, p. 397, says : “ And this was the peculiar glory of this princess, that she had no props or supports of her government, but those that were of her own making. She had no brother, the son of her mother ; no uncle, none other of the royal blood and lineage that might be partner in her cares, and an upholder of the regal dignity. And as for those whom she raised to honour, she carried such a discreet hand over them, and so interchanged her favours as they still strived in emulation and desire to please her best, and she herself remained in all things an absolute princess. Childless she was, and left no issue behind her ; which was the case of many of the most fortunate princes, Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Trajan, and others. And this is a case that hath been often controverted and argued on both sides ; whilst some hold the want of children to be a diminution of our happiness, as if it should be an estate more than human to be happy both in our own persons, and in our descendants ; but others do account the want of children as an addition to earthly happiness insomuch as that happiness may be said to complete, over which fortune hath no power when we are gone : which if we leave children cannot be.”

Let this last thought be brought into relation with the subject-matter itself of the particular sonnets under review. In his essay entitled “ Of Prophecy” he, as to Elizabeth’s successor, says : “ The trivial prophecy which

I heard when I was a child and Queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was

“ ‘ When hempe is sponne
England’s done.’ ”

Whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princes had reigned which had the principal letters of the word “hempe” (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth) England would come to utter confusion; which, thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of the name; for that the king’s style is no more of England, but of Britain.”

This prophecy may have sprung from circumstances mentioned by Bacon in his History of Henry the Seventh as to this particular line of kings. Henry the Seventh had two sons, Arthur, the elder, and Henry, who succeeded him as Henry the Eighth. Catharine of Aragon before her union with Henry the Eighth was married to Arthur, who died soon after and without issue. Her parents, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, had opposed her marriage with Arthur, fearing trouble to the English throne from Edward, Earl of Warwick, the last of the male line of the Plantagenet kings, and who soon after was put to death, and with the view, it was thought (and hence, perhaps, the prophecy), of making possible the marriage with Catharine, the Spanish princess, and concerning which Bacon says: “This was also the end, not only of this noble and commiserable person, Edward the Earl of Warwick, eldest son to the Duke of Clarence; but likewise of the line male of the Plantagenets, which had flourished in great royalty and renown, from the time of the famous King of England, King Henry the Second. Howbeit it was a race often dipped in their own blood. It hath remained since only transplanted into other names, as well of the imperial line, as of other noble houses. But it was neither guilt of crime, nor reason of state, that could quench the envy that was upon the king for this execution: so that he thought good¹ to export it out of the

¹ The expressions “thought good” and “think good” were common with Bacon. And so in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, p. 368, we have: “If you think good, we will turn in there.” And on p. 304 we have: “Now, when they had eaten and drank, and had chatted a little longer, their guide said to them, The day wears away; if you

land, and to lay it upon his new ally Ferdinando, King of Spain. For these two kings understanding one another at half a word, so it was that there were letters showed out of Spain, whereby in the passage concerning the treaty of the marriage, Ferdinando had written to the king in plain terms, that he saw no assurance of his succession as long as the Earl of Warwick lived, and that he was loth to send his daughter to troubles and dangers. But hereby, as the king did in some part remove the envy from himself ; so he did not observe, that he did withal¹ bring a kind of malediction and infausting upon the marriage, as an ill prognostic : which in event so far proved true, as both Prince Arthur enjoyed a very small time after the marriage, and the Lady Catharine herself, a sad and a religious woman, long after, when King Henry the Eighth's resolution of a divorce from her was first made known to her, used some words, that she had not offended, but it was a judgment of God, for that her former marriage was made in blood ; meaning that of the Earl of Warwick." (Works, vol. i., p. 370.)

His mentioned essay on prophecy was not written until the looked-for event, the death of Elizabeth, had passed ; and hence he calls the prophecy trivial, though true to the extent of the fusing of crowns, James the First being the first joint monarch of the three countries, and which under him first received the name of Great Britain.

But read what he says in Sonnet 14 as to the effects to truth or the Reformed faith, in default, through her, of an heir to the throne. He says :

" Not from the stars do I my judgment pluck ;
And yet, methinks, I have astronomy,
But not to tell of good or evil luck,
Of plagues, of dearths, or season's quality ;
Nor can I fortune to brief minutes tell,
Pointing to each his thunder, rain, and wind ;
Or say, with princes if it shall go well,
By oft predict that I in heaven find :
But from thine eyes my knowledge I derive ;
And, constant stars, in them I read such art,

think good, let us prepare to be going." Bacon says : " But this is a bravery, petulancy, wantonness, lustfulness, and riotousness of the people, to do as they think good, and in that respect the more severely to be punished." (Bacon's Letters, vol. v., p. 89.)

¹ This word withal is found throughout these writings.

As truth and beauty shall together thrive,
 If from thyself to store thou would'st convert ;
 Or else of thee this I prognosticate,—¹
 Thy end is truth's and beauty's doom and date."

As there has thus far confessedly been no relationalized interpretation given to the sonnets, as well as to make sure to the reader that we mistake not here our point, we further introduce Sonnet 15, wherein Bacon tells the queen that he will by his verse engraft her new, as time takes from her, though in the one following he again calls her mind back to the subject. He says :

" When I consider, everything that grows
 Holds in perfection but a little moment ;
 That this huge stage presenteth naught but shows,
 Whereon the stars in secret influence comment ;
 When I perceive that men as plants increase,
 Cheered and check'd even by the selfsame sky,
 Vaunt in their youthful sap, at height decrease,
 And wear their brave state out of memory ;
 Then the conceit of this inconstant stay
 Sets you most rich in youth before my sight,
 Where wasteful time debateth with decay,
 To change your day of youth to sullied night ;
 And, all in war with time, for love of you,
 As he takes from you, I engraft you new."

But in Sonnet 16 he says :

" But wherefore do not you a mightier way
 Make war upon this bloody tyrant, Time,
 And fortify yourself in your decay
 With means more blessed than my barren rhyme ?
 Now stand you on the top² of happy hours ;
 And many maiden gardens, yet unset,
 With virtuous wish would bear your living flowers,
 Much liker³ than your painted counterfeit :

¹ This word "prognostic" Bacon uses in the foregoing quotation concerning the Earl of Warwick.

² Bacon says : " But princes upon a far other reason are best interpreted by their natures, and private persons by their ends ; for princes being at the top of human desires, they have for the most part no particular ends whereto they aspire, by distance from which a man might take measure and scale of the rest of their actions and desires ; which is one of the causes that maketh their hearts more inscrutable." Promus 1006. (Long and intricate [is the story] ; but I will trace the top-most points of things—*i.e.* the chief facts.)

³ As to this word "liker," we from Bacon quote as follows : " For I am sure no man was liker to be a pensioner than Somerset, considering his mercenary nature, his great undertaking for Spain

So should the lines of life that life repair,
Which this, time's pencil or my pupil pen,
Neither in inward worth nor outward fair,
Can make you live yourself in eyes of men.¹
To give away yourself, keeps yourself still ;
And you must live, drawn by your own sweet skill."

Though Sonnet 17, next quoted, is upon the same subject, it embraces much flattery, yet tame in comparison with what the queen was pleased to receive, as we shall see. He says :

" Who will believe my verse in time to come,
If it were fill'd with your most high desert ?
Though yet, Heaven knows, it is but as a tomb,
Which hides your life, and shows not half your parts.
If I could write the beauty of your eyes,
And in fresh numbers, number all your graces,
The age to come would say, ' This poet lies ;'²
Such heavenly touches ne'er touch'd earthly faces.'
So should my papers, yellow'd with their age,
Be scorn'd, like old men of less truth than tongue ;
And your true rights be term'd a poet's rage,
And stretched metre of an antique song :
But were some child of yours alive that time,
You should live twice,—in it, and in my rhyme."

Among the younger associates of Lord Bacon may be mentioned Elizabeth's great favorite—Robert Devereux, afterward Earl of Essex ; Bacon's cousin Robert Cecil, son of Lord Burghley, afterward in the reign of James made Earl of Salisbury ; and George Villiers, a favorite of James', and later and to the end of his reign the all-powerful Duke of Buckingham.

Walter Devereux, the first Earl of Essex and father of Robert, was a distinguished but unfortunate nobleman, whose history may possibly have given some coloring to

in the match, and his favour with his majesty." (Bacon's Letters, vol. v., p. 265.) And in sub. 238 of Bacon's Natural History he says : " We see that beasts have those parts which they count the instruments of speech (as lips, teeth, etc.) liker unto men than birds."

¹ Bacon says : " This only I will add, that learned men forgotten in state, and not living in the eyes of men, are like the images of Cassius and Brutus in the funeral of Junia," etc. (Works, vol. i., p. 167.) And on p. 156 he says : " Augustus lived ever in men's eyes."

² Promus, 564. Fair pleasing speech true. (Er. Ad. 421. Poets tell many lies.) Promus. 565. It is nought if it be in verse.

the play of Hamlet, at least as to the mousetrap or side issue introduced into it.¹ Robert, who became the second Earl of Essex, was born at Netherwood, Herefordshire, November 10th, 1567. He was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, between the years 1577 and 1581. He is said to have possessed a handsome person, and with many accomplishments appeared at court in 1584, and so not long before the play of Hamlet is supposed to have been written, and hence the story of his father's troubles was doubtless familiar to Bacon, though he does not appear to have had personal acquaintance with Essex until some few years later. We have thought that this side issue may possibly have been designed to tent the conscience of and to awe Leicester, Elizabeth's then favorite, in its performance, and whose name was associated with the taking off of the elder Essex; and that this method of introducing side issues into plays may have been the machine or engine referred to in our quotation from Defoe in earlier pages, but quickly abandoned by reason of its wrought furor in high places. This side issue was, at least, no part of the foundation story of this play, as presented in 1514, by the Danish historian. However this may be, let the word "machine," as used in Hamlet's lines to Ophelia, Act 2, sc. 2, p. 250, be noted, wherein he says :

" Doubt thou the stars are fire,
Doubt that the sun doth move ;
Doubt truth to be a liar ;
But never doubt I love.

O, dear Ophelia, I am ill at these numbers ; I have not art to reckon my groans ; but that I love thee best, O most best ! believe it. Adieu.

Thine evermore, most dear lady, whilst this machine is to him, Hamlet."

Does the word "machine" as here used allude to the mentioned device "to make the devil unmask," or does it allude to the tables or mechanical methods of the Great Instauration? If this word has not some covert meaning, what, please, is its meaning? We indeed find Bacon alluding to his philosophy as a machine. He says : " But if any one require works immediately, I say, without any imposture, that I a man not old, frail in health, involved

¹ See *Britannica* article as to Walter Devereux.

in civil studies, coming to the obscurest of all subjects without guide or light, have done enough, if I have constructed the machine itself and the fabric, though I may not have employed or moved it." (Works, vol. ii., p. 550.)

Again, had Bacon in early life tendencies to love melancholy by reason of matrimonial inclinings, quenched in consequence of his great felt mission, and to which he made all else subservient.¹ Ample reasons may be found in these writings to believe this.² It was evidently the custom of the author of the plays, whoever he may have been, to select some historic framework, story, or transpired events so in harmony with his own existing mental states as to permit him, in an under-plot, to weave them in conjunction with the chosen form or structure. And hence the outside and inside of most if not all of the plays.

Concerning the words "sun" and "stars," as used in the foregoing quotation, it may be said that Bacon believed not in the Copernican system, and hence, contrary to the accepted opinion, he believed that the sun and planets moved round the earth as a centre. He says: "The earth then being stationary (for that I now think the truer opinion), it is manifest that the heaven revolves in a diurnal motion, the measure whereof is the space of

¹ He at least, in some private notes made in 1608, of himself says: "When I was at Gorhambury I was taken much wth my symptome of melancholy and doubt of p^rsent perill. I found it first by occasion of soppe wth sack taken midde meale and it contynued wth me that night and y^e next mornynge, but note it cleared and went from me without purge and I turned light and disposed of myself." (Bacon's Letters, vol. iv., p. 57.) And on p. 79 he says: "I have found now twyse upon amendm^t of my fortune disposition to melancholy and distast, specially the same happenyng against y^e long vacacion when company failed and business both, for upon my Sollicitor^e place I grew indisposed and inclined to superstition. Now upon Milles pace I find a relaps unto my old symptome as I was wont to have it many years agoe, as after sleepes; strife at meats, strangnesse, clowdes," etc. And on pp. 53 and 54 it will appear that he was his own physician in this malady. Let these notes be read in connection with the Anatomy of Melancholy. As to the secret nature of these notes and not published until 1848, see pp. 18-37. These notes were in his own hand.

² In this connection let the play of "All's Well that Ends Well" be looked into a little. Its character of thought, as well as its style of expression, show it to have been written at two different and distant periods of the author's life, its latter portion being evidently the work of later years.

twenty-four hours or thereabouts, the direction from east to west, the axis of revolution certain points (which they call poles) north and south." (Phil. Works, vol. v., p. 551.)

He believed that the stars were self-sustaining fire,¹ and that though flame at the surface of the earth is not self-sustained, it is so at the height of the moon, and that when pure it has a tendency to unite and gather into globes. He says : " In the air next the earth, flame only lives for a moment, and at once perishes. But when the air begins to be cleared of the exhalations of the earth and well rarefied, the nature of flame makes divers trials and experiments to attain consistency therein, and sometimes acquires a certain duration, not by succession as with us, but in identity ; as happens for a time in some of the lower comets, which are of a kind of middle nature between successive and consistent flame ; it does not, however, become fixed or constant, till we come to the body of the moon.² There flame ceases to be extinguishable,

¹ Bacon says : " For the fire of the stars is pure, perfect, and native ; whereas our fire is degenerate, like Vulcan thrown from heaven and halting with the fall. For if a man observe it, fire as we have it here is out of its place, trembling, surrounded by contraries, needy, depending for sustenance upon fuel, and fugitive. Whereas in heaven fire exists in its true place, removed from the assault of any contrary body, constant, sustained by itself and things like itself, and performing its proper operations freely and without molestation." (Phil. Works, vol. v., p. 538.) In Addison, vol. iii., p. 425, and see, please, the article, we have : " But if we yet rise higher, and consider the fixed stars as so many vast oceans of flame, that are each of them attended with a different set of planets, and still discover new firmaments and new lights, that are sunk farther in those unfathomable depths of ether, so as not to be seen by the strongest of our telescopes, we are lost in such a labyrinth of suns and worlds, and confounded with the immensity and magnificence of nature."

² Of his theory Bacon says : " It denies that *the moon is either a watery or a dense or a solid body* ; affirming that it is of a flamy nature, though slow and weak, as being the first rudiment and last sediment of celestial flame ; flame admitting (as regards density), no less than air and liquids, of immeasurable degrees." (Phil. Works, vol. v., p. 550.) As " The Mortal Moon " Bacon regarded himself as this first rudiment. In Addison, vol. iv., p. 129, we have : " It is to this majestic presence of God we may apply those beautiful expressions in holy writ : ' Behold even to the moon, and it shineth not ; yea, the stars are not pure in his sight.' The light of the sun, and all the glories of the world in which we live, are but as weak and sickly glimmerings, or rather darkness itself, in comparison of those

and in some way or other supports itself ; but yet such flame is weak and without vigour, having little radiation, and being neither vivid in its own nature, nor much excited by the contrary nature. Neither is it pure and entire, but spotted and crossed by the substance of ether (such as it exists there), which mixes with it. Even in the region of Mercury flame is not very happily placed, seeing that by uniting together it makes but a little planet ; and that with a great perturbation, variety, and fluctuation of motions, like *ignis fatuus*, laboring and struggling, and not bearing to be separated from the protection of the sun except for a little distance. When we come to the region of Venus, the flamy nature begins to grow stronger and brighter, and to collect itself into a globe of considerable size ; yet one which itself also waits on the sun and cannot bear to be far away from him. In the region of the sun, flame is as it were on its throne, midway between the flames of the planets, stronger likewise and more vibrating than the flames of the fixed stars, by reason of the greater reaction, and exceeding intensity of union." (Phil. Works, vol. v., p. 548.)

In Love's Labour's Lost, Act v., sc. 2, p. 445, we have :

" *Ros.* My face is but a moon, and clouded too.¹

" *King.* Blessed are clouds, to do as such clouds do !
Vouchsafe, bright moon, and these thy stars, to shine
(Those clouds remov'd) upon our watery eyne.

" *Ros.* O, vain petitioner ! beg a greater matter ;²
Thou now request'st but moonshine in the water.³

splendors which encompass the throne of God." In the play of Henry VIII., Act iii., sc. 2, p. 290, we have :

" *King.* If we did think
His contemplation were above the earth,
And fix'd on spiritual object, he should still
Dwell in his musings ; but I am afraid
His thinkings are below the moon, not worth
His serious considering."

Promus, 629. To cast beyond the moon.

¹ Note the emphasis upon the moon throughout and see sonnet concerning "the mortal moon."

² The expression "a greater matter" was common with Bacon. Promus, 988. (*In great matters it is enough to have willed to achieve them.* "Tis not in mortals to command success.)

³ Promus, 648. For the moonshine in the water.

"*King*. Then, in our measure but vouchsafe one change :
Thou bid'st me beg ; this begging is not strange.

"*Ros*. Play, music, then : nay, you must do it soon.

[*Music plays*.]

Not yet ;—no dance :—thus change I like the moon.

"*King*. Will you not dance ? How come you thus estrang'd ?

"*Ros*. You took the moon at full ; but now she's chang'd.¹

"*King*. Yet still she is the moon, and I the man."

Concerning the play of Hamlet, it may be said that as originally written it was much shorter than now.

Hudson says : "As to the general character of the additions in the enlarged Hamlet, it is to be noted that these are mostly in the contemplative and imaginative parts ; very little being added in the way of action and incident. And in respect to the former there is indeed no comparison between the two copies : the difference is literally immense, and of such a kind as evinces a most astonishing growth of intellectual power and resource. In the earlier text, we have little more than a naked, though in the main, well-ordered and firm knit skeleton, which in the latter is everywhere replenished and glorified with large rich volumes of thought and poetry ; where all that is incidental or circumstantial is made subordinate to the living energies of mind and soul." (Hudson, vol. x., p. 177.)

Seven years following Shakespeare's death and in 1623 appeared the great first folio of these writings, though he himself is said to have done nothing either toward collecting or perpetuating them. Still, the folio contains voluminous passages of thought not found in the quartos, while like passages in the quartos are wholly omitted from the folio. Who, then, but an author would have arrogated to himself the right to insert or interpolate matter like the following into this play, and which, as Hudson tells us, is nowhere found save in the folio of 1623. (Hudson, vol. x., pp. 260, 261, and note 33.)

"*Ros*. Nay, their endeavour keeps in the wonted pace : but there is, sir, an aiery of children, little eyases, that cry out on the top of question, and are most tyrannically clapp'd for't : these are now the fashion ; and so berattle the common stages (so they call them), that many wearing rapiers are afraid of goose quills, and dare scarce come thither.

"*Ham*. What ! are they children ? who maintains them ? how are

¹ Promus, 892. ("Laconicas lunas." [You plead.] Spartan moons—because the Spartans, when asked to give the help promised, used to plead the phase of the moon, it not being full.)

they escoted? Will they pursue the quality no longer than they can sing? will they not say afterwards, if they should grow themselves to common players (as it is most like, if their means are no better), their writers do them wrong, to make them exclaim against their own succession?

"*Ros.* 'Faith, there has been much to do on both sides; and the nation holds it no sin, to tarre them on to controversy: there was, for a while no money bid for argument, unless the poet and the player went to cuffs in the question.¹

"*Ham.* Is it possible?

"*Guil.* O! there has been much throwing about of brains.

"*Ham.* Do the boys carry it away?

"*Ros.* Ay, that they do, my lord; Hercules and his load too."

Again, who but an author would have assumed the right to have stricken from this play the following twenty-two most carefully wrought lines, and which, as Hudson tells us, are wholly omitted from the folio. (Hudson, vol. x., pp. 226, 227, and note 3.)

" This heavy-headed revel, east and west,
Makes us traduc'd and tax'd of other nations :
They clepe us drunkards, and with swinish phrase
Soil our addition ; and, indeed, it takes
From our achievements, though perform'd at height,
The pith and marrow of our attribute.
So, oft it chanceth in particular men,
That, for some vicious mole of nature in them,
As, in their birth (wherein they are not guilty,
Since nature cannot choose his origin) ;
By their o'ergrowth of some complexion,
Oft breaking down the pales and forts of reason ;
Or by some habit, that too much o'erleavens
The form of plausible manners ;—that these men,—
Carrying, I say, the stamp of one defect,
Being nature's livery, or fortune's star,—
Their virtues else, be they as pure as grace,
As infinite as man may undergo,
Shall in the general censure take corruption
From that particular fault : the dram of base
Doth all the noble substance often dout,
To his own scandal."

Who struck these admirable lines from the great first folio? and what may have been the occasion therefor? Did the feeling exist with Lord Bacon, following his troubles that the "vicious mole² of nature" here referred

¹ See our quotation from Charles Reade, p. 109.

² In the Defoe History of Apparitions, T. Ed., pp. 280 and 287, may be found this same use of the word "mole," as applied to the Duke of Buckingham, and where it is called a token or mole. On

to might some day be taken as alluding to himself, and hence omitted? In this play the crowning cause of havoc takes its origin in the mismanagement of sex, and begins in the adulterous intercourse and murder of the king, Hamlet's father. Sex, according to the Baconian philosophy, sways, and if impure, corrupts every fortress, being stronger than kings whose crowns it sways. We judge that the Apocryphal gospels had much influence upon the mind of Lord Bacon, and especially ch. 8 of the Wisdom of Solomon and chs. 3 and 4 of 1 Esdras. His language is much enriched from these sources.

But to return : upon the mentioned appearance of Essex at court, in 1584, honors were showered upon him without stint, and to an extent that ere long provoked both the jealousy and envy of other, and especially of elder and abler courtiers ; and among those somewhat piqued may be mentioned the Cecils, Raleigh, Cobham, the Earl of Nottingham, and others. In 1585 he accompanied the Earl of Leicester, then favorite to the queen, to Holland, and there distinguished himself at the battle of Zutphen. In 1587 he was appointed Master of the Horse, and the next year he was made General of the Horse and was installed Knight of the Garter. Upon Leicester's death, in 1588, he immediately succeeded him as chief favorite of the queen. In 1589 he, without the queen's consent, joined the expedition of Drake and Norris against Portugal, but by a peremptory letter from her was required to return. He soon regained the royal smiles, in which he seems now to have thought he had property, and to be entitled to claim their exclusive movements. Soon after occurred his duel with Sir Charles Blount, Lord Montjoy, a rival to whom the queen had shown marks of favor. He in this encounter was not only disarmed, but received a wound in the thigh. In 1590 he, without the knowledge of the queen, married the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, and as long as possible kept the event from her, but whose rage upon being in-

p. 287 it is called a token, thus : " Fame, though with some privacy, says, that the secret token was an incestuous breach of modesty between the duke and a certain lady too nearly related to him, which it surprised the duke to hear of ; and that as he thought he had good reason to be sure the lady would not tell it of herself, so he thought none but the devil could tell it besides her ; and this astonished him so that he was very far from receiving the man slyttingly or laughing at his message."

formed of it is said to have known no bounds. In 1591 he was appointed to the command of a force auxiliary to one formerly sent by Elizabeth to assist Henry the Fourth of France against the Spaniards. Though showing gallantry, he here again made a singular display of his want of discretion by sending a challenge to the Governor of Rouen to meet him in single combat. He was recalled from the command in January, 1592. In the Portugal and Lisbon campaign he also attempted this worn-out spirit of chivalry. He now for a few years spent most of his time at court, where on account of his own personal popularity, as well as his position as queen's favorite, he had much influence. In 1596 Philip the Second of Spain was making preparations for another invasion of England, and so a counter expedition, favored by Essex, though opposed by Lord Burghley, was undertaken against Spain. The expedition sailed from Plymouth, June 1, 1596, and was successful in defeating the Spanish fleet, capturing and pillaging Cadiz, and destroying fifty-three merchant vessels. He here broke through the express orders given by the queen with reference to the command, and by this means claimed the glory of the enterprise, and again offered to maintain his right to the honor in single combat against Lord Howard, afterward Earl of Nottingham, then in command, or against his sons or any of his kindred. (See, please, Hume's History of England, vol. iii., pp. 495-501).

At about this time a change in the queen's feelings toward him became apparent. She not only chided him, but forbade his publishing anything in justification of his conduct. His growing popularity with the people, together with his now tendencies to assert his independence, coupled with the feeling that all along his professed attachments had been more of a mere selfish interest than of any real regard, had, doubtless, much to do with her now moods towards him. The threatened rupture his friend Bacon endeavored to avert by writing him a long and earnest but friendly letter of advice, and which shows earlier advice of a like nature upon the subject. To this letter we shall later have occasion to refer. The advice seems for a time to have been heeded and the cloud averted, and in the following year he was appointed Master of another expedition against Spain, which sailed from Ply-

mouth July 9th, 1597; and though some trifling successes were gained, yet as the Plate fleet escaped him it was in the main a failure, and would have been wholly so but for the taking of three Spanish ships, which were said to be prize sufficient to defray the expenses of the expedition. Upon his return he was again met with reproaches from the queen. At about this time Bacon's cousin, Sir Robert Cecil, then much connected with Raleigh, was by the queen made Secretary of State, in preference to Sir Thomas Bodley, urged by Essex for that high position. She also conferred upon Lord Howard the earldom of Nottingham, for the mentioned services at Cadiz, the chief honor of which was, as we have seen, claimed by Essex; thus showing her intention not to continue his ascendancy over his rivals. He had all along, in opposition to his friend Bacon's advice, thought he could get his ends served best by opposition and arrogance, and to which policy he had of late resorted. He now doubtless had his opinion somewhat confirmed, as the queen appointed him Earl Marshal of England. Some year or more later, and in 1599, England was again threatened with a Spanish invasion, but by reason of Spain's weakened forces it took now a somewhat different form. The weak point in Elizabeth's government was Ireland, and here Spanish influences were centring. Though Ireland had been under the dominion of England for upward of four centuries, hitherto it can be said to have been so little more than in name. It yielded no revenue, but annually absorbed much of England's revenue in its management and defence; and its government had been a puzzle to the wisest of English statesmen.

Roman influences seemed unalterably fixed in the minds of its rude population, and the Jesuits were ever scheming and negotiating with Spanish ministers for men and money with which to restore England to the ancient or Roman faith, and now that portion of Ireland known as Ulster, and backed by promised aid from Spain, was again in rebellion.

With this puzzle, the management of Ireland, Essex now sought to connect himself, though against the advice of his truest friends, Bacon included. Elizabeth had intended Lord Montjoy to command the expedition to suppress this outbreak; but Essex sought, and she finally,

though reluctantly, it is said, conferred upon him the management of the enterprise and created him Lord Deputy of Ireland, with powers greater than had before been conferred upon that office, and in the management of which his father had, in 1576, closed his sad career.

In a conference with the queen previous to the appointment she gave him some taunting words, and which possibly may have concerned his father's unfortunate experience. However this may have been, he with a gesture not only of anger, but of contempt, turned his back upon her. She thereupon gave him a slap upon his face, and he left her presence, swearing that such an insult he would not have taken even from Henry the Eighth, her father. For some time he sulked and kept from court, but finally, as stated, received the appointment.

Essex's enemies had studied his character, and knowing the difficulties as well as the discretion required in the mentioned undertaking, instead of, as heretofore opposing, they now in every way aided him in spreading his wings, and in raising the expectations of the queen by lauding every feature of the undertaking, thinking thus in his failure to be the quicker rid of him and of his, of late, too fulsome pretensions. It was likewise thought if by absence the queen had once leisure to forget the charms, to her, of his person, his lofty demeanor would soon bring disgust to a princess who commonly exacted such implicit obedience. Buoyed up with his popularity with the people, Essex was now entering with persistence upon those steps which cost him, not only the disgust and abandonment of his truest friends, but his life. For a history of his conspiracy see ch. 11 of Knight's History of England, vol. iii.

The queen at this time was sixty-eight years of age, and thoughts of a successor must of necessity have been entering the public mind. James the Sixth of Scotland was likewise both at home and abroad scheming in various ways, and even with the Catholic party, for recognition as the future sovereign of Great Britain, and the wary young Cecil, whom he made his Secretary of State, and afterward Earl of Salisbury, was in secret correspondence with him for some time previous to Elizabeth's death; and it has been thought by some that Essex's movements were designed to secure James's recognition. But before his return from Ireland he had made preparations in the line

of the plot which he finally attempted. Having himself descended in the female line from the royal family, he doubtless entertained thoughts that were a start once made, his popularity with the people might fix the public eye upon himself as a successor. He had been jealous of, and had ever sought to depress, military men. For some time previous to the overt act he had, and in a profuse manner, courted all classes of the people, Catholics included; and whom under the queen he had been laboring to suppress. This of itself would have aroused the feelings of Bacon against him. Many of the Catholics engaged in the noted Gunpowder Plot early in the next reign, among whom were Catesby and Monteagle, were concerned in these treasonable projects.

By the supposed detection of his plot it was forced forward before it was ripe, and so fell flat at its birth. He sought to seize the Tower of London, the person of the queen, and then to call a Parliament to shape things to his purposes, and he marshalled his co-conspirators to the number of three hundred in the streets of London, trusting, it is said, to an uprising in his favor. For this conspiracy he and Southampton were, on February 19th, 1601, arraigned, as were thereafter some five others.

All were found guilty, and all, Southampton excepted, were executed, Essex being executed in the Tower February 25th, 1601, while Southampton remained in prison until early in the next reign, when he was released by James, who came to the throne by Elizabeth's death, March 24th, 1603.

The will of Henry the Eighth had excluded, or at least passed over the Scotch line. The claims of Arabella Stuart, also of that line, were favored by some in preference to those of James, and concerning whose claims Raleigh is said very unjustly to have lost his life. The advancement of Cecil by James upon his accession seemed a kind of surprise to all, their previous correspondence having been secret. Cecil now put aside or abandoned largely his old associates, including Raleigh, Cobham, Gray, and others. He it was, who was present during Elizabeth's last hours, and who said she indicated by signs her intention that James should succeed her, "holding her hands joined above her head in the manner of a crown when his name was mentioned."

The Cecils were wily men, and eminent for looking out for themselves in every enterprise, and the circumstances of James's accession do not warrant us in believing that there was in this instance an exception.

Hume in his *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 587, says : " As Raleigh, Gray, and Cobham were commonly believed, after the queen's death, to have opposed proclaiming the king till conditions should be made with him, they were upon that account extremely obnoxious to the court and ministry ; and people were apt, at first, to suspect that the plot was merely a contrivance of Secretary Cecil to get rid of his old confederates, now become his most inveterate enemies." This brings us to a few words concerning Cecil.

Robert Cecil, Secretary of State not only during the later years of Elizabeth, but afterward under James the First, was a son of Lord Burghley. He was born in 1550 and died in 1612. His conduct toward certain of his cotemporaries, including Bacon, Essex, and later toward Raleigh, has been much censured. Toward Bacon, either by reason of his subtle ability to look through human dealings, or otherwise, he seems ever to have had some secret fear or jealousy. As he was deformed in person, it has by some been thought that this feeling may have arisen from a suspicion that Bacon was the author of and intended to characterize him as Richard the Third in that noted play. However this may have been, some covert opposition existed in his mind, and he thus ever stood with an opposing watchfulness over Bacon's advancement. He is said to have been possessed of little originality of thought, and to have followed but in the footsteps of his father. During the reign of Elizabeth he represented Westminster in Parliament, held a post in the French Embassy, and was appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He succeeded his father as Master of the Court of Wards, a position earlier held by Sir Nicholas Bacon and later sought by Francis ; and he succeeded Walsingham as Chief Secretary of State.

Upon James's accession he was reappointed Secretary of State and had several dignities conferred upon him, including that of Earl of Salisbury. In 1608 he became Lord High Treasurer of England, the position held by his father in the previous reign, and thus became chief ad-

viser of the crown both as to home and foreign affairs, and thus a kind of mediator between king and Parliament. He seems able to have effected little, however, in harmonizing the conflicting interests of this reign, the commingling in, and struggle to shape which, cost Bacon his overthrow.

The restraining influences of Elizabeth's frugality, as well of honors as of money, ceased with her death, as did her methods and foreign policy; and especially toward Spain. With Cecil's, in other words, with Salisbury's death, May 24th, 1612, the traditions of the Tudors may be said to have been at an end, and new methods were at once inaugurated. From this time forth the government of James was little more than a kind of manipulated kingcraft, through not a public minister, but through unscrupulous favorites. The first of these was Robert Carr, afterward Lord Rochester and later made Earl of Somerset; and who, in 1616, together with his wife, the countess, were convicted of the murder in the Tower of Sir Thomas Overbury, one cognizant of his secrets concerning foreign and other affairs. For his record see Knight's History of England, vol. iii., ch. 16. The second of these favorites was George Villiers, afterward the all-powerful Duke of Buckingham to the end of James's reign; and who was assassinated early in the next.

George Villiers, a son of Sir George Villiers, of Brookby, was born, August 20th, 1592, and died, August 23d, 1628, by the hand of one John Felton, who declared him a public enemy, though Felton is said to have had private grievances. In early life he was left without means, and his widowed mother educated him for a courtier's life, and in 1614, at the age of twenty-two, he was brought to the notice of the king. By means of good looks and vivacious animal spirits he made a favorable impression. This was brought about by the purchase of the office of cup-bearer to the king, from the then favorite Carr, already mentioned. He soon became a gentleman of the bedchamber, was knighted, and received a pension of £1000 a year, and upon the accusation of Carr or Somerset with the murder of Overbury, hereafter considered, he at once succeeded to his place as chief favorite of the king. Somerset had connected himself intimately with the party that sought a close alliance with Spain, and hence all who felt an op-

posing interest looked with a favorable expectancy upon the new favorite, though in this doomed to disappointment, as we shall see.

As yet, however, he had manifested no formed political or religious tenets. These in various ways Bacon sought, though unsuccessfully, to influence. Later he attempted this in his mentioned A. D. B. Mask, by a kind of subtle half warning, and by the whipping of faults toward which he was then stoutly drifting.

In August, 1616, he was raised to the peerage as Viscount Villiers. In January, 1617, he became Earl of Buckingham. In January, 1618, he became Marquis of Buckingham, and estates were settled upon him by the new methods of the king, whose screen he became, to the value of £15,000 a year, so that it was said, the Earl of Pembroke excepted, he was now the richest nobleman in England.

Knight says of him : " When Somerset sold the office of cup-bearer to George Villiers, one of the sons of a Leicestershire knight, he appears to have forgotten that another might supplant him in the favour of the king who dwelt on 'good looks and handsome accoutrements.' The cup-bearer was a dangerous rival. 'His first introduction into favour,' says Clarendon, 'was purely from the handsomeness of his person.' The history of the country, to the end of this reign, is in great part the personal history of George Villiers,—the adventurer, who had in his capacity of the king's cup-bearer been 'admitted to that conversation and discourse with which that prince always abounded at his meals.' In a few weeks, continues Clarendon, he mounted higher ; 'and being knighted, without any other qualifications, he was at the same time made gentleman of the bedchamber and knight of the order of the garter ; and in a short time (very short for such a prodigious ascent) he was made a baron, a viscount, an earl, a marquis, and became lord high admiral of England, lord warden of the cinque-ports, master of the horse, and entirely disposed of all the graces of the king, in conferring all the honours and all the offices of three kingdoms without a rival." (Knight's History of England, vol. iii., p. 298.)

And we think the facts yet to be presented will show that under the methods of James he became a mere screen,

and one which ultimately James himself became unable to adjust.

None were now allowed to receive either position or promotion, who did not in some way pay tribute to him, and thus, independent of Parliament, as we shall see, the urgent wants of the king during the last half of this reign were largely supplied. Even under Somerset the offices were shamelessly sold without stint. (See Knight, vol. iii., p. 298.)

In 1618 Buckingham was married to Lady Catherine Manners, daughter of the Earl of Rutland, and she, though conforming outwardly to the forms of the English Church, was yet known to be devoted to the ancient or Catholic faith. During this and the next year, 1619, the year in which our mentioned A. D. B. Mask was put forth, Buckingham began to assume an independent political position, upon which this work was, we judge, designed to exercise a check.

James's son-in-law, Frederick the Fifth of Germany, had this year, and to the great discomfiture of Spain, accepted the crown of Bohemia, now in revolt, and which was the beginning of the Thirty Years' War which followed. The battle between Romanism and Protestantism seemed now likely to be fought anew. Earlier a touch of warning had been given in that globe of relations, the play of Hamlet. The Emperor of Germany was King of Bohemia, and his cousin, Ferdinand of Styria, was heir-elect. In the summer of 1618 the Protestant aristocracy of Bohemia, upon a dispute about the suppression of Protestant churches on ecclesiastical lands, and which was held to be a breach of charter, rose against the government, broke in upon the Board of Regency as they sat in council, threw three of its members out at the window, and established a Directorate of thirty members, and appealed to all of the Protestant powers of Europe for support. Spain in her policy sided with the emperor, and so took part in crushing the Bohemian rebellion. Mr. Spedding says: "The Bohemian quarrel had hitherto concerned England only as it affected the progress of the reformed religion and the peace and prosperity of Europe. She had as yet no separate or selfish interest in the issue. But she was now about to be drawn into the game, by no fault of her own, under very inconvenient conditions. On

the 10th of March 1619, by the death of the Emperor Matthias, Ferdinand of Styria had succeeded, in virtue of a previous election, to the crown of Bohemia. On the 16th of August—two days before he was unanimously elected Emperor of Germany—the states of Bohemia deposed him, and elected in his stead Frederick, the count Palatine of the Rhine, head of the Protestant union and James's son-in-law; expecting of course that he would bring the strength of England with him. The English people were delighted at this triumph of Protestantism in the person of the husband of their favorite princess, and would have rushed to his support at once." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 41.)

In this, however, James was not with the people. Though outwardly professing to assist his son-in-law, his heart lay quite another way, and he was scheming vigorously to secure a marriage alliance between his son Prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain. The old dread of the Papacy was rekindled. Buckingham at first professed to be with the popular movement, but before the summer of 1620 was at an end he had entirely changed front and was in the closest agreement with the Spanish Minister Gondomar. Soon after and in 1621 occurred the notable outbreak in Parliament against monopolies, whereby he and his dependants, his brother included, were robbing and oppressing the people. At first he pleaded for a dissolution of the Parliament, but by crafty counsel was soon induced to believe that the wiser course was to put himself at the head of the reform movement, wherein Bacon, the then chief pillar of Protestantism in Europe, was not only submerged, but at Buckingham's dictation was required to surrender his cherished York House, the elegant home of his childhood, and which he did, hoping thereby again to secure the royal favor; and Williams, the giver of the crafty advice, stepped into Bacon's shoes as Chancellor of England. During the winter of this and the succeeding year Buckingham was entirely in Gondomar's hands, and with great difficulty it was that Laud, in May, 1622, succeeded in arguing him out of a resolution to declaring himself a Roman Catholic.¹ It was understood that the

¹ See *Britannica* article on Buckingham, p. 418.

next year, 1623, the king's son Prince Charles was to visit Madrid, where, before giving him in marriage the hand of the Infanta Maria, the Spanish Court expected his conversion to the Catholic faith. Earlier, and on January 13th, 1618-19, the following summary was by Gondomar submitted as a report to the Spanish Government touching the Bohemian issues. He said: "In spite of the success which had attended his efforts to keep James out of the hands of the war party, it was impossible to be free from anxiety for the future. It was true that the king's exchequer was empty; but the nation was rich, and a declaration of war with Spain would immediately be followed by a large grant of money. In a few days a powerful fleet could be manned and equipped. On the other hand, at no time had the Spanish navy been so entirely unprepared for war. The sea would swarm with English privateers, and whoever was master at sea would soon be master on land. The Dutch rebels, the French Huguenots, and the German heretics, would place James at the head of a powerful confederacy, and it was impossible to say what injury he might not inflict upon the Catholic Church and the Spanish Monarchy.

"At any price, then, the friendship of James must be secured. With that, everything would be possible, even the reduction of England to the Catholic Church. The marriage treaty must again be set on foot." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 18.)

Upon visiting Madrid in February, 1623, it soon became apparent that this long-sought and long-talked-of marriage could not be effected, nor could the Palatinate, as James professed to hope, be in this way restored. The end which Spain had sought in it, however, the diversion of James, had been accomplished. And so in September Charles and Buckingham returned to England with the determination to break at once with Spain, much to the rejoicing of the people, though to the great discomfiture of James, as Buckingham, and Charles the next heir to the throne, now took up a political position of their own; and James was thus, by the popularity which this event for the moment gave to Buckingham, half persuaded, though more largely driven to declare all negotiations with Spain at an end; and during the next year, 1624, Buckingham

arranged a marriage alliance for the prince with Henrietta Maria of France. The screen was now, and for some time had been, beyond the king's control; and he evidently stood in mortal fear of him during the remainder of his reign, which ended by his death, March 27, 1625.

LIFE OF BACON.

HAVING now mentioned relationally some of the leading events and influences under which Sir Francis Bacon was born and lived, we come next to more intimate details in his personal history. These we introduce after our own method by first setting forth the views which he, Bacon, himself entertained as to his own personal gifts and aims in life, as in this he should have the right, we think, to be first heard. These should be read in connection with his noted letter to Lord Burghley, set forth in our introduction to this work. Thus pursued, light will the more readily fall upon his aims and motives and according to his own understanding of them. In his article entitled "Of the Interpretation of Nature," he of himself says :

"Accounting myself born for the uses of mankind, and judging the case of the commonweal to be one of those things which are of public right, and like water or air lie open to all ; I sought what might be the most advantage to men, and deliberated what I was most fitted for by nature. I discovered that nothing is of such estimation towards the human race, as the invention and earnest of new things and arts, by which man's life is adorned. For I perceived that, even in old times among rude men, the inventors and teachers of things rude were consecrated and chosen into the number of the gods ; and I noted that the deeds of heroes who built cities, or were legislators, or exercised just authority, or subdued unjust dominations, were circumscribed by the narrowness of places and times. But the invention of things, though it be a matter of less pomp,¹ I esteemed more adapted for universality and eternity. Yet above all, if any bring forth no particular invention, though of much utility, but kindleth² a light in nature, which from the very beginning

¹ Note the use of this word "pomp" in every phase of this literature.

² The word "kindle" is a conspicuous word with Bacon. Note this word as used in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, pp. 179 and 321.

illuminates the regions of things, which lie contiguous to things already invented, afterwards being elevated lays open and brings to view all the abstrusest things; he seems to me a propagator of the empire of man over the universe, a defender of liberty, a conqueror of necessities. But I found myself constructed more for the contemplations of truth than for aught else, as having a mind sufficiently mobile for recognizing (what is most of all) the similitude of things,¹ and sufficiently fixed and intent for observing the subtleties of differences, and possessing love of investigation, patience in doubting, pleasure in meditating, delay in asserting, facility in returning to wisdom, and neither affecting novelty, nor admiring antiquity, and hating all imposture. Wherefore I judged my nature to have a kind of familiarity and relationship with truth. Yet seeing by rank and education I was trained to civil affairs, and, like a youth, sometimes staggered in my opinions, and conceived I owed my country something peculiar, and not equally pertaining to all other parts, and hoped, if I obtained any honorable degree in the commonwealth to perform with greater help of ingenuity and industry what I had intended;² I both learned civil arts, and with all ingenuousness and due modesty, commended myself to my friends who had some power. And in addition to this, because those things of whatever kind penetrate not beyond the condition and culture of this life, the hope occurred that I, born in no very prosperous state of religion, might, if called to civil offices, contribute somewhat to the safety of souls. But when my zeal was imputed to ambition, and my age was matured, and my disordered health also admonished me of my unhappy slowness,³ and I next considered that I nowise fulfilled my duty, while I was neglecting that by which I could through myself benefit men, and applying myself to the things which depended upon the will of another, I altogether weaned myself from those thoughts, and wholly betook myself to this work, according to my former principle. Nor is my resolution dimin-

¹ To this feature of his mind we are indebted for the allegories under review.

² We think Bacon sought position chiefly for the vantage ground which it would give him in the anchorage of his work.

³ This unhappy slowness is alluded to in one of the sonnets, which we shall soon have occasion to present.

ished by foreseeing in the state of these times, a sort of declination of knowledge and ruin of the learning which is now in use ; for though I dread not the incursions of barbarians (unless, perhaps, the empire of Spain should strengthen itself, and oppress and debilitate others, by arms, itself by the burden) yet from civil wars (which on account of certain manners not long ago introduced, seem to me about to visit many countries¹) and the malignity of sects, and from those compendiary artifices and cautions which have crept into the place of learning, no less a tempest seems to impend over letters and science. Nor can the shop of the typographer suffice for those evils. And that unwarlike learning, which is nourished by ease, and flourishes by praise and reward, which sustains not the vehemency of opinion, and is the sport of artifices and impostures, is overcome by the impediments which I have mentioned. Far different is the nature of the knowledge whose dignity is fortified by utility and operation. And from the injuries of time I am almost secure ; but from the injuries of men I am not concerned. For should any say that I savor things too high, I reply simply, in civil affairs there is place for modesty, in contemplations for truth. But if any one require works immediately, I say, without any imposture, that I, a man not old, frail in health, involved in civil studies, coming to the obscurest of all subjects without guide or light, have done enough, if I have constructed the machine itself and the fabric, though I may not have employed or moved it. And with the same candor, I profess that the legitimate interpretation of nature, in the first assent before arriving at a certain degree of generals, should be kept pure and separate from all application to works. Moreover, I know that all those who have in some measure committed themselves to the waters of experience, seeing they were infirm of purpose, or desirous of ostentation, have at the entrance unreasonably sought pledges of works, and have thence been confounded and shipwrecked. But if any require at least particular promises, let him know² that by that

¹ These innovated manners, and which he much feared, we shall find commented upon by him in portions of the Defoe literature.

² This form of expression "let him know" was quite common with Bacon, and so it occurs throughout these writings. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 69, we have :

knowledge, which is now in use, men are not skilled enough even for wishing. But, what is of less moment, should any of the politicians, whose custom it is from personal calculations to estimate everything, or from examples of like endeavours to form conjecture, presume to interpose his judgment in a matter of this sort I would have told that ancient saying, *claudus in via, cursorem extra viam antevertit*, and not to think about examples, since the matter is without example. But the method of publishing these things is, to have such of them as tend to seize the correspondences of dispositions, and purge the areas of minds, given out to the vulgar and talked of; to have the rest handed down with selection and judgment. Nor am I ignorant that it is a common and trite artifice of impostors to keep apart from the vulgar certain things which are nothing better than the impertinences they set forth to the vulgar. But without any imposture, from sound providence, I foresee that this formula of interpretation, and the inventions made by it, will be more vigorous and secure when contained within legitimate and chosen devices. Yet I undertake these things at the risk of others. For none of those things which depend upon externals concern me: nor do I hunt after fame, or, like the heretics, take delight in establishing a sect; and to receive any private emolument from so great an undertaking, I hold to be both ridiculous and base. Sufficient for me is the consciousness of desert, and the very accomplishment itself of things, which even fortune cannot withstand." (Works, vol. ii., p. 549.)

Bacon's ends may thus be seen to have been centred deeply in the Reformed faith, in the commonwealth, and in philosophy. Concerning the good ends to be set before one's self he says:

"For if these two things be supposed, that a man set

"Come, let my carper to his life now look,
And find there darker lines than in my book
He findeth any; yea, and let him know,
That in his best things there are worse lines too."

In Addison, vol. iii., p. 302, we have: "The guards let him know, in a very angry manner, that the house he was in, was not a caravansary, but the king's palace." Many of these distinctive forms of expression were doubtless adopted by Bacon for brevity's sake. By this form all detail as to the mode by which one is made to know may be avoided.

before him honest and good ends, and again that his mind be resolute and constant to pursue and obtain them, it will follow that his mind shall address and mould itself to all virtues at once. And this indeed is like the work of Nature ; whereas the other courses I have mentioned are like the work of the hand. For as when a carver makes an image, he shapes only that part whereon he works, and not the rest (as if he be upon the face, that part which shall be the body is but a rude and unshaped stone still, till such time as he comes to it) ; but contrariwise when Nature makes a flower or living creature, she forms and produces rudiments of all the parts at one time ; so in obtaining virtue by habit, while we practise temperance, we do not advance much in fortitude, nor the like ; but when we dedicate and apply ourselves entirely to good and honest ends, what virtue soever the pursuit and passage towards those ends suggests and enjoins, we shall find ourselves invested with a precedent disposition and propensity to conform thereto." (De Augmentis, ch. 3, Book 7.)

Concerning his work he says : " I have held up a light in the obscurity of philosophy which will be seen centuries after I am dead. It will be seen amidst the erection of temples, tombs, palaces, theaters, bridges, making noble roads, cutting canals, granting multitude of charters and liberties for comfort of decayed companies and corporations : the foundation of colleges and lectures for learning and the education of youth ; foundations and institutions of orders and fraternities for nobility, enterprise, and obedience ; but above all, the establishing of good laws for the regulation of the kingdom and as an example to the world." (Works, vol. i., p. 114.)

The things in which this light is to be seen are more particularly set forth in the *New Atlantis* and in the introduction to the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, pp. 87-101.

The more intimate personal events in Lord Bacon's history, which, in a work like the present, must necessarily be brief, open with his birth at York House, his father's London residence, January 22d, 1561, and are said to have closed with his death on the morning of Easter Sunday, April 9th, 1626, in the sixty-sixth year of his age. His death is said to have occurred in this somewhat singular manner. On the morning of April 2d he,

with the king's physician, having driven into the country, the thought occurred to him, the snow being upon the ground, as to whether flesh might not be preserved as well in snow as in salt. Thereupon he alighted from his coach, and, procuring a hen from a house near by, himself assisted in stuffing the body of the fowl with snow, and thereupon he received a chill and grew suddenly so ill as not to be able to return, and hence he was left at the Earl of Arundel's house at Highgate, near by, where he is said to have been put into a bed that was damp, not having been recently slept in. This, I say, is the received version concerning the circumstances of his death. His letter to the Earl of Arundel, on finding himself situated as described, the earl being then from home, we give, as it is supposed to be his last piece of composition, and is in these words :

"MY VERY GOOD LORD : I was likely to have had the fortune of Cajus Plinius the elder, who lost his life by trying an experiment about the burning of the mountain Vesuvius. For I was also desirous to try an experiment or two, touching the conservation and induration of bodies. As for the experiment itself, it succeeded excellently well ; but in the journey between London and Highgate I was taken with such a fit of casting as I knew not whether it were the stone or some surfeit, or cold, or indeed a touch of them all three.¹ But when I came to your lordship's house, I was not able to go back, and therefore was forced to take up my lodging here, where your house-keeper is very careful and diligent about me, which I assure myself your lordship will not only pardon towards him, but think the better of him for it. For indeed your lordship's house was happy to me ; and I kiss your noble hand for the welcome which I am sure you give me to it, etc.

"I know how unfit it is for me to write to your lordship with any other hand than mine own ; but by my troth,² my

¹ This word stone will be found used in Defoe, in Addison, and in other parts of these writings. In Addison, vol. iv., p. 119, we have : "As this good man was troubled with a complication of distempers, when he had the gout upon him, he used to thank God that it was not the stone ; and when he had the stone, that he had not both these distempers on him at the same time."

² In *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, Act iv., sc. 1, p. 346, we have .

"Now, as I can remember, by my troth,
I never did her hurt in all my life."

In *Twelfth Night*, Act i., sc. 3, p. 354, we have :

fingers are so disjointed with this fit of sickness, that I cannot steadily hold a pen." (Works, vol. iii., p. 91.)

It was to this earl that *The Anatomy of Abuses* was dedicated in 1583. As to Bacon's funeral, though passing his last hours at so distinguished a residence, no account or trace has ever been found. As I write this, and by reason of certain data, the idea sweeps afresh into my thoughts, Can it be possible that Lord Bacon through the king, through flight, or otherwise could have sought and maintained so strict a seclusion from the world as to have in this deceived it? and for the purpose, among others, of seeing, as he says in one of the already quoted sonnets, what the world would say of his philosophy. Is it not at least a singular circumstance, as to England's greatest son and philosopher, that there should remain no word, trace, or remembrance as to this last sad rite? and particularly so when we reflect upon the long delay in taking letters upon his effects, and which, though leaving a will, was finally performed only upon the application of creditors. As to his manuscripts, Mr. Spedding, in his preface to vol. iii. of Bacon's Philosophical Works, says: "What care, or whether any, was presently taken of these papers, I cannot learn. But it is probable that for fourteen months after Bacon's death, they remained locked up;—for so long it was before any one had authority to act; the executors named in the will refusing or delaying to assume their office, and letters of administration being granted on the 13th of July, 1627, to Sir Robert Rich and Thomas Meautys, two of the creditors;—and that then, or not long after they were placed in the hands of Mr. Bosville. This Mr. Bosville, better known as Sir William Boswell, was sent soon after Bacon's death, to the Hague; where he resided for several years as agent with the States of the United Provinces. He was knighted on the 18th of May, 1633, and died I believe in 1647. Whether all Bacon's remaining manuscripts were sent to him, or only a portion of them is not known."

Shortly before Bacon's reputed death the "pinches," to use a Baconian word, were being brought upon Bucking-

"*Mar.* By my troth, Sir Toby, you must come in earlier o' nights: your cousin, my lady, takes great exceptions to your ill hours."

ham. His impeachment in Parliament, and doubtless somewhat through Bacon's influence, had been effected some two months earlier and on February 6th, 1626. Not long prior to this event Bacon's relief from the Parliamentary sentence had been again thwarted. His creditors had been clamorous and he had yielded to them, and had thus become greatly straitened for means. He had likewise long been delayed, and evidently through Buckingham, in the recovery of a claim made over to him, though due the crown from his half brother, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and which he is thought to have received at about this time.

While Lord Bacon took all knowledge for his providence, the Church of England was among his chief cares, as we shall see. As a theologian Macaulay says: "What he was as a natural philosopher and a moral philosopher, that he was also as a theologian. He was, we are convinced, a sincere believer in the divine authority of the Christian revelation. Nothing can be found, in his writings, or in any other writings, more eloquent and pathetic than some passages which were apparently written under the influence of strong devotional feeling. He loved to dwell on the power of the Christian religion to effect much that the ancient philosophers could only promise. He loved to consider that religion as a bond of charity, the curb of evil passions, the consolation of the wretched, the support of the timid, the hope of the dying. But controversies on speculative points of theology seemed to have engaged scarcely any portion of his attention. In what he wrote on church government he showed, as far as he dared, a tolerant and charitable spirit.¹ He troubled himself not at all about Homoousians and Homoiousians, Monothelites, and Nestorians. He lived in an age in which disputes on the most subtle points of divinity excited an intense interest throughout Europe, and nowhere more than in England. He was placed in the very thick of the conflict. He was in power at the time of the Synod of Dort, and must for months have been daily deafened with talk about election, reprobation, and final perseverance. Yet we do not remember a line in his works from

¹ His more extended views upon this subject will be found in the Defoe literature.

which it can be inferred that he was either a Calvinist or an Arminian. While the world was resounding with the noise of a disputatious philosophy and a disputatious theology, the Baconian school, like Alworthy seated between Square and Thwackum, preserved a calm neutrality half scornful, half benevolent, and, content with adding to the sum of practical good, left the war of words to those who liked it."

Note the non-controversial and non-sectarian character of *The Pilgrim's Progress*.

As to these puzzles in divinity see *Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. i., pp. 149-51, and vol. ii., pp. 567-73. See also its introduction, pp. 20-24.

Portraits of Bacon are extant, and one even at the early age of eighteen, when an amiable, hopeful, sensitive, bashful boy. In person he is said to have been well formed, of a middle stature, and possessed of features both expressive and handsome, his whole countenance, until somewhat astringed by worldly anxiety, being singularly placid. In temperament he is said to have been so sensitive as to be affected by the least atmospheric changes, and hence, as might readily be expected, his health was somewhat delicate.

His mental gifts and methods were indeed most subtle, singular, and rare. Subtle differences in resemblances and subtle resemblances in differences seemed the easy fruitage of his researches, and concerning which Macaulay, in his noted Essay on Bacon, says: "In wit, if by wit be meant the power of perceiving analogies between things which appear to have nothing in common, he never had an equal, not even Cowley, not even the author of *Hudibras*. Indeed he possessed this faculty, or rather this faculty possessed him, to a morbid degree. When he abandoned himself to it without reserve, as he did in the *Sapientia Veterum*, and at the end of the second book of the *De Augmentis*, the feats which he performed were not merely admirable, but portentous and almost shocking. On these occasions we marvel at him as clowns on a fair-day marvel at a juggler, and can hardly help thinking that the devil must be in him."

Let these thoughts be particularly noted in connection with inwrappings in the plays, and let us take them with us as we go. Subtlety, however, is not inconsistent with

honesty, let it be remembered, though sometimes, when feared, we are inclined to think so.¹

An intense thirst for knowledge, a quick insight into all human motives, unceasing cogitations, combined with the most active attention, even to what would ordinarily be thought trifles, as evidenced in his *Crusoe*, make up a brief summary of Lord Bacon's mental gifts, concerning which Macaulay again says :

"One of the most remarkable circumstances in the history of Bacon's mind is the order in which its powers expanded themselves. With him the fruit came first and remained till the last ; the blossoms did not appear till late. In general, the development of the fancy is to the development of the judgment what the growth of a girl is to the growth of a boy. The fancy attains at an early period to the perfection of its beauty, its power, and its fruitfulness ; and, as it is first to ripen, it is also first to fade. It has generally lost something of its bloom and freshness before the sterner faculties have reached maturity ; and it is commonly withered and barren while those faculties still retain all their energy. It rarely happens that the fancy and the judgment grow together. It happens still more rarely that the judgment grows faster than the fancy. This seems, however, to have been the case with Bacon. His boyhood and youth appear to have been singularly sedate. His gigantic scheme of philosophical reform is said by some writers to have been planned before he was fifteen, and was undoubtedly planned while he was still young. He observed as vigilantly, meditated as deeply, and judged as temperately when he gave his first work to the world as at the close of his long career. But in eloquence, in sweetness and variety of expression, and in richness of illustration, his later writings are far superior to those of his youth."²

¹ Promus, 1127. (Every one wishes that to be destroyed which he fears.)

² Let this sentence be called into distinct relation with the supposed writings of Joseph Addison, one of the actors of the Defoe period. These short essays are the polished products of Bacon's later years, and are replete with the subtleties of fable, allegory, religion, politics, and philosophy. In a foot-note to these writings, vol. iv., p. 196, it is said : "His dreams and visions have more than all the grace and invention of Plato's. In this, at least, he was a true poet."

Bacon not only knew much, but once knowing seldom forgot, and his incomparable imagination held not precedence, but moved ever with or in the train of his reason. It is said of him that he read much and winnowed quickly, and cared little either for novelty or for antiquity.

In composition he seems to have sought chiefly clearness, then brevity and suavity. His narrational style, as displayed in the *New Atlantis* and in much of the Defoe literature, lay more in the direction of his recreation and leisure. By short, wisely chosen, and adroitly used words he made the mechanism of thought, and, in his Shakespeare the choicest bits of it, yield quickly to his purposes.¹

Concerning his tentative literary methods between 1592 and 1595, Church in his *Life of Bacon*, in the *English Men of Letters Series*, p. 21, says: "Among the fragmentary papers belonging to this time which have come down, not the least curious are those which throw light on his manner of working. While he was following out the great ideas which were to be the basis of his philosophy, he was as busy and as painstaking in fashioning the instruments by which they were to be expressed; and in these papers we have the records and specimens of this preparation. He was a great collector of sentences, proverbs, quotations, sayings, illustrations, anecdotes, and he seems to have read sometimes simply to gather phrases and apt words. He jots down at random any good and pointed remark which comes into his thought or his memory; at another time he groups a set of stock quota-

¹ Promus, 1062. (*Cast aside inflated diction and foot-and-a-half-long words.*) Promus, 1665. (*Such power lies in proper arrangement and connection, so capable are the meanest, commonest, and plainest things of ornament and grace.*) Note this in connection with Crusoe. Promus, 1064. (*And moulds his fiction in such a way as blends his false with what is true.*) Promus, 1038. (*Nor have I a doubt in my mind how hard it is to overcome those [difficulties] by style, and add this honour to matters [so] mean.*) Promus, 1033. (*Ye shall sing in alternate verses.* Said of couplets made by two rivals alternately.) Promus, 1059. (*The poet who desires to vary uniformity in a monstrous way.*) Promus, 1044. (*O imitators, a servile herd.*) Promus, 1053. (*But Lucilius was of high merit as a poet, because he intermixed Greek and Latin words. O late to begin your studies!*) Promus, 1029. (*What when a letter defrauded of its lawful sound.*) Promus, 1066. (*Therefore I discharge the office of a whetstone, which, itself incompetent to cut, can render iron sharp.*)

tions with a special drift, bearing on some subject, such as the faults of universities or the habits of lawyers. Nothing is too minute for his notice. He brings together in great profusion mere forms, varied turns of expression, heads and tails of clauses and paragraphs, transitions, connections; he notes down fashions of compliment, of excuse or repartee, even morning and evening salutations; he records neat and convenient opening and concluding sentences, ways of speaking more adapted than others to give a special colour or direction to what the speaker or writer has to say—all that hook and-eye work which seems so trivial and passes so unnoticed as a matter of course, and which yet is often hard to reach, and which makes all the difference between tameness and liveliness, between clearness and obscurity—all the difference, not merely to the ease and naturalness, but often to the logical force of speech. These collections it was his way to sift and transcribe again and again, adding as well as omitting. From one of these, belonging to 1594 and the following years, the *Promus of Formularies and Elegancies*, Mr. Spedding has given curious extracts; and the whole collection has been recently edited by Mrs. Henry Pott. Thus it was that he prepared himself for what, as we read it, or as his audience heard it, seems the suggestion or recollection of the moment. Bacon was always much more careful of the value or aptness of a thought than of its appearing new and original. Of all great writers he least minds repeating himself, perhaps in the very same words; so that a simile, an illustration, a quotation pleases him, he returns to it—he is never tired of it; it obviously gives him satisfaction to introduce it again and again. These collections of odds and ends illustrate another point in his literary habits. His was a mind keenly sensitive to all analogies and affinities, impatient of a strict and rigid logical groove, but spreading, as it were, tentacles on all sides in quest of chance prey, and quickened into a whole system of imagination by the electric quiver imparted by a single word, at once the key and symbol of the thinking it had led to. And so he puts down word or phrase, so enigmatical to us who see it by itself, which to him would wake up a whole train of ideas, as he remembered the occasion of it—how at a certain time and place this word set the whole moving, seemed to breathe new life and shed new light, and

has remained the token, meaningless in itself, which reminds him of so much.

“When we come to read his letters, his speeches, his works, we come continually on the results and proofs of this early labour.¹ Some of the most memorable and familiar passages of his writings are to be traced from the storehouses which he filled in these years of preparation. An example of this correspondence between the note-book and the composition is to be seen in a paper belonging to this period, written apparently to form part of a mask, or as he himself calls it, a ‘Conference of Pleasure,’ and entitled the *Praise of Knowledge*.”

And in Sonnet 77 he not only reminds himself of his unhappy slowness in his work, but of this good note-book habit of jotting down his thoughts in order that they may take a new acquaintance of the mind. He says :

“Thy glass will show thee how thy beauties wear,
Thy dial how thy precious minutes waste ;
The vacant leaves thy mind’s imprint will bear,
And of this book this learning may’st thou taste :
The wrinkles which thy glass will truly show,
Of mouthed graves will give thee memory :
Thou by thy dial’s shady stealth may’st know
Time’s thievish progress to eternity.
Look, what thy memory cannot contain,
Commit to these waste blanks ; and thou shalt find
Those children nurs’d, deliver’d from thy brain,
To take a new acquaintance of thy mind.
These offices, so oft as thou wilt look,
Shall profit thee, and much enrich thy book.”

These note-book methods most vividly appear in the Anatomy of Melancholy, where profuse and rich quotations from ancient lore, as selected particulars, are made the basis of conclusions in conformity to the methods of the *Novum Organum*. In vol. ii., p. 351, after referring to certain collected instances pro and con it is stated : “The sum of which I will briefly epitomise (for I light

¹ And, we add, they may be traced into every phase of the writings under review.

² The word “taste” and “tasted” Bacon often applied to matters literary, as we shall see ; and he says : “Of the New Organon I say nothing, nor shall I give any taste of it here ; as I purpose by the divine favour to compose a complete work on that subject,—being the most important thing of all.” (Phil. Works, vol. iv., p. 421.)

my candle from other torches¹), and I enlarge again upon occasion, as shall seem best to me, and that after mine own method."

From the foregoing it may be seen, if our position be true, that the so-called Shakespeare writings were not the result of mere spontaneity but rather of a rigorous levy upon the mental energies. But in his work at p. 163, Church of Bacon says: "So he died: the brightest, richest, largest mind but one, in the age which had seen Shakespeare and his fellows; so bright and rich and large that there have been found those who identify him with the writer of *Hamlet* and *Othello*. That is idle. Bacon could no more have written the plays than Shakespeare could have prophesied the triumphs of natural philosophy." But with these conceded gifts and methods, why? From what rendered reasons could he not? From these, and not sweeping conclusions, would we have our judgment corrected if in error. The research of the one will be found the research of the other; central thoughts of the one, will be found the central thoughts of the other; the vocabulary and set forms of expression of the one, will be found the vocabulary and set forms of expression of the other; and so to the end, as we shall see.

While a reformer, and in a sense not yet made manifest, Bacon was still ever conservative, and especially as to all civil affairs, and which he thought ought to be like the advance of nature scarcely discernible in its motion and visible only in its issues. "Let a living spring flow into the stagnant waters" are his words. And hence it may be seen why he did not seek in the plays to disturb the populace with political issues. These and the subject of inspired divinity were to Bacon's mind the last subjects to be in any way thus popularly handled; and hence—saying nothing as to a subtle—in a popular sense, they are

¹ This is the Baconian word for this place, and observe its use throughout. Note the word in his mentioned letter to King James, page 95, and see p. 178. And in *Measure for Measure*, Act i., sc. 1, p. 20, we have:

"Heaven doth with us, as we with torches do;
Not light them for themselves: for if our virtues
Did not go forth of us, 'twere all alike
As if we had them not."

notably absent from this branch of his work.¹ And this is all, we think, that need be here said concerning the politics or the religion of the plays. He, on the other hand, as to arts, says there is "a great difference between arts and civil affairs; arts and sciences should be like mines resounding on all sides with new works, and further progress: but it is not good to try experiments in states except the necessity be urgent and the utility evident; and well to beware that it is the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation." (Works, vol. i., p. 115.)

The plays are works of art, and embrace much more, we think, than has yet been seen in them. Their external was evidently designed to entertain the people, to show the outcome of bad motives, and to furnish forth means for their author while in the performance of work which he regarded of more vital importance.

As a judge, and even during his troubles as chancellor, it has not been pretended that any decree made by him was unjust, even though certain would-be bribers may have been tricked by his serpent and dove theories.²

While unrelentingly firm to the ends which he regarded as worthy, he still in their attainment indulged in the suavity and ceremoniousness of his day.³ Here, as in the works of nature, he by indirection found direction out. This was art. This was the shepherd's crook. This was following the line of least resistance. And this was Bacon.

His political methods may be best seen in the mentioned A. D. B. mask upon courts of princes, and where he displays an accurate judgment as to the foibles of men. That he was gifted in satire and humor may be seen in his Apophthegms, and which show a taste for all those elements wrought into the plays. He of them says: "They are 'mucrones verborum,' pointed speeches. Cicero prettily calleth them 'salinas,' salt pits, that you may

¹ In his essay on "Honour and Reputation" he says: "If a man so temper his actions, as in some one of them he doth content every faction or combination of people, the music will be the fuller."

² In All's Well that Ends Well, Act iv., sc. 2, p. 351, it is said:

"I think't no sin
To cousin him, that would unjustly win."

³ Promus, 1324. (The end is better than [the course, means] to the end.)

extract salt out of, and sprinkle it where you will. They serve to be interlaced in continued speech. They serve to be recited upon occasion of themselves. They serve, if you take out the kernel of them and make them your own. I have, for my recreation, in my sickness, fanned the old, not omitting any, because they are vulgar (for many vulgar ones are excellent good), nor for the meanness of the person, but because they are dull and flat; and added many new, that otherwise would have died." (Works, vol. i., p. 107.)

To those who may think that Lord Bacon could not have been author of *Roxana*, *Moll Flanders*, and the plays, by reason of alluded-to elements, let them but read the *Apophthegms*. We have not here an unsunned clod, but an all-sided man,¹ with gifts as wide as ever fell within the reaches of mortality.

Until Lord Bacon had attained the age of forty-seven years, when by King James's appointment he became solicitor-general, his time had been almost wholly devoted to study and to literary work. In 1573, at the early age of twelve, he and his two years elder brother, Anthony, were admitted to Trinity College, Cambridge, one of England's two great national seats of learning.² Even at these years we find him meditating not merely upon the laws of sound, but even upon those of the imagination, concerning which he later expended so much thought, and in the fringes or borders of which he reached the

¹ In the *Taming of the Shrew*, Act i., sc. 1, p. 415, we have :

" I am in all affected as yourself,
Glad that you thus continue your resolve,
To suck the sweets of sweet philosophy.
Only, good master, while we do admire
This virtue, and this moral discipline,
Let's be no stoics, nor no stocks, I pray ;
Or so devote to Aristotle's ethics,
As Ovid be an outcast quite abjur'd.
Balk logic with acquaintance that you have,
And practise rhetoric in your common talk :
Music and poesy use to quicken you :
The mathematics, and the metaphysics,
Fall to them as you find your stomach serves you :
No profit grows where is no pleasure ta'en :—
In brief, sir, study what you most affect."

² Lord Bacon was the youngest of eight children—six by a former marriage. (Bacon's Letters, vol. i., p. 2.)

conclusion that imagination may become a cause, and even a cure of disease ; and due not to marvel, but to material changes wrought by it in the bodily humors. See in this connection the ending of ch. 1, Book 4, of the *De Augmentis*. And in ch. 1 of Book 5, concerning the imagination, he says :

“Logic discourses of the Understanding and Reason ; Ethics of the Will, Appetite, and Affections : the one produces determinations, the other actions. It is true indeed that the imagination performs the office of an agent or messenger or proctor in both provinces, both the judicial and the ministerial. For sense sends all kinds of images over to imagination for reason to judge of ; and reason again, when it has made its judgment and selection, sends them over to imagination before the decree be put in execution. For voluntary motion is ever preceded and incited by imagination ; so that imagination is as a common instrument to both,—both reason and will ; saving that this Janus of imagination has two different faces ; for the face towards reason has the print of truth, and the face towards action has the print of goodness ; which nevertheless are faces,—*quales decet esse sororum*. [Such as sisters’ faces should be.] Neither is the imagination simply and only a messenger ; but it is either invested with or usurps no small authority in itself, besides the simple duty of the messenger. For it was well said by Aristotle, ‘That the mind has over the body that commandment which the lord has over a bondman ; but that reason has over the imagination that commandment which a magistrate has over a free citizen,’ who may come also to rule in his turn. For we see that in matters of faith and religion our imagination raises itself above our reason ; not that divine illumination resides in the imagination ; its seat being rather in the very citadel of the mind and understanding ; but that the divine grace uses the motions of the imagination as an instrument of illumination, just as it uses the motions of the will as an instrument of virtue ; which is the reason why religion ever sought access to the mind by similitudes, types, parables, visions, dreams.”

While in the university it was that his dislike of and his disbelief in the then extant philosophy arose, and particularly as taught by its great disciple, Aristotle, and due chiefly to its unfruitful methods. “In the univer-

sities,' he says, "they learn nothing but to believe : first that others know that which they know not ; and after themselves know that which they know not. They are like becalmed ships ; they never move but by the winds of other men's truth and have no oars of their own to steer withal."

When he left Cambridge, which was at the end of his third year, it was with the conviction that the institutions of learning were stagnant as to all true advancement in knowledge, and he seems ever after to have thought himself called as by some irresistible impulse to its renovation, or reformation ; and to have been within the bounds of duty only when in some way at work in the line of this seemingly destined mission—the good of men. (See Sonnets 100 and 101.) As to this, he in our mentioned Head-light says : "This whether it be curiosity, or vainglory, or nature, or, if you take it favorably, philanthropia, is so fixed in my mind, as it cannot be removed."

All must, we think, unite in saying that his labors ever tended in the direction indicated, whatever conclusions may be reached as to his private life. For this reason we feel to investigate with care and to suspend still our judgment. We have here a life and methods far out of the common road ; envy can do much, and, as stated in the play of *The Tempest*, "misery acquaints us with strange bedfellows."

Upon leaving the university, at the age of sixteen, he spent some time abroad, and particularly in France, where diplomacy, cipher writing, and statistics, as well as philosophy, occupied his thoughts. While in France, he was somewhat under the care of Elizabeth's faithful minister at the French court, Sir Amias Paulett, and acquired, it is said, durable friendships with grave statesmen and men of letters. While thus absent he received news of his father's somewhat sudden death, occurring February 20, 1579, whereupon he immediately returned to England. By this event a distinguished influence was shorn away, as well as an intended financial provision ; and Bacon's future prospects became at once overshadowed, and not merely from want of means, against which for years he was now compelled to struggle, but by reason, as well, of jealousy or lack of appreciation on the part of his relatives—the Cecils—who, heading the party in power, had the

ear of the queen. His relatives having been schooled not merely in the law, but in the then opening science of English statesmanship, these fields seemed to lie most open to him, though neither but for lack of means would have been chosen, as he himself tells us. Why he did not now devote himself exclusively to philosophy and letters may be found vividly pictured in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, under the title "Love of Learning and Overmuch Study. With a Digression of the Misery of Scholars, and Why the Muses are Melancholy," vol. i., p. 185.

In 1580, the year following his father's death, he by letter, both to his Uncle and Aunt Burghley, sought some place or preferment, by asking of them recommendations to the queen. This failing to bring the desired results, to the law he reluctantly turned his attention, and was this year admitted to Gray's Inn, of which society his father had for many years been a prominent member, and of whose society of ancients he had himself been a member since the age of sixteen. In the law, as elsewhere, he became proficient, by mastering each step in the advance. And though it was to him ever but an accessory, and not his principal study, he still became as proficient, perhaps, not merely in its precepts, precedents, and authorities, but in its philosophy, as any man of his day, his great rival Coke not excepted. He indeed explored deeply the principles of universal justice and looked at his profession in the line of his philosophy. He says: "I hold every man is a debtor to his profession, from the which,¹ as men do of course seek to receive countenance and profit, so ought they to endeavour themselves by way of amends, to be a help and ornament." At the festivities of Gray's Inn he often assisted, and was the author of its most brilliant masks. He took much interest in its spacious gardens. Observe the emphasis upon the garden in the plays, in Addison, and everywhere in this literature. In his *Essay on Gardens* he says: "God Almighty first planted a garden; and, indeed, it is the purest of human pleasures; it is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man; without which buildings and palaces are but gross handiwork; and a man shall ever see, that, when ages grow to

¹ This form of expression, "from the which," and "to the which," may be found quite frequent in the plays. See our quotation from *Othello*, p. 197.

civility and elegancy, men come to build stately, sooner than to garden finely ; as if gardening were the greater perfection." From one of his alluded-to masks we, as to a poetic use of the word garden, quote as follows :

" The gardens of love wherein he now playeth himself, are fresh to-day and fading to morrow, as the sun comforts them or is turned from them. But the gardens of the Muses keep the privilege of the golden age ; they ever flourish and are in league with time. The monuments of wit survive the monuments of power : the verses of a poet endure without a syllable lost, while states and empires pass many periods. Let him not think he shall descend, for he is now upon a hill as a ship is mounted upon the ridge of a wave ; but that hill¹ of the Muses is above tempests, always clear and calm ; a hill of the goodliest discovery that man can have, being a prospect upon all the errors and wanderings of the present and former times. Yea, in some cliff it leadeth the eye beyond the horizon of time, and giveth no obscure divinations of times to come. So that if he will indeed lead *vitam vitalem*, a life that unites safety and dignity, pleasure and merit ; if he will win admiration without envy ; if he will be in the feast and not in the throng, in the light and not in the heat ; let him embrace the life of study and contemplation." (Bacon's Letters, vol. i., p. 379.)

Again : as to the garden, we in Othello, Act i., sc. 3, p. 440, have :

" *Iago*. Virtue ? a fig ! 'tis in ourselves that we are thus, or thus. Our bodies are gardens, to the which our wills are gardeners : so that, if we will plant nettles, or sow lettuce ; set hyssop, and weed up thyme ; supply it with one gender of herbs, or distract it with many ; either to have it sterile with idleness, or manured with industry ; why, the power and corrigible authority of this lies in our wills. If the balance of our lives had not one scale of reason to poise another of sensuality, the blood and baseness of our natures would conduct us to most preposterous conclusions : But we have reason, to cool our raging motions, our carnal stings, our unbitted lusts ; whereof I take this, that you call—love, to be a sect, or scion.

" *Rod*. It cannot be.

" *Iago*. It is merely a lust of the blood, and a permission of the will. Come be a man : drown thyself ? drown cats and blind puppies."

¹ Let the emphasis placed upon the " hill " in these writings be noted.

At Gray's Inn he lived absorbed in work, much as a recluse in his chambers. Here it was that, in 1583, his first essay on the instauration of philosophy was composed, and to which, as stated, he gave the title *Temporis Partus Maximus*. On June 27th of the previous year he was admitted utter barrister, and in this habit is said occasionally to have been seen abroad in the city. This did not confer the right to practise, however, and he was twenty-six years of age before he became a bencher—that is, before he was called within bars, upon which event he, in a letter to his Uncle Burghley, among other things, says: “I find in my simple observation, that they which live as it were in *umbra* and not in public or frequent action, how moderately and modestly soever they behave themselves, yet *laborant invidia*; I find also that such persons as are of nature bashful (as myself am), whereby they want that plausible familiarity which others have, are often mistaken for proud. But once I know well, and I most humbly beseech your lordship to believe that arrogancy and overweening is so far from my nature, as if I think well of myself in any thing it is in this, that I am free from that vice.” (Works, vol. i., p. 23) At the age of twenty-eight he was by the Society of Gray's Inn chosen lent reader, and by the 42d of Elizabeth double reader and in his thirtieth year he was considered one of the queen's counsel learned extraordinary in the law, but which, being held without warrant or patent, yielded him no revenue.

He, as a member of the House of Commons, was in the Parliament which met in November, 1584, while the nation was in its white heat concerning the maintenance of the Protestant or Reformed faith as against Spain and the influences of Rome. A bull of excommunication had been issued against Elizabeth by the pope as early as 1569. Bacon was also in the Parliament which met in October, 1586, and which passed judgment upon Mary Queen of Scots, and was one of the committee to whom the matter was referred. See Bacon's Letters, vol. i., pp. 61–67.

During this year he began to indulge his pen in carefully prepared papers touching church affairs, and one concerning a policy to keep the Catholic interest in check was prepared by him in the previous year.¹ This was

¹ Such papers at this time circulated from hand to hand, and were

followed by others concerning the Church of England, and with the view of harmonizing its discordant elements, consisting, as in the days of Defoe, of the Church party, the Nonconformists, and the Catholics. In 1589 he prepared an important paper of this kind, when the High Church party and the Nonconformists, now beginning to be called Puritans, were in much heat. Though of Puritan stock, still no merely sectarian mould could compass him.

The first reformers had left room for such variety of opinion as time was likely to breed. But their successors inherited not their policy and chose not to tolerate further reform, and so in the perilous times of 1584 a struggle arose between the bishops and the Nonconformists, wherein Elizabeth, through fear or otherwise, decided against the Puritan element. Commissioners appointed by the crown chose now to silence and remove such ministers as they approved not, and thus a check was put upon the free interpretation of the Word. Concerning this step by Elizabeth, Mr. Spedding says: "I doubt whether there has been a more important crisis in English history, or whether the queen ever made a greater mistake than in choosing this moment to stop the tide and put herself in direct opposition to this party. She succeeded indeed; she carried her point and stood her ground during her own life; but it was at the expense of creating a division among the Protestant party, which ended in the overthrow of the monarchy itself for a time, and in making the existence of a national English Church, in any true sense of the word national, an impossibility to this day. The Church of England emerged from the storm with the name and legal rights and temporal attractions, but without the moral and spiritual authority of a national church, to be thenceforward only one of many Protestant sects into which the English people are divided." (Bacon's Letters, vol. i., p. 39.)

Bacon's mother longed to see this step averted, and sought a personal interview with the crown adviser, Burghley, for the purpose. See her able letter to him upon the subject and the full chapter in which it occurs. (Bacon's Letters, vol. i., pp. 40-42.)

rarely published. They were what would now be called magazine articles.

The court of Elizabeth was divided into two parties, the Cecils—Lord Burghley and his son Robert—being at the head of the one party, and party in power; and the Earl of Leicester and later the Earl of Essex of the other. Bacon through friendship became allied to Essex, who upon Leicester's death, in 1588, became chief favorite of the queen. Though Essex at first seemed generous and noble, he still possessed elements that grew increasingly discordant. In 1591 we find Bacon acting as his confidential adviser, their acquaintance beginning, it is said, in the early part of this year. Upon the return of Bacon's brother Anthony from abroad, the following year, they both exerted themselves in his interest. Concerning their employment Mr. Spedding says: "In both these countries Essex had correspondents, in his intercourse with whom Anthony Bacon appears to have served him in a capacity very like that of a modern under-secretary of state; receiving all letters, which were mostly in cipher, in the first instance; forwarding them generally through his brother Francis's hands to the earl, deciphered and accompanied with their joint suggestions; and finally, according to the instructions thereupon returned, framing and despatching the answers."

Essex had been in France during the latter half of 1591 as commander of the forces sent to assist Henry the Fourth of France, and the acquaintance, it is said, cannot be dated later than the preceding July. Bacon was still at Gray's Inn.

Though there was at court at this period much pedantry and a kind of grave learning, still that of the lighter sort was looked upon by the Burghley party with coldness, while philosophy, concerning which Bacon was now reminding himself of his unhappy slowness, was viewed with positive suspicion. At about this juncture, and in 1592, it was that Bacon, desirous of escape from his profession, by procuring some appointment at court that should yield him support and at the same time leisure for literary work, that his noted letter to Lord Burghley, set out in our introduction to this work, was written. Following this letter he received the right to the reversion of the registership of the Star Chamber. But as this did not fall into possession for some twenty years, it was of no immediate value to him. We think this matter is

alluded to in 'The Anatomy of Melancholy, vol. i., p. 208.

As one of the knights from Middlesex, he sat in the Parliament which met February 19th, 1592, and chiefly for consultation and preparations against further Spanish designs upon England. Early in the session, and on March 7th, he made a speech which, we think, had much influence in curbing his freedom of action upon political issues. It displeased the queen, and he was made very uncomfortable by reason of it. Though he favored the subsidies for the present necessities of the government, he opposed the shortness of the time in which they were to be raised. He likewise raised a question of privilege, insisting that the Lords had no rights in the deliberations of the Commons on questions of supply, as such questions were exclusively with them; and Burghley and the queen were compelled to shift the position which they had taken in the matter. (Bacon's Letters, vol. i., pp. 208-42.)

He was at once charged with seeking popularity, and for a time he was excluded from court, and was even forbidden to enter the queen's presence. To the Cecils, through whom the queen's displeasure was communicated to him, he, among other things, though not apologizing, said "he spoke in discharge of his conscience and duty to God, to the queen, and to his country." Afterwards in a letter upon the subject to the lord keeper, Sir John Puckering, he says:

"MY LORD: It is a great grief unto me, joined with marvel, that her majesty should retain a hard conceit of my speeches in Parliament. It might please her sacred majesty to think what my end should be in those speeches, if it were not duty, and duty alone. I am not so simple but I know the common beaten way to please. And whereas popularity hath been objected, I muse what care I should take to please many, that take a course of life to deal with few. On the other side, her majesty's grace and particular favour towards me hath been such, as I esteem no worldly thing above the comfort to enjoy it, except it be the conscience to deserve it. But, if the not seconding of some particular person's opinion shall be presumption, and to differ upon the manner shall be to impeach the end, it shall teach me devotion not to exceed wishes, and those in silence. Yet notwithstanding (to

speak vainly as in grief), it may be her majesty hath discouraged as good a heart as ever looked towards her service, and as void of self-love. And so, in more grief than I can well express, and much more than I can well dissemble, I leave your lordship, being as ever, your lordship's entirely devoted, etc." (Works, vol. iii., p. 91.)

Could he now but have realized, as fully as he was ultimately compelled to do, the difficulties of uniting in one and the same person the incongruous character of the politic courtier with that of the sincere philosopher, it had been better. But his refined tastes unfitted him for the common walks of life, to say nothing as to his great felt mission; and his means were such as poorly to yield him leisure.

In a still earlier speech, and on February 25th, he presented the ever-important question to him touching improvement of the laws, and which after his method was to be in their very roots and foundations. He continued ever interested in this subject, and late in life prepared a plan for the renovation and digest of the whole body of English law, and particularly as to that branch which is penal in its nature. He likewise composed a tract upon universal justice. The next year, 1593, the office of attorney-general fell vacant, and Bacon earnestly sought the place. His insolent and galsome rival, Sir Edward Coke, was likewise an aspirant. Essex, of whom Bacon was for a time the ballast and intellectual right arm, became this year a member of the Privy Council, and now in his pompous and showy way undertook to forward Bacon's claims with the queen. To the Cecils Bacon also applied himself. After much shifting, Coke in April, 1594, received the appointment. Bacon felt not only deeply wounded, but disgraced. Coke's promotion, however, left vacant the solicitor's place, and Bacon's debts pressing now somewhat heavily, he made trial for it. Again Essex pretended assistance, but after a tedious and protracted effort Mr. Sargent Fleming received the appointment, November 5th, 1595, and Bacon, among other things, writes to Essex: "For means, I value that most; and the rather because I am purposed not to follow the practice of the law (if her Majesty command me in any particular, I shall be ready to do her willing service): and

my reason is only, because it drinketh too much time,¹ which I have dedicated to better purposes."

Though not idle, still this great delay, anxiety, and disappointment threw Bacon into much mortification and gloom. He began to lose confidence in Essex's ability either as a leader or to in any way do him good. For once he lost his patience, and seemed disgusted with all concerned. Did he begin to indulge a suspicion that Essex thought his time, talent, and friendship more important to him—Essex—than if encumbered by public employment? He in a letter to Essex, in 1593, concerning his services and while trying for the attorney's place, says :

"MY LORD : I did almost conjecture, by your silence and countenance, a distaste in the course I imparted to your lordship touching mine own fortune ; the care whereof in your lordship as it is no news to me, so, nevertheless, the main effects and demonstrations past are so far from dulling in me the sense of any new, as, contrariwise, every new refresheth the memory of many past. And for the free and loving advice your lordship hath given me, I cannot correspond to the same with greater duty, than by assuring your lordship, that I will not dispose of myself without your allowance, not only because it is the best wisdom in any man in his own matters, to rest in the wisdom of a friend, (for who can by often looking in a glass discern and judge so well of his own favour as another with whom he converseth?) but also because my affection to your lordship hath made mine own contentment inseparable from your satisfaction. But notwithstanding, I know it will be pleasing to your good lordship that I use my liberty of replying ; and I do almost assure myself, that your lordship will rest persuaded by the answer of those reasons which your lordship vouchsafed to open. They were two, the one that I should include. . . ."

April, 1593. The rest of the letter is wanting. (Works, vol. iii., p. 200.)

That he became suspicious in these matters may be seen by his letter to his friend Faulk Grevil the following year. He says :

¹ In King Richard II., Act v., sc. 2, p. 125, we have :

"Is not my teeming date drunk up with time?"

Note throughout these writings, and particularly in the plays, the emphasis placed upon the subject of time.

“SIR : I understand of your pains to have visited me, for which I thank you. My matter is an endless question. I assure you I had said, ‘*requiesce anima mea ;*’ but now I am otherwise put to my psalter ‘*nolite confidere,*’ I dare go no farther. Her majesty had by set speech more than once assured me of her intention to call me to her service ; which I could not understand but of the place I had been named to. And now whether ‘*invidus homo hoc fecit,*’ or whether my matter must be an appendix to my Lord of Essex’s suit, or whether her majesty, pretending to prove my ability, meaneth but to take advantage of some errors, which like enough, at one time or other I may commit, or what it is, but her majesty is not ready to dispatch it. And what though the master of the rolls and my Lord of Essex, and yourself and others think my case without doubt, yet, in the mean time I have a hard condition to stand so, that whatsoever service I do to her majesty, it shall be thought to be but ‘*servitium viscatum,*’ lime-twigs and fetches to place myself ; and so I shall have envy, not thanks. This is a course to quench all good spirits, and to corrupt every man’s nature ; which will, I fear, much hurt her majesty’s service in the end. I have been like a piece of stuff bespoke in the shop : and if her majesty will not take me, it may be the selling by parcels will be more gainful. For to be, as I told you, like a child following a bird, which, when he is nearest, flieth away and lighteth a little before, and then the child after it again, and so in infinitum, I am weary of it, as also of wearying my good friends, of whom, nevertheless, I hope in one course or other gratefully to deserve. And so, not forgetting your business I leave to trouble you with this idle letter, being but ‘*justa et moderata querimonia.*’ For, indeed, I do confess ‘*primus amor,*’ will not easily be cast off. And thus again I commend me to you.” (Works, vol. iii., p. 52.)

This letter reminds us of Sonnet 143, and where he says to the queen :

“Lo ! as a careful housewife runs to catch
 One of her feather’d creatures broke away ;
 Sets down her babe, and makes all swift despatch
 In pursuit of the thing she would have stay ;
 Whilst her neglected child holds her in chase,
 Cries to catch her, whose busy care is bent
 To follow that which flies before her face,

Not prizing her poor infant's discontent ;—
 So runn'st thou after that which flies from thee,
 Whilst I, thy babe, chase thee afar behind ;
 But, if thou catch thy hope, turn back to me,
 And play the mother's part ; kiss me, be kind :
 So will I pray that thou may'st have thy Will,
 If thou turn back and my loud crying still."

The word "Will," in this sonnet distinguished by a capital, refers, as we shall claim, to the royal will, the will of the queen. See, please, Bacon's letter to his brother Anthony, June 25th, 1594 (Works, vol. iii., p. 205), in connection with Sonnets 135 and 136. As to these sonnets Hudson says : "In this sonnet and the next we print the Wills just as they stand in the originals. Of course this is a play on the poet's name William."

As between this interpretation and ours the reader must judge. As the mentioned sonnets have caused comment, we give them place here, that they may be read in the light of the interpretation we have given them. They are as follows :

"Whoever hath her wish, thou hast thy Will,
 And Will to boot, and Will in overplus ;
 More than enough am I that vex thee still,¹
 To thy sweet will making addition thus.
 Wilt thou, whose will is large and spacious,
 Not once vouchsafe to hide my will in thine ?
 Shall will in others seem right gracious,
 And in my will no fair acceptance shine ?
 The sea, all water, yet receives rain still,
 And in abundance addeth to his store ;
 So thou, being rich in Will, add to thy Will
 One will of mine, to make thy large Will more.
 Let no unkind, no fair beseechers kill ;
 Think all but one, and me in that one Will."

"If thy soul check thee that I come so near,
 Swear to thy blind soul that I was thy Will,
 And will, thy soul knows, is admitted there ;
 Thus far, for love, my love-suit, sweet, fulfil.
 Will will fulfil the treasure of thy love,
 Ay, fill it full with wills, and my will one,
 In things of great receipt² with ease we prove ;
 Among a number one is reckon'd none."

¹ Note in this sonnet the expression "I that vex thee still," and in the next sonnet, "If thy soul check thee that I come so near."

² The expression "In things of great receipt" is Baconian.

Then, in the number let me pass untold,
 Though in thy stores' account I one must be ;
 For nothing hold me, so it please thee hold
 That nothing, me, a something sweet to thee :
 Make but my name thy love, and love that still,
 And then thou lov'st me,—for my name is Will.”¹

Bacon had in 1593, as we have seen, been forbidden to come within the queen's presence, and in a letter dated October 14th, 1595, to the Lord Keeper Puckering he says of the queen : “ Or whether she look towards me or no, I remain the same, not altered in my intention.” (Bacon's Letters, vol. i., p. 369.)

In Essex's interest, and for the entertainment of the queen, Bacon in 1592 devised a brilliant court mask, in which his articles entitled “ Mr. Bacon in Praise of Knowledge” and “ Mr. Bacon in Praise of His Sovereign” are thought to have formed speeches. They came from the hands of Harley to Stephens, and were first published in 1734, after the death of both Harley and Defoe. (Bacon's Letters, vol. i., pp. 119-134.) And see same volume, pp. 325-343 and pp. 374-392, the good literature of two like masks devised by Bacon and performed before the queen, one in 1594 and the other in 1595. Concerning the last Mr. Spedding says : “ Thus ended one of the most eloquent Christmas entertainments, probably, that was ever presented to an audience of statesmen and courtiers.” Courses were here presented which Bacon would gladly have had the queen pursue. Note the speeches of the six counsellors and the Prince of Purpoole's answers and conclusions upon those speeches.

Bacon also composed important letters, which Essex subscribed and used as his own. (See Bacon's Letters, vol. ii., pp. 4-26.)

As a kind of compensation for these services, or for his

¹ Church in his life of Bacon, p. 57, says : “ He was a compound of the most adventurous and most diversified ambition, with a placid and patient temper, such as we commonly associate with moderate desires and the love of retirement and an easy life. To imagine and dare anything, and never to let go the object of his pursuit, is one side of him ; on the other he is obsequiously desirous to please and fearful of giving offence, the humblest and most grateful and also the most importunate of suitors, ready to bide his time with an even cheerfulness of spirit, which yet it was not safe to provoke by ill offices and the wish to thwart him.”

loss of time and money while trying for the mentioned positions, property valued at £1800 was conferred upon him by Essex. Did the queen, unknown to Bacon at this time, have to do with this? and had she been teaching him a lesson more ruinous to his finances than she had supposed? He at least in Sonnet 145 says :

“ Those lips that Love’s own hand did make,
 Breath’d forth the sound that said, ‘ I hate,’
 To me, that languish’d for her sake ;
 But when she saw my woeful state,
 Straight in her heart did mercy come,
 Chiding that tongue, that ever sweet
 Was us’d in giving gentle doom ;
 And taught it thus anew to greet :
 ‘ I hate,’ she alter’d with an end,
 That follow’d it as gentle day
 Doth follow night, who, like a fiend,
 From heaven to hell is flown away :
 ‘ I hate,’ from hate away she threw,
 And sav’d my life, saying,—‘ not you.’ ”

Bacon now demonstrated that he had merit to those who had of late berated him, by putting forth early in 1597, when thirty-six years of age, his first acknowledged publication. This he dedicated to his brother Anthony. It consisted of a small 12mo volume containing his first ten essays, the *Meditationes Sacræ* and the Colours of Good and Evil. Another edition of them was issued the following year, a third in 1612, and a fourth in 1625, the year prior to his death. New essays were added in subsequent editions, and those first issued were somewhat amended. By some of his friends they were immediately translated into French, Latin, and Italian.

In 1596 he had completed, though not published until after his death, his valuable paper in two parts upon the elements and uses of the common law, and which “ as a sheaf and cluster of fruit ” he dedicated to the queen. At the end of this year Essex, as we have seen, was flushed with his military reputation won at Cadiz, and Bacon grew apprehensive of his now courses toward the queen. He says he had “ good cause to think that the earl’s fortunes comprehended his own.” And so on October 4th, 1576, he wrote him a long and friendly, yet very earnest letter, dissuading him from courting military popularity, he, Bacon, well knowing that such a reputation, now

rapidly rising with the people towards Essex, would assuredly and permanently alienate the queen. These courses were disturbing the waters. Through Essex and his court masks Bacon was preparing the queen and others for the advent of his philosophy. The letter seems a kind of warning to Essex, that he, Bacon, must at least look out for himself if the earl persisted in these dangerous courses.

We here give place to a considerable portion of the letter, though it should be read in full.

“MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD : I will no longer dissever part of that which I meant to have said to your lordship at Barnhelmes, from the exordium, which I then made. Whereunto I will only add this ; that I humbly desire your lordship before you give access to my poor advice, to look about, even jealously a little, if you will, and to consider ; First, whether I have not reason to think that your fortune comprehendeth mine : Next, whether I shift my counsel and do not ‘constare mihi ;’ for I am persuaded there are some would give you the same counsel now, which I shall, but that they should derogate from that which they have said heretofore : Thirdly, whether you have taken hurt at any time by my careful and devoted counsel. For although I remember well your lordship once told me that you having submitted upon my well-meant motion at Nonsuch (the place where you renewed a treaty with her majesty of obsequious kindness¹), she had taken advantage of it ; yet I suppose you do since believe that it did much attemper a cold and malignant humour then growing upon her majesty toward your lordship, and hath done you good in consequence. And for being against it, now lately, that you should not estrange yourself, though I give place to none in true gratulation, yet neither do I repent me of safe counsel ; neither do I judge of the whole play by the first act.² But whether I counsel you the best, or for the best, duty bindeth me to offer to you my wishes. I said to your lordship last time ; ‘Martha, Martha, attendis ad plurima, unum sufficit.’ Win the queen ; if this be not the beginning, of any

¹ As to Bacon’s sonnet for this occasion, see p. 153.

² Note the many allusions to the stage even in Bacon’s attributed writings.

other course I see no end. And I will not now speak of favour or affection, but of other correspondence and agreeableness, which whensoever it shall be conjoined with the other of affection, I durst wager my life (let them make what *prosopopæus* they will of her majesty's nature) that in you she will come to the question of 'quid fiet homini, quem rex vult honorare?' But how is it now? A man of a nature not to be ruled, that hath the advantage of my affection and knoweth it, of an estate not grounded to his greatness, of a popular reputation, of a military dependence: I demand whether there can be a more dangerous image than this represented to any monarch living, much more to a lady, and of her majesty's apprehension? And is it not more evident than demonstration itself, that whilst this impression continueth in her majesty's breast, you can find no other condition than inventions to keep your estate bare and low; crossing and disgracing your actions, extenuating and blasting of your merit, carping with contempt at your nature and fashions; breeding, nourishing, and fortifying such instruments as are most factious against you, repulses and scorns of your friends and dependents that are true and steadfast, winning and inveigling away from you such as are flexible and wavering, thrusting you into odious employments and offices to supplant your reputation, abusing you, and feeding you with dalliances¹ and demonstrations, to divert you from descending into the serious consideration of your own case; yea, and percase² venturing you in perilous and desperate enterprises." (Works, vol. iii., p. 59.)

As the letter was distasteful to the earl, some coolness ensued. But in the following year Bacon, having sought in marriage the hand of the rich widow, Lady Hatton,

¹ As to this word "dalliance," oft used in the plays, we from *The Tempest*, Act iv., sc. 1, p. 80, quote as follows:

"*Pro.* Look, thou be true: do not give dalliance
Too much the rein; the strongest oaths are straw
To the fire i' the blood: Be more abstemious,
Or else, good night your vow!"

² The words "percase" and "put case"—that is, to put or state a case, are found in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, in the A. D. B. Mask, and in many places in the Defoe literature. Bacon says: "An example will make my meaning attained, and yet percase make it thought that they attain it not." (Phil. Works, vol. iii., p. 236.)

Essex again proffered aid. The matter ended by her becoming the wife of his great rival, Sir Edward Coke.

The year 1598 found Bacon's financial matter much disordered, and on one occasion, while engaged in important state matters, he was arrested for debt, whereupon he wrote thus to the lord keeper :

“ IT MAY PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,—I am to make humble complaint to your lordship of some hard dealing offered me by one Sympson, a goldsmith, a man noted much, as I have heard, for extremities and stoutness upon his purse ; but yet I could scarcely have imagined he would have dealt either so dishonestly towards me, or so contemptuously towards her majesty's service. For this Lombard (pardon me, I most humbly pray your lordship, if, being admonished by the street he dwells in, I give him that name) having me in bond for 300 pounds principle, and I having the last term confessed the action, and by his full and direct consent respited the satisfaction till the beginning of this term to come, without ever giving me warning, either by letter or message, served an execution upon me, having trained me at such time as I came from the Tower, where Mr. Waad can witness, we attended a service of no mean importance ; neither would he so much as vouchsafe to come and speak with me to take any order in it, though I sent for him divers times, and his house was just by ; handling it as upon a despite,¹ being a man I never provoked with a cross word, no, nor with any delays. He would have urged it to have had me in prison ; which he had done, had not Sheriff More, to whom I sent, gently recommended me to a handsome house in Coleman Street, where I am. Now because he will not treat with me, I am enforced humbly to desire your lordship to send for him according to your place, to bring him to some reason ; and this forthwith, because I continue here to my further discredit and inconvenience, and the trouble of the gentleman with whom I am. I have a hundred pounds lying by me, which he may have, and the rest upon some reasonable time and security, or, if need be, the whole ; but with my more trouble. As for

¹ In Henry the Fifth, Act iii., sc. 5, we have :

“ Is not this climate foggy, raw, and dull ?
On whom, as in despite, the sun looks pale,
Killing their fruit with frowns ?”

the contempt he hath offered, in regard her majesty's service to my understanding, carrieth a privilege *eundo et redeundo* in meaner causes, much more in matters of this nature especially in persons known to be qualified with that place and employment, which though unworthy, I am vouchsafed, I enforce nothing, thinking I have done my part when I have made it known, and so leave it to your lordship's honorable consideration. And so with signification of my humble duty, etc." (Works, vol. iii., p. 91.)

Like letters were written to Essex and to Robert Cecil, now secretary of State. The Merchant of Venice is said to have been written this year.¹ In August of this year Lord Burghley died, and from this time Bacon's advancement became more rapid.

In 1599 the celebrated case of Perpetuities, though previously argued at the bar of the King's Bench, was, by reason of difficulties and of its great importance, ordered to be reargued in the Exchequer Chamber before all of the judges of England, and after an argument by Coke, the Attorney-General, another was directed, and Bacon was chosen to perform this duty, which he did in so able a manner as to render it one of his notable acts. It was afterward incorporated with his reading upon the Statute of Uses, and dedicated by him to the Society of Gray's Inn.

Early in this year troubles broke out in Ireland, in connection with which Essex's treasons grew, as seen in earlier pages. His arrogant and supremely senseless course following the queen's refusal to renew his monopoly of sweet wine worked doubtless some revulsion in Bacon's feelings toward him, and which had been but drooping since 1596. In his apology concerning the Earl of Essex, Bacon says: "But for any action of mine towards him, there is nothing that passed me in my lifetime that cometh to my remembrance with more clearness and less check of conscience; for it will appear to your Lordship that I was not only not opposed to my Lord of Essex, but that I did occupy the utmost of my wits, and adventure my fortune with the Queen to have reintegrated his, and so continued faithfully and industriously till his last fatal

¹ This play will be found to illustrate the thought expressed in the following Promus note. Promus, 1002. (The extreme of justice [is often] the extreme of injury.)

impatience (for so I will call it), after which day there was no time to work for him ; though the same my affection, when it could not work on the subject proper, went to the next, with no ill effect towards some others, who I think do rather not know it than not acknowledge it. And this I will assure your lordship, I will leave nothing untold that is truth, for any enemy that I have to add ; and on the other side, I must reserve much which makes for me, upon many respects of duty, which I esteem above my credit : and what I have here set down to your Lordship, I protest, as I hope to have any part in God's favour, is true." (Bacon's Letters, vol. iii., p. 142.)

Even Macaulay, who so sharply censures him as to Essex, says : " Nothing in the political conduct of Essex entitles him to esteem ; and the pity with which we regard his early and terrible end is diminished by the consideration that he put to hazard the lives and fortunes of his most attached friends, and endeavored to throw the whole country into confusion for objects purely personal."

Concerning Essex Mr. Spedding says : " The history of his relation with the court is a history of quarrels and reconciliations, provocations given and forgiven, the liberties of a spoiled child with a mother, whose affection though mortified and irritated cannot afford to sacrifice him ; each victory emboldening him to repeat the same experiment, without considering that patience has its limits, and that every successive strain put upon the affection leaves it less able to endure another. It was a point in which Bacon had always thought Essex in the wrong, and told him what would come of it." (Bacon's Letters, vol. i., p. 373.)

At about this time it was that Queen Elizabeth began more definite steps in the direction of colonization, and on the last day of 1600 she chartered a body of adventurers styled " The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies." For revenue, for expanding the powers of Britain, and for extending the Reformed faith Bacon ever urged colonization. And from certain data we have an impression that he was personally concerned in some of the voyages of Drake and others. The privileges of this company were invaded early in the next reign by James. Later, however, he renewed their charter, and several voyages were attended

with large profits; and in 1612 the Englishman planted his foot in India, having obtained permission from the Great Mogul to establish a factory at Surat. (See Knight's History of England, vol. iii., pp. 276-285.)

Hume says: "What chiefly renders the reign of James memorable is the commencement of the English colonies in America—colonies established on the noblest footing that has been known in any age or nation." (Hume, vol. iv., p. 108.) And we shall claim that the moulding of them was due chiefly to Lord Bacon.¹

The next year, 1601, Bacon's brother Anthony died, and in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. ii., p. 53, we have:

"My brother's death my study hath undone;
Woe's me! alas! my brother he is gone!"

During the balance of this reign, which ended with Elizabeth's death, March 24th, 1603, Bacon's time seems to have been devoted chiefly to literary work.

Upon the now accession of the Scotch King James, and who desired to be thought somewhat a patron of learning, Bacon's hopes were quickened even to anticipation of aid in putting forth his growing though as yet unpublished philosophy. He says he thought the "canvassing world" had gone and the "deserving world" had come.

James arrived in England May 7th, 1603, and on the 23d, the day of his coronation, Bacon, with three hundred others, Lord Coke included, received the now all too lavish, indiscriminate, and hence but little valued honor of knighthood. Bacon at once sought, and in a marked way, to bring himself to the king's notice. Before the meeting of his first Parliament he had submitted for his consideration two pamphlets, one concerning the Church, entitled "Considerations Touching the Better Pacification of the Church of England," and the other concerning the union of the two kingdoms, entitled "A Discourse Touching the Happy Union of England and Scotland."

Being ever a verb in the present tense, Bacon was prepared for the hour. He fully realized that lucid, ready-made thoughts often stay and fix the mind to courses that of itself it would never have reached. This was one of

¹ It was out of the charters of the old trading companies that the colonial constitutions grew, and they in turn gave form to our present central government.

his methods. This was providence. By this means he often found direction out. To our thinking he was now led into two unwise steps. First, he wrote to Southampton, who since the trial of Essex and until the reign of James had remained in prison. The letter, though short, seeks to show that he had entertained no unfriendliness, and that he might now be to him what he dare not before, for fear of the queen. (Works, vol. iii., p. 38.) Second, he prepared a paper entitled "Sir Francis Bacon, His Apology, in Certain Imputations Concerning the Late Earl of Essex," and addressed to Lord Mountjoy, whom the queen had intended to command what proved to be the unfortunate Essex expedition into Ireland. Though this paper shows loyalty to the earl, and that what was done in excusing the queen's conduct toward him was in virtue of her express commands, it still drew comment and kindled afresh the animosities not only of the earl's, but of Southampton's friends.

James's first Parliament convened March 19th, 1604. In an address on the 22d he recommended the union of the two kingdoms, the termination of religious discontents, and an improvement in the laws. Bacon had prior to this submitted to the king, a proclamation recommending attention to the sufferings of unhappy Ireland, the freedom of trade, and the suppression of briberies and corruptions. And thus at the very opening of this reign did he recommend political reform, as he had early and ever recommended legal reform. He also sought reform from grave superstitions, as well as from church differences, and concerning which even at this period Knight in his *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 248, says: "We must not be too ready to hold the legislators of this time as peculiarly ignorant in passing a law to declare witchcraft felony without benefit of clergy. The superstition was productive of enormous cruelties; but it had its earnest supporters, and amongst others, the king himself. The popular belief run wholly in that direction." Hence, in the Defoe "*History of the Devil*;" "*History of Magic*;" "*History of Apparitions Sacred and Profane*;" "*History of Duncan Campbell*," and replete with exhaustive research into ancient records, will appear Bacon's philosophic weeding of these subjects. And thus again are we reminded of our Head-light, "For I have taken all knowl-

edge to be my providence." See, please, at the end of the *De Augmentis* and at the end of the *Novum Organum* the subjects upon which Bacon recommends the writing of histories.

While during the reign of the Tudors the spirit of religious liberty had been signally aroused, the spirit of political freedom had slept until near the close of the reign of Elizabeth. In other words, religious contentions and foreign foes had quite absorbed men's thoughts. Following the defeat of the Armada, in 1588, these fears were fading, and greater freedom arose in both Church and State, and men began to think more upon individual rights, upon adventure and discovery, upon foreign trade, and upon general financial affairs. In fact, the desire for a less arbitrary government was already taking shape in the English mind.

Failing to recognize the signs of the times, this was no very opportune moment for the Scotch king, the son of the Catholic mother, the executed Mary Queen of Scots, who was big in the belief of the divine right of kings, and, unmindful of values, was exceedingly lavish in the expenditure of money. He had been born, bred, and from infancy had ruled beyond England's borders. The bold methods of Elizabeth were attempted by James, and he found himself at once questioned in prerogative. The attitude of the Commons concerning the union of the two kingdoms, as well as to general religious affairs, irritated him. While the Puritans did not, as at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, ask the substitution of the Presbyterian discipline for the Episcopal government, they still insisted upon omitting the usage of certain ceremonies. This Bacon thought wise to grant, but James thought otherwise, and he attempted to carry out the doctrine of conformity even more strictly than had been done in the previous reign.

The House of Commons had no sooner met than prayers for the correction of certain abuses from monopolies, springing up in the latter half of the former reign, commenced. A select committee, with Bacon as its chairman, was appointed, and on the 26th he made his report for the consideration of the House. This early manifested discontent continued during James' entire reign, and brought to the block the head of his son Charles in the next.

Knight, in his *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 251, of James says : " His figure was ungainly ; his habits were slovenly ; he was by nature a coward. Not deficient in a certain talent which he rarely put to a right use—' the wisest fool in Christendom,'—he had no sense of that public responsibility which attended his high office. He was a king for himself alone."

During this conflict in the House Bacon's exertions are said to have been unceasing, having sat upon twenty-nine committees and spoken in every debate. He was one of the commissioners to treat for the union of the two kingdoms, and to his knowledge of the subject was due the admirable manner in which the duties of that body were performed. It consisted of forty-four English and thirty-one Scotch members, who had power from the Parliament to deliberate concerning terms of union, but without power of making advances toward establishing it. The more the king favored the movement, the more backward seemed the Parliament in its concurrence. Though united now in their crowns, the kingdoms were not really so in their laws until the Defoe period, a hundred years later, by Anne's Act of Union, March 6th, 1707, until which event each kingdom maintained its own legislative power.

The king soon perceived Bacon's superior talent, and so on August 25th, 1604, constituted him by patent one of his counsel learned in the law. Though now politically employed, he was still absorbed in philosophic research, and during the recess of Parliament he sent his friend, Sir Henry Savill, Provost of the College of Eaton, his tract entitled " Helps to the Intellectual Powers." Toward the close of this year he, in a letter to the Lord Chancellor, expressed an inclination, at this juncture of the two kingdoms, to write a history of Great Britain. He says : " Neither could I contain myself here (as it is easier for a man to multiply, than to stay a wish), but calling to remembrance the unworthiness of the *History of England*, in the main continuance thereof, and the partiality and obliquity of that of *Scotland*, in the latest and largest author that I have seen ; I conceived it would be an honour for his majesty, and a work very memorable, if this island of Great Britain, as it is now joined in monarchy for the ages to come, so it were joined in history for the times past ; and that one just and complete history

were compiled of both nations. And if any man think it may refresh the memory of former discord, he may satisfy himself with the verse, 'Olim hæc meminisse juvabit.' For the case being now altered, it is matter of comfort and gratulation, to remember former troubles." (Works, vol. iii., p. 23.)

Shortly before the meeting of James' second Parliament and in October, 1605, first appeared Bacon's child, "The Advancement of Learning," now taught to go, and which he dedicated to the king. He had indeed indulged the hope of interesting him in his efforts and of now abandoning civil affairs. The king's loves, however, lay but feebly in this direction.

The work professes to be a general survey of the then existing state of knowledge under the figure of an intellectual globe, whereon is mapped forth the desert portions and the portions but partially discovered or explored, and which he presents under the comprehensive heads of

1. History relating to the memory.
2. Poetry relating to the imagination.
3. Philosophy relating to the reason.

The way to the examination of these subjects is paved or prepared in the first book by an examination of the objections to learning; of contentious learning; of fantastical learning; of peccant humors of learning, together with the advantages of learning. In order to attract the king's eye, the work had been somewhat immaturely put forth, and hence it was later reproduced or rewritten under the title of the *De Augmentis*, in which form it was designed by Bacon to have place as the first part of the *Great Instauration*.

The work was but the coasting of the intellectual globe as then existing. The new intellectual world was to exist when the subjects mentioned at the close of the work itself were elaborated. And this was to be the golden world, or, as stated in the play of *The Tempest*, "The brave new world."

In November, 1605, James' second Parliament convened. Even thus early in his reign his Secretary of State, Robert Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, and whom the king called his little "beagle," was puzzling his brain over the ever-difficult problem during this reign of providing money for this extravagant king and his rapacious

followers, now absent upon a hunting excursion at Royton. Thus stood matters when the knowledge of the great Gunpowder Plot was sprung upon the country. This noted conspiracy against the life of the king and Parliament, and which had been in progress since the spring and summer of 1604, absorbed chiefly the attention of this Parliament, and for a time warmer feelings seem to have been entertained toward the king. It was claimed that James had entered into engagements with the Catholic party to tolerate their religion as soon as he mounted the English throne. And certain it is that covertly he had a bias in favor of Rome. Already had he manifested undue haste in concluding a peace with Spain, that for years had so vigorously sought England's overthrow. Following this event, he gave trust and preferment almost indiscriminately to his Catholic and Protestant subjects, and he greatly abated the rigor of the laws enacted against the ancient Church. The duplicity of his nature became more apparent, however, toward the close of his reign and following the year 1616. The unfinished business of the former session still occupied Bacon's thoughts, and the then outlook drew him from his purpose of devoting his time only to philosophy. He saw that the union of these kingdoms was likely to breed grave changes and that his country at this juncture needed his services.

In May, 1606, he, at the age of forty-six, was married to Miss Alice Barnham. Of his married life very little is known. From his *Essay on Marriage* it will appear that he did not look very favorably upon the relation unless there be true adaptation. And the views expressed in all of these writings will be found to be one upon this subject.¹ They will be found spoken of throughout either as "gentlewomen" or "wenches." Read attentively Bacon's *Essay*

¹ Promus, 1085. (*"Woman's a various and a changeful thing."*—Dryden.) Promus, 1086. (*"He knew the stormy souls of woman-kind."*—Dryden.) Promus, 526. There is no trusting a woman nor a tap. Promus, 492. Bachelors' wives and maids' children are well taught. Promus, 575. It is the cat's nature and the wench's fault.

"If the cat will after kind
So, be sure, will Rosalind."

—As You Like It, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 197.

Please see Addison, vol. iii., pp. 85–89.

on Marriage in connection with the Anatomy of Melancholy, vol. ii., pp. 379-89 and pp. 413-22, and see Roxana, pp. 114, 115, 233. In the Anatomy, p. 382, we have :

“What shall I say to him that marries again and again? ‘*Stulta maritali qui porrigit ora capistro.*’ I pity him not; for the first time he may do as he may, bear it out sometimes by the head and shoulders, and let his next neighbor ride, or else run away, or as that Syracusian, in a tempest, when all ponderous things were to be exonerated out of the ship, *quia maximum pondus erat*, fling his wife into the sea. But this I confess is comically spoken, and so I pray you take it. In sober sadness, marriage is a bondage, a thralldom, a yoke, a hindrance to all good enterprises; *he hath married a wife, and cannot come*; a stop to all preferments; a rock on which many are saved, many impinge and are cast away: not that the thing is evil in itself, or troublesome, but full of all contentment and happiness; one of the three things which pleases God, *when a man and his wife agree together*; an honorable and happy state; who knows it not?”

James at his accession confirmed generally in place those who had held positions under Elizabeth. But during the summer of this year Salisbury's friend, Hobart, was made Attorney-General in place of Coke, now appointed to the Chief Justiceship of the Common Pleas, and Bacon hoped that Solicitor Doderidge might be otherwise provided for, in order that he might now be Solicitor; but Salisbury, though professing friendship, is still thought to have stood in his way; and when Parliament met in November, 1606, Bacon returned to his work upon questions touching the union—such as “Ante-nati” and “Post-nati;” or, the position of Scotchmen born before and since James' accession; the question of “Naturalization;” and the question of “Union of Laws.” To this session the commissioners of the union first presented their work. See vol. iii., ch. 8, Bacon's Letters.

Hume says: “There remain two excellent speeches in favour of the union, which it would not be improper to compare together—that of the king and that of Sir Francis Bacon. Those who affect in everything such an extreme contempt for James will be surprised to find that his discourse, both for good reasoning and eloquent composition, approaches very near that of a man who was un-

doubtedly at that time one of the greatest geniuses in Europe.” (Hume, vol. iii., p. 611.)

It is well known that Bacon assisted James, the Cecils, and others in such papers. Mr. Spedding says that even in reporting the speeches of others he was accustomed to give the thought better form. In this way he ever made his own style more difficult to detect. The work of the commission ended merely in the abolition of hostile laws between the two kingdoms.

In January of this year Bacon presented the king with a New Year's gift, consisting of a discourse touching the plantation of Ireland, and which he styles as a second brother to the one entitled the “Union of England and Scotland.” This year James granted patents to two corporations to colonize that part of America lying between the 34th and 45th degrees of north latitude, the north half being granted to the Plymouth, and the south half to the London Company; and which company in the following year planted in Virginia the first permanent English settlement in America, and which in honor of the king was called Jamestown.

In June of the following year, 1607, the long-sought position of Solicitor-General was reached by Bacon at the age of forty-seven years, as mentioned in earlier pages, and with an annual salary of about £1000. To this was added £2000 from the reversion of the Clerkship of the Star Chamber, secured to him in 1589, but not until now falling into possession. For some time Bacon's financial prospects had been mending; and though by no means free from debt, he is said now to have had a large income. It may also be said, though unfortunate for him, that he had now secured political footing in the government of James. Whatever may be thought of Bacon's political views, they were centred deep in what he regarded as biblical truth. Kings, though possessing errors of private life, were to him but kinds of instruments in the hand of Divine Providence. Their foibles should be shielded from the public gaze, as being the chief forms, figures, or patterns on earth to men. And so in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. i., p. 71, we have:

“For princes are the glass, the school, the book,
Where subjects' eyes do learn, do read, do look.”

His views in this will somewhat clearly appear in his carefully prepared paper of advice to George Villiers, afterward Duke of Buckingham, upon his becoming the king's favorite a few years later, and from which we quote as follows :

"You know, I am no courtier, nor versed in state affairs : my life hitherto hath rather been contemplative than active ; I have rather studied books than men ; I can but guess at the most, at those things in which you desire to be advised ; nevertheless, to show my obedience, though with the hazard of my discretion, I shall yield unto you.

"Sir, in the first place, I shall be bold to put you in mind of the present condition you are in. You are not only a courtier, but a bed-chamber man, and so are in the eye and ear of your master ; but you are also a favorite ; the favorite of the time, and so are in the bosom also. The world hath so voted you, and doth so esteem of you ; for kings and great princes, even the wisest of them, have had their friends, their favorites, their privadoes, in all ages ; for they have their affections as well as other men. Of these they make several uses ; sometimes to communicate and debate their thoughts with them, and to ripen their judgments thereby ; and sometimes to ease¹ their cares by imparting them ; and sometimes to interpose them between themselves and the envy or malice of their people ; for kings cannot err ; that must be discharged upon the shoulders of their ministers ; and they who are nearest unto them must be content to bear the greatest load." (Works, vol. ii., p. 375.)

In entering upon his new duties as Solicitor, in the summer of 1608, he takes soundings, so to speak, as to his health, life aims, new methods to be pursued, etc., devoting an entire week in preparing notes upon the subject. Among these we find "Restor. the church to y^e trew limits of Authority since H. 8ths confusion."² They will be

¹ Note throughout this use of the word "ease," and particularly in The Pilgrim's Progress.

² There is a distinctiveness in the use throughout of this word "confusion" that renders it a kind of earmark. In Hamlet, Act iii., sc. 1, p. 273, we have :

"*King.* And can you, by no drift of conference,
Get from him why he puts on this confusion ;

found in Bacon's Letters, vol. iv., pp. 18-96. Concerning them, Church, in his Life of Bacon, p. 79, says :

"The 'greatness of Britain' was one of his favorite subjects of meditation. He puts down in his notes the outline of what should be aimed at to secure and increase it ; it is to make the various forces of the great and growing empire work together in harmonious order without waste, without jealousy, without encroachment and collision ; to unite not only the interests but the sympathies and aims of the Crown with those of the people and Parliament ; and so to make Britain now in peril from nothing but from strength of its own discordant elements that 'monarchy of the west' in reality, which Spain was in show, and as Bacon always maintained, only in show.¹ The survey of the condition of his philosophical enterprise takes more space. He notes the stages and points to which his plans have reached ; he indicates, with a favorite quotation or apophthegm—'*Plus ultra*'—'*ausus vana contemnere*'—'*aditus non nisi sub persona infantis*,' soon to be familiar to the world in his published writings—the lines of argument, sometimes alternative ones, which were before him ; he draws out schemes of inquiry, specimen tables, distinctions and classifications about the subject of Motion, in English interlarded with Latin, or in Latin interlarded with English, of his characteristic and practical sort ; he notes the various sources from which he might look for help and co-operation—'of learned men beyond the seas'—'to begin first in France to print it'—'laying for a place to command wits and pens ;' he has his eye on rich and childless bishops, on the enforced idleness of State prisoners in the Tower, like Northumberland and Raleigh,² on the great schools and universities, where he might perhaps get hold of some college for 'Inventors'—

Grating so harshly all his days of quiet
With turbulent and dangerous lunacy ?"

In Romeo and Juliet, Act iv., sc. 5, p. 142, we have :

"Fri. Peace, ho, for shame ! confusion's cur lives not
In these confusions."

¹ See what he says concerning the plantation of new colonies in his advice to George Villiers upon his becoming the king's favorite. (Works, vol. i., pp. 385-87)

² Let Bacon's speech "Touching the Recovery of Drowned Mineral Works," already quoted, be called into relation with Raleigh's enterprise, hereafter to be considered.

as we should say for the endowment of research. These matters fill up a large space of his notes."

This preparation for all possible occasions is prettily expressed in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. ii., p. 64, in these words :

"No labour comes at unawares to me ;
For I have long before cast what may be."¹

Church, at pp. 78-79, also says of these notes : "It is singularly interesting as an evidence of Bacon's way of working, of his watchfulness, his industry, his care and preparing himself long beforehand for possible occasions, his readiness to take any amount of trouble about his present duties, his self-reliant desire for more important and difficult ones. It exhibits his habit of self-observation and self-correction, his care to mend his natural defects of voice, manner and delivery ; it is even more curious in showing him watching his own physical constitution and health, in the most minute details of symptoms and

¹ Promus, 380. (To me, O virgin ! no aspect of suffering arises new or unexpected : I have anticipated all things and gone over them beforehand in my mind.) And note throughout, and particularly in the plays, a distinctive poetic use of this verb "be." Promus, 975. Frenzy, heresy, and jealousy are three that seldom or never cured be. Promus, 500. Tymely crooks the tree that will a good camocke be. In *Twelfth Night*, or *What You will*, Act ii., sc. 2, p. 377, we have :

"Alas ! our frailty is the cause, not we ;
For, such as we are made of, such we be."

And same play, Act iii., sc. 4, p. 411, we have :

"*Oli.* Go call him hither.—I am as mad as he,
If sad and merry madness equal be."

In *Measure for Measure*, Act i., sc. 4, p. 33, we have :

"Hence shall we see,
If power change purpose, what our seemers be."

In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 211, we have :

"'Tis thus, they rescu'd were ; but yet, you see,
They're scourg'd to boot : let this your caution be."

And on p. 69 we have :

"The prophets used much by metaphors
To set forth truth : yea, who so considers
Christ, his apostles too, shall plainly see
That truths to this day in such mantels be."

remedies, equally with scientific and a practical object.¹ It contains an estimate of his income, his expenditures, his debts, schedules of land and jewels, his rules for the economy of his estate, his plans for his new gardens and terraces and ponds and buildings at Gorhambury.”

In a letter to Queen Elizabeth, in 1599, asking assistance to free his Tub, his Gorhambury residence, from debt, may be seen this intention of beautifying it and its grounds, and he ends the letter thus: “And so most humbly craving pardon, I leave all to your Majesty’s goodness, and yourself to the dear preservation of the divine Majesty: from my Tub not yet hallowed by your sacred Majesty, this 12th of March 1599.” (Bacon’s Letters, vol. ii., p. 165.) This letter came not to light until after Harley’s death, as we shall see.

The Advancement of Learning had been now three, or nearly three years out. And the babe or child this year, 1608, began to be clothed as the *Novum Organum*.

“Truth is the daughter of time,” says Bacon. This daughter is the *Miranda* of *The Tempest*. In his article on the Interpretation of Nature (Works, vol. ii., p. 544), as to certain subtle philosophic methods, he says: “Such works are called *Epistemides*, or daughters of science, which do not otherwise come into action than by knowledge and pure interpretation, seeing they contain nothing obvious. But between these and the obvious how many degrees thinkest thou are numbered?” Receive, my son, and seal.”

And in his article entitled “True Hints on the Interpretation of Nature” (Works, vol. ii., p. 557), he, as to his philosophy, says: “Why, I met not long ago a certain evil-eyed old fortune-telling woman who muttering I know not what, prophesied that my offspring should die in the desert.”

Concerning *Miranda*’s birth, *Prospero* in this play, Act i., sc. 2, p. 22, says:

“Canst thou remember
A time before we came unto this cell?
I do not think thou canst; for then thou wast not
Out three years old.”

¹ His tendencies at times to melancholy we have already noted.

² We shall later have occasion to refer to Bacon’s references touching the numbers of *Pythagoras* in connection with philosophy.

Hudson says that the word "out" is used for entirely, quite.¹

A little farther on Prospero says :

" Twelve years since, Miranda, twelve years since,
Thy father was the duke of Milan, and
A prince of power."

This dukedom was his empire of learning, concerning which he had laid such deep basis for eternity, and now overthrown by the ruin of his name. (See Sonnet 124, p. 99.)

Hence, in 1608, his babe or child, the Advancement of Learning, had been but three years out. Until Bacon entered actively into the government of James, in 1608, he was a free man, a prince over his literary empire.² The persons or midwives that attended upon Miranda's birth may refer to the forms through which this truth had been swaddled on its way to its birth, or, perhaps, to the old philosophies perused by Bacon in the unfoldment of his own—his Miranda. What she was to do for the world when wedded to a prince of power may be seen later.

In 1609 he made his third appearance as an author, and in one of his most finished works, entitled *De Sapientia*

¹ Fowler in his work on Bacon, in the English Philosophers Series, p. 12, says : " It was probably about this time that he finally settled the plan of the *Great Instauration*, and began to call it by that name. The *Cogitata et Visa*, which contains the substance of the first book of the *Novum Organum*, must have been composed as early as the summer or autumn of 1607, and, if we may accept literally what Rawley tells us of this latter work—namely, that he had himself seen at least twelve revisions of it, ' revised year by year, one after another, ' we must fix the year 1608 as the time at which Bacon probably began to compose the *Novum Organum* itself."

² Note in the play the twelve years Ariel, or the airy spirit, cogitative faculty, was pent in an oak. And in *Love's Labor's Lost*, Act iv., sc. 2, p. 414, we have : " Those thoughts to me were oaks, to thee like osiers bow'd." The oak is often referred to in the plays. Of the oak Bacon says : " There is no tree which, besides the natural fruit, doth bear so many bastard fruits as the oak doth : for besides the acorn, it beareth galls, oak-apples, and certain oak-nuts, which are inflammable ; and certain oak-berries, sticking close to the body of the tree without stalk. It beareth also misseltoe, though rarely. The cause of all these may be, the closeness and solidness of the wood and pith of the oak ; which maketh several juices find several eruptions. And therefore if you will devise to make any super-plants, you must give the sap plentiful rising and hard issue." (Bacon's Natural History, sub. 635.)

Veterum, or the "Wisdom of the Ancients." The fables here treated are thirty-one in number. They abound in deep poetic thought, which will be found spread into nearly every phase of this literature.¹ Three of these fables—"Pan, or Nature;" "Perseus, or War;" and "Dionysus, or Bacchus"—will be found considerably expanded in the *De Augmentis*.

As to the fable of the "Sirens or Pleasures," he says: "These Sirens are said to dwell in remote isles, for that pleasures love privacy and retired places, shunning always too much company of people. The Siren's songs are so vulgarly understood, together with the deceits and danger of them, as that they need no exposition. But that of the bones appearing like white cliffs,² and descried afar off, hath more acuteness in it: for thereby is signified, that albeit the examples of afflictions be manifest and eminent, yet do they not sufficiently deter us from the wicked enticements of pleasures." (*Works*, vol. i., p. 313.)

Bacon here shows that these pleasures are resisted through the methods either of Orpheus or Ulysses, and concerning which he says: "The first means to shun these inordinate pleasures is to withstand and resist them in their beginnings, and seriously to shun all occasions that are offered to debauch and entice the mind, which is signified in that stopping of the ears;³ and that remedy is properly used by

¹ Note them particularly as woven into the works of Addison. But in vol. iv. of his works, p. 44, it is stated that the heathen mythology should thenceforth be abandoned in literary work, except as therein provided. The new philosophy was now to govern, out of Christian, instead of heathen pens. The peace alluded to in the article will be better understood when we come to Swift's "Battle of the Books," Swift being one of the actors in the great drama.

² In the *Comedy of Errors*, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 182, we have:

"*Dro. S.* I look'd for the chalky cliffs, but I could find no whiteness in them: but I guess it stood in her chin, by the salt rheum that ran between France and it."

³ Note the expression "whisper in the ear" throughout these writings. Bacon says: "That courtier who obtains a boon of the Emperor, that he might every morning at his coming into his presence humbly whisper him in the ear and say nothing, asked no unprofitable suit for himself; but such a fancy raised only by an opinion cannot be long lived, unless the man have solid worth to uphold it: otherwise when once discovered it vanisheth suddenly." (*Bacon's Letters*, vol. vi., p. 15.) And in vol. 7, p. 423, he says: "At that time if one had whispered me in the ear, and said stay these things: England is a cold country: defer them till the Prince of Wales and

the meaner and baser sort of people, as it were Ulysses's followers or mariners, whereas more heroic and noble spirits may boldly converse even in the midst of these seducing pleasures, if with a resolute constancy they stand upon their guard and fortify their minds, and so take greater contentment in the trial and experience of this approved virtue; learning rather thoroughly to understand the follies and vanities of those pleasures by contemplation than by submission."

He here also says: "For the remedying of this misery a double means was at last found out, the one by Ulysses, the other by Orpheus. Ulysses, to make experiment of his device, caused all the ears of his company to be stopped with wax, and made himself to be bound to the mainmast, with special commandment to his mariners not to be loosed, albeit himself should require them so to do. But Orpheus neglected and disdained to be so bound, with a shrill and sweet voice singing praises of the gods to his harp, suppressed the songs of the Sirens, and so freed himself from their danger." See Sonnet 119, p. 28.

Other important papers were prepared by Bacon during this year.

Early in the next year, 1610, James' notable fourth Parliament convened, and concerned itself chiefly with what became known as "The Great Contract." This was Salisbury's pet scheme during the last two years of his life for advancing the king's revenue, and who was now compelled to disclose his necessities, even to seeking private aid. It was no very decorous transaction, as between king and people. Having ended in failure, it was fruitful but in making prominent to all eyes the king's weakness. By this scheme he was to surrender certain revenue prerogatives touching wardships and purveyance, abuses of which had been more or less complained of during earlier sessions. The Commons, in consideration for this surrender, offered him a settled revenue of £200,000 a year.

the Marquis of Buckingham and the Count Gondomar meet in Spain, where fruit ripens faster: I should have smiled at it." In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 144, we have: "But indeed this Shame was a bold villain: I could scarcely shake him out of my company; yea, he would be hunting of me, and continually whispering me in the ear with some one or other of the infirmities that attend religion." Note this expression in the Defoe literature, and particularly in the *History of the Devil*.

After much cavil the king consented to surrender these ancient rights, and thus to supply his necessities, did he yield to encroachments. It now but remained for the Commons to designate the funds from which the sum should be paid. As the journals of this session are said to be missing, the reasons for the failure are left somewhat in the dark. It does, however, appear that the king, highly indignant at the failure, immediately dissolved the Parliament, and which through different sessions had sat nearly seven years.

Concerning this scheme Bacon says : “ But in the succeeding Parliament in 7°, when that the Lord Treasurer that last was had out of his own vast and glorious ways to poor and petty ends, set afoot the Great Contract, like the Tower of Babylon, building an imagination as if the king should never after need his people more, nor the people the King, but that this land should no more be like the land of promise watered by the dew of heaven, which sometimes was drawn from the earth and sometimes fell back upon the earth again ; but like the land of Egypt watered by certain streams and cuts of his own devising ; and afterwards either out of variety, or having met with somewhat¹ that he looked not for, or otherwise having made use of the opinion, in the end undid his baby that he had made,—then grew the change.” (Bacon’s Letters, vol. v., p. 178.)

Early in the last session notice was received of the assassination of the French monarch, Henry the Fourth. He had been educated a Protestant. This event awakened fears afresh throughout Europe touching the Papacy. The Commons, consisting now of a large Puritan element, sought to limit the royal prerogative in ecclesiastical matters, and which since the reign of Henry the Eighth had been regarded as exclusively in the crown. They sought to pass a bill against the establishment of any ecclesiastical canon without consent of Parliament. The

¹ Note this distinctive use of the word “somewhat.” In Measure for Measure, Act v., sc. 1, p. 116, we have :

“*Isab.* This gentleman told somewhat of my tale.”

Promus, 953. Somewhat is better than nothing. In The Merry Wives of Windsor, Act iv., sc. 5, p. 313, we have : “Here is a letter will say somewhat.”

Lords, however, as was usual, defended the barriers of the throne and rejected the bill.

The Commons also, in an address to the king, objected to his borrowing money upon privy seals, and desired that the subjects should not be forced to lend money to his majesty nor give a reason for their refusal, and so the spirit of the Commons at the dissolution of the Parliament in February, 1611, may be readily seen.

In Bacon's alluded-to speech touching Drowned Mineral Works may be found an allusion to the noted Sutton Hospital case, and which arose through a contest of the will of one Thomas Sutton who died in December of this year. This will provided for the founding of a certain charter house or hospital, in which Sutton is said to have had much interest. Bacon for a time opposed the enterprise, and prepared a paper to the king concerning it, and which shows his objections to be (1) fears of profligacy, which was rife at this period, and (2) fears of its being an instrument for propagating the Roman faith. See Bacon's Letters, vol. iv., pp. 249-55.

Concerning its alms feature, he, on p. 251, says: "And of this kind I can find but one example with us, which is the alms knights of Windsor; which particular would give a man small encouragement to follow that precedent." See Shakespeare's *Merry Wives of Windsor*.

The mentioned speech was, we judge, prepared some later, after this enterprise had become a success, and made doubtless in connection with a Baconian scheme for revenue hereafter to be considered. This speech, like the *New Atlantis* itself, will be found to touch at many points in Bacon's attributed work; and we indeed think it a most characteristic piece of writing, though Mr. Spedding has failed to give it place in his work.

The last Parliament had not supplied the king's necessities. England's debt was now £500,000 and the expenditure in excess of the annual revenue was £160,000 when, on May 24th, 1612, its Lord Treasurer, Salisbury, died. Bacon felt the times to be critical and hence to demand his most subtle care. The king's tendencies and the signs of the times were already in his eye. The duties of Prime Minister or Treasurer fell now into the keeping of the king's own hands, and from this moment the government of James became one, not through a

public minister, but one managed through and by means of unscrupulous favorites, who, the king included, looked merely for themselves. Bacon hoped to succeed to Salisbury's position, but Northampton, entertaining Catholic views, and with a particular design in them, as we shall see, was decidedly against it. He had a controlling influence with Somerset, the king's favorite, and was the most powerful man in the Government of James.

A strange step was now taken touching England's Treasury. It was placed in commission, and Bacon was made one of the sub-commissioners.¹ These courses were not approved by him. He ever urged the king to a reliance upon Parliament and the appointment of a Treasurer. He still under them did what he could toward the improvement of the revenue; and later, as we shall see, he devised some important scheme concerning the same, but which to this day remains, as to him, undisclosed.

On November 6th of this year died the king's eldest son, Henry, Prince of Wales, at the age of nineteen. In him the Protestant hope of the nation was centred. He was an ardent admirer of Elizabeth's brave hero, Raleigh, and says: "Sure no king but my father would keep such a bird in a cage." Whatever may have been the cause, he at least appears to have been somewhat distasteful to the king. At his death grave suspicions were entertained that he had been poisoned, and that James and his then favorite, Rochester, afterward Earl of Somerset, knew something concerning his taking off.

Salisbury's death had left vacant the lucrative position of Master of the Wards, to which position he had succeeded upon his father's death, and Bacon was talked of for, and probably expected the position, having prepared a speech for the new master's place and drawn up rules for it. The office went, however, to George Carey, upon whose death, soon after, Bacon applied for the position through the then favorite Rochester in these words, and which is the only letter known to have passed between these parties:

"IT MAY PLEASE YOUR GOOD L.: This Mastership of the Wards is like a mist. Sometimes it goeth upwards,

¹ As to the projects devised for aiding out the revenue, see Bacon's Letters, vol. iv., pp. 314-39. As to the scheme itself see p. 283.

and sometimes it falleth downwards. If it go up to great Lords, then it is as it was at the first; if it fall down to mean men, then it is as it was at the last. But neither of these ways concern me in particular. But if it should in a middle region¹ go to lawyers, then I beseech your L. have some care of me. The Attorney and the Solicitor are as the king's champions for civil business, and they had need have some place of rest in their eye for their encouragement. The Mastership of the Rolls, which was the ordinary place kept for them, is gone from them. If this place should go to a lawyer, and not to them, their hopes must diminish. Thus I rest," etc. (Bacon's Letters, vol. iv., p. 342.)

But Bacon would not conform to the new methods of paying tribute to favorites (see his letter to the king, p. 245), and so the office went to Sir Walter Cope. It was now manipulated as the king would have it, under his own eye. See Bacon's Letters, vol. iv., pp. 283-89. During the following year the Chief Justiceship of the King's Bench fell vacant, to which position, at Bacon's suggestion, Coke, ever troublesome upon questions of prerogative was, though distasteful to him, appointed; and Hobart was appointed to his position in the Common Pleas, thus leaving vacant the office of Attorney-General, to which position Bacon now succeeded, October 27th, 1613; and Yelverton became Solicitor.

From this moment Bacon became a more confidential adviser of the king. But unfortunately James had not the sagacity, the breadth of views, the steadiness of nerve, nor the honesty of purpose, either to accept, or to carry forward Bacon's views of empire. He, as Knight says, was but a king for himself alone.

This year also, and on February 14th the king's daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, became wedded to Frederick the Fifth of Germany, the Elector Palatine, Bacon preparing the necessary papers for the event, and probably the mask given in honor of it. Frederick, upon undertaking the government of his Palatinate, two years later, became the head of the Protestant union of German princes, on which account, coupled with his then relation with England, he

¹ We here again have the expression "the middle region," mentioned in earlier pages.

was, in 1619, chosen King of Bohemia, then in revolt, but to the great discomfiture of Spain, as we shall see.

Bacon now implored the king to discontinue the unwarranted methods being pursued for revenue and to summon a Parliament. This advice was finally acted upon, and a Parliament was convened in April, 1614, upon the opening of which Bacon is said to have made an able speech. A rumor, however, arose that certain persons, and chiefly those who had opposed a Parliament, and called "undertakers," had entered upon an undertaking to secure a majority to enable the king to control the House, and so nothing could be effected. In order to secure liberty the Commons were now losing their true ends, as Bacon well saw, and he made effort to stay this influence. The times were critical. The nation was sadly in debt. Spain, with the Pope at her back, was ready to invade at the slightest pretext. The Dutch would gladly have beaten the English merchants out of the markets of the world, and the pirates of Algiers and Tunis were plundering them as they passed. Unable now to obtain any aid from Parliament, certain of the nobility and clergy in and about London made presents to the king. Letters were written to sheriffs and to justices in the different counties, to magistrates of corporations and others, informing them of what had been done in the metropolis, and stating how acceptable similar expressions would be from the country. Concerning this mode of raising money, one Oliver St. John, said to be a gentleman of an ancient family, wrote, October 11th, 1614, to the Mayor of Marlborough, claiming this benevolence was against law, reason, and religion, and insinuating that the king by promoting it had violated his coronation oath, and that by such means as these King Richard the Second had given Henry the Fourth an opportunity to deprive him of his crown; and desiring, if thought fit, that its sentiments should be expressed to the justices who were to meet respecting the benevolences. St. John for this was tried in the Star Chamber, April 15th, 1615, by the Attorney-General, Bacon, as counsel for the crown. St. John was convicted and fined £5000; was to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and ordered to make submission in writing. This period presents elements, we think, entering into the play of *Timon of Athens*, and which first made its

appearance in the Great Folio of 1623. See *Anatomy of Melancholy* as to *Timon*, vol. ii., pp. 167-70.

At about this time Bacon was much concerned with the king's needs, as will appear from his letter to him, January 22d, 1615, and wherein he says: "There is another business proper for me to crave of your majesty at this time, as one that have, in my eye, a great deal of service to be done concerning your casual revenue; but considering times and persons, I desire to be strengthened by some such form of commandment under your royal hand, as I send you here enclosed." (*Works*, vol. ii., p. 326.)

To this early caution and care he refers later in Sonnet 48, as well as alludes to his literary products being held by the king as trifles. He says:

"How careful was I, when I took my way,
Each trifle under truest bars to thrust;
That to my use it might unused stay
From hands of falsehood, in sure wards¹ of trust!
But thou, to whom my jewels trifles are,
Most worthy comfort, now my greatest grief,
Thou, best of dearest, and mine only care,
Art left the prey of every vulgar thief.
Thee have I not lock'd up in any chest,
Save where thou art not, though I feel thou art,
Within the gentle closure of my breast,
Whence at pleasure thou may'st come and part;
And even thence thou wilt be stol'n, I fear,
For truth proves thievish for a prize so dear."

St. John after a short imprisonment was released upon making full submission and apology, and which in this case was probably the chief end of the prosecution, as the fine was remitted. Other prosecutions followed against Pecham, Talbot, Owen, and others for treasonable expressions growing out of then existing dissensions. Owen

¹ The word "ward" is thus used by Bacon. "Since, I thank God, I am prettily recovered; for I have lain at two wards, the one against my disease, the other against my physicians, who are strange creatures." (*Bacon's Letters*, vol. vii., p. 431.) As to the mysteries of religion Bacon says: "With regard to the explanation of the mysteries, we see that God vouchsafes to descend to the weakness of our apprehension, by so expressing his mysteries that they may be most sensible to us; and by grafting his revelations upon the notions and conceptions of our reason; and by applying his inspirations to open our understanding, as the form of the key to the ward of the lock." (*Phil. Works*, vol. v., p. 114.)

was convicted, and remained in prison until July, 1618, when the Spanish Ambassador, Gondomar, procured his full pardon on condition of his leaving the country. And what interest had the Spanish Ambassador in this matter? We would that Bacon's most able charge in this case may be read, not merely by reason of our intention of calling it into relation with the Defoe literature, but in order that the reader may be convinced that Bacon's subtle design in it—the case yielding the opportunity—was to stay tendencies which he then saw in the king and others toward Spain. It was spoken on May 17th, 1615, and will be found in Bacon's Letters, vol. v., pp. 160–67.

Under the strictest pressure from the king during some of these trials, steps were taken by Bacon which at the present day would be thought improper. These must be looked at, however, as of the age in which they occurred. England's modern ideas of jurisprudence were not yet. At that day the king was thought to be the fountain of law, the seats of justice were his seats, and good government consisted but in carrying out judiciously the royal will, the hampering of which had been but recently begun. Coke, one of the judges before whom these causes were tried, was becoming troublesome to the king in various ways on questions of prerogative. The mentioned impropriety consisted in the king's resolution to obtain the opinion of the judges upon certain legal points before the prosecutions commenced in certain of these cases, and Bacon was employed to confer with Coke and other of the judges for the purpose. Suppose he had not complied? And yet, it is needless to say that such a course would now be censured. In case of conviction, however, where the facts would warrant it, Bacon seems ever to have urged upon the king that "mercy is above the sceptered sway."

It was at about this time that Bacon presented the king with some important scheme (Salisbury's had failed) touching his revenue, and of which Mr. Spedding says :

"Easter term began in 1615 on the 26th of April, and Bacon returned from his vacation with a budget of papers for the King on the means of improving his revenue. I have not succeeded in finding any which answer the description, and I am afraid they are altogether lost. If they should ever be recovered they can hardly fail to throw light of the most valuable kind upon his political prin-

ciples ; being a contribution entirely voluntary to the solution of the main political difficulty of his times. As it is, we must content ourselves with the knowledge, derived from the next letter, that this was the subject, or one of the subjects, with which he was busy during the interval of comparative leisure between the law-terms."

The letter is as follows :

"IT MAY PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY : I may remember what Tacitus said by occasion that Tiberius was often and long absent from Rome. *In urbe, et parva et magna negotia imperatorem simul premunt.* But saith he, *In recessu, dimissis rebus minoris momenti, summæ rerum magnarum magis agitantur.* This maketh me think it shall be no incivility to trouble your Majesty with business during your abode from London ; knowing that your Majesty's meditations are the principal wheel¹ of your estate ; and being warranted by a former commandment which I received from you.

"I do now only send your Majesty these papers inclosed, because I do greatly desire so far forth to preserve my credit with you, as thus ;—that whereas lately (perhaps out of too much desire, which induceth too much belief), I was bold to say that I thought it as easy for your Majesty to come out of want as to go forth of your gallery ; your Majesty would not take me for a dreamer or a projector.² I send your Majesty therefore some grounds of my hopes. And for that paper which I have gathered of increase-ments separate, I beseech you to give me leave³ to think that if any of the particulars do fail, it will be rather for want of workmanship in those that shall deal in them than want of materials in the things themselves. The

¹ For future reference note the expression "principal wheel." Bacon also uses the expression, "Opinion is a master wheel in these cases." And see p. 56.

² Note here and for future reference the use of the word "projector."

³ Already have we called attention to this suave expression "give me leave," and which by the same identity of use occurs throughout and even in *The Pilgrim's Progress* by the itinerant Bunyan. In Addison, vol. iii., p. 302, we have : "Sir (said the dervise) give me leave to ask your Majesty a question or two." And same vol., p. 202, we have : "The limits of my paper will not give me leave to be particular in instances of this kind : the reader will easily remark them in his perusal of the poem."

other paper hath many discarding cards ; and I send it chiefly that your Majesty may be the less surprised by projectors, who pretend sometimes great discoveries and inventions in things that have been propounded, and perhaps after a better fashion, long since. God Almighty preserve your Majesty." (26 April, 1615, Bacon's Letters, vol. v., p. 130.)

The Treasury was still in commission. As Salisbury's scheme had been carried too openly, this was now to be managed with secrecy. He, in fact, in an earnest paper of this period, recommending a return to true methods and the appointment of a Treasurer, and which the reader should see, says : " A second reason is, that the Commission wants the high prerogative of king's affairs, which is Secrecy ; wherein first your Majesty will easily believe that the very divulging and noising of your wants (begun first by the Earl of Salisbury upon art,¹ and since continued upon a kind of necessity in respect of a commission to many) is no small prejudice to your estate both at home and abroad." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., pp. 85-90.)

The New Atlantis was, we judge, involved in some of these schemes for revenue, and the speech at p. 18 touching Drowned Mineral Works was probably prepared later in reference thereto. As to the mentioned papers, this speech, and its subject matter, we quote from Bacon's letter to Buckingham, under date February 17, 1619, as follows : " I forgot not in my public charge the last Star-Chamber-day to publish his Majesty's honour, for his late commission for the relief of poor and suppressing vagabonds ; as also his gracious intention touching informers,² which I perceive was received with much applause. That of projectors I speak not of because it is not yet ripe, neither doth it concern the execution of any law, for which my speech was proper. God ever preserve and prosper you."³ When later matters have been called

¹ Mark the emphasis placed by Bacon in his attributed writings upon the word " art," and upon the subjects of good and bad arts ; and note the use of the word throughout the plays.

² Already, and for future reference, have we called attention to the words " suborned informer" in one of the sonnets.

³ And in an earlier letter to Buckingham, dated January 20th, 1619, he says : " This day we met about the commission, the Commonwealth's commission, for the poor and vagabonds, etc. We have put it into an excellent good way, and have appointed meetings once

into relation this letter should be read in full. (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., pp. 80-81.)

At about this time Raleigh was preparing for his great enterprise, his voyage to Guinea, later to be called under review. England's debt was now, in 1615, £7,000,000, and under the advice of all of the king's counsel a new Parliament was resolved upon, but stayed by reason of the great Overbury trial, which now crowded aside important matters of state.

The king's favorite, Rochester, afterward Earl of Somerset, together with the countess, his wife, had fallen under grave suspicions of procuring the sending to the Tower and poisoning of Somerset's friend, Sir Thomas Overbury, in 1613. Coke had charge of the case, and began his investigations September 27, 1615, the day prior to the counsel meeting to which we have just alluded. Watson, an under officer of the Tower, and who obtained position through Somerset, was first tried, convicted, and executed; and so far Bacon had nothing to do with the case. But upon Watson's execution he was harassed by persons who sought desired confessions from him. These persons, Mr. Lumsden, Sir John Hollis, and Sir John Wentworth, for this offence were prosecuted by the Attorney-General, Bacon, in the Star Chamber, and convicted and punished.

Circumstances, now rapidly accumulating, pointed so sharply to the guilt of the Earl and Countess of Somerset as accessories before the fact to the murder, that the king, though with apparent reluctance, was compelled, as it were, to bring them to trial; and which commenced in May, 1616. By reason of the physical condition of the countess, as well as of some Spanish matters connected with the case, the trial was postponed, and concerning which, in his charge, Bacon says: "The time also of this justice hath had his true motions. The time until the

in 14 days, because it shall not be aslack." (Works, vol. iii., p. 124.)

¹ Note throughout this use of the word "his." Promus, 341. So gyve authors their due as you gyve tyme his due which is to discover truth. In Sonnet 74 we have: "The earth can have but earth, which is his due." In Hamlet, Act i., sc. 3, p. 220, we have:

"Give thy thoughts no tongue,

Nor any unproportion'd thought his act."

In the Two Gentlemen of Verona, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 172, we have:

lady's deliverance was due unto honour, Christianity, and humanity, in respect of her great belly.¹ The time since was due to another kind of deliverance too ; which was that some causes of state which were in the womb might likewise be brought forth, not for matter of justice but for reason of state. Likewise this last procrastination of days had the like weighty grounds and causes." (Bacon's Letters, vol. v., p. 303.)

There was more involved in this case than the mere murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, and Bacon at first sought with all his subtlety and genius, we think, to unearth it. To these efforts, doubtless, it was that Yelverton alludes in a friendly letter of warning to Bacon more than a year later, and wherein he says that "it is too common in every man's mouth in court, that your greatness shall be abated, and as your tongue hath been as a razor to some, so shall theirs be to you." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vi., p. 248.)

The indiscretion of Coke at the very opening of this case put all upon their guard, and concerning which Mr. Spedding says : "On the 27th of November he had informed the public from the Bench in open Court that 'knowing as much as he knew, if this plot had not been found out, neither court, city, nor many particular houses had escaped the malice of that wicked crew.'"

Mr. Spedding also says : "On the 4th of December he

*"Duke. This weak impress of love is a figure
Trenched in ice ; which with an hour's heat
Dissolves to water, and doth lose his form."*

In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 174, we have : "If you will go with us, you must go against wind and tide ; the which, I perceive, is against your opinion : you must also own Religion in his rags, as well as when in his silver slippers ; and stand by him, too, when bound in irons, as well as when he walketh the streets with applause." Compare the use of the word "ice" just above with the following. Bacon says : "For high treason (I tell you) is not written in ice ; that when the body relenteth, the impression goeth away." (Bacon's Letters, vol. v., p. 154.)

¹ Note, and particularly in the Defoe and Addison literature, this expression "great belly." Also the expressions "big with child," "brought to bed," etc. In Addison, vol iii., p. 469, we have : "Her whisper can make an innocent young women big with child, or fill an healthful young fellow with distempers that are not to be named." And in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act ii., sc. 1, we have the expression "And grow big-bellied with the wanton wind."

made that other announcement from the Bench (which I have also mentioned) of a discovery that made 'our deliverance as great as any that happened to the children of Israel;' adding (it is said) an obscure hint that he knew something about the death of 'that sweet Prince Henry.' " (Bacon's Letters, vol. v., pp. 229, 339.)

In the previous July Somerset had obtained the king's signature to a general pardon, but it had been stopped at the seal, the Chancellor refusing to pass it, though requested by the king, unless he might have a pardon himself for doing it, and there it stuck. In his charge of Somerset Bacon, among other things, made use of these words: "For imposition, I am sorry it should be heard of in this kingdom: it is not *nostri generis nec sanguinis*: it is an Italian crime, fit for the court of Rome, where that person that intoxicateth the Kings of the earth with his cup of poison in heretical doctrine, is many times really and materially intoxicated and poisoned himself."¹ (Bacon's Letters, vol. v., p. 309, and see, p. 320, what he says touching Northampton's letters.)

The countess had been twice married. In 1606, on Twelfth Night, she, as Lady Francis Howard, daughter of the Earl of Suffolk, at the age of thirteen, was, under a brilliant court mask, married to Robert Devereaux, third Earl of Essex, and son of Elizabeth's unfortunate favorite, and being then a boy of but fourteen years. Upon coming to the throne, James at once showed favors to the families of Devereaux and Howard, who had suffered for their attachment to his cause. He restored the young earl to his blood and dignity, and he conferred the titles of Suffolk and Northampton on two brothers of the House of Suffolk. Upon the king's arrival in London young Essex was made a sharer in the studies and amusements of Prince Henry, the king's eldest son. Upon the marriage of young Essex, and before the consummation of the nuptial bed, and for some reason not apparent, unless we indulge a suspicion, he was sent abroad to spend some time in travel. After an absence of four years he returned to find his countess enamored of Somerset, at that time

¹ Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador, was present and heard the charges in these cases, let it be remembered, and which should be read in full.

Viscount Rochester. The marriage relations were refused with Essex, whereupon, through the open and avowed influence of James, a divorce was obtained ; and under a like mask and pomp she was, in December, 1613, married to Somerset, though against the serious protestations of Overbury, to whom Somerset was in the habit of communicating his secrets, as well personal as those of state, and he now feared their disclosure. Overbury disliked the Howards, and regarded the countess but as an abandoned and lascivious woman. Upon communication of Overbury's sentiments to her, she is said to have resolved upon revenge against him, enlisting Somerset and her relative, the Earl of Northampton, in her cause. (See Knight, vol. iii., pp. 293-306.) This, I say, is the theory, but we think the matter lay somewhat deeper.

Northampton is said to have desired the restoration of the Roman faith. He toward the end of Elizabeth's reign attached himself first to Essex and afterward to Salisbury, and took part with Salisbury in the secret correspondence with James before his coming to the English throne. He is said to have been one of the few who, in consideration of the services he was able to render, was authorized by the authorities of the Roman Church to pretend Protestantism during the first years of James' reign. See these facts in the *Britannica* article on Northampton. Somerset was absorbed in Northampton's influence, and so favored a close alliance with Spain. But in 1614, and so previous to these trials, Northampton died.

While Overbury was in the Tower it was that the mentioned divorce proceedings began, and on pretence that with the countess he, Essex, was incapable of conjugal duties. Under a mask a young virgin was substituted, it is said, to undergo a legal inspection by a jury of matrons. Under such proceedings, and sustained by the king, a sentence of divorce was pronounced ; and to prevent loss of rank to the lady by her now marriage with Rochester, the king conferred upon him the title of Earl of Somerset, and in 1614 he was made Lord Chamberlain. To Archbishop Abbott, who dared to oppose the disgraceful proceedings, the king said : "The least thankfulness that you that are so far my creature can use towards me is to reverence and follow my judgment and not to contradict it."

Among those implicated in the murder was Sir Thomas Munson, a pensioner of Spain, who had been employed in these affairs of Somerset and Northampton. He was by Coke brought to the bar and arraigned, December 4th, 1615. To Coke's indiscreet statement, made at the time, we have already called attention. The king interposed, and the matter was postponed until October, 1616, when he was released from the Tower, and on February 12th, 1616-17, he received the king's pardon. A little earlier, and at about the end of December, there was talk abroad as to a noted anonymous letter from Bacon to Coke concerning these affairs, and which has become known as Bacon's expostulatory letter to Coke. Mr. Spedding thinks the letter not Bacon's. In this we differ. From the letter we quote :

"In your last, which might have been your best, piece of service to the state, affectioned to follow that old rule which gives justice leaden heels and iron hands, you used too many delays, till the delinquents' hands were loosed and yours bound ; in that work you seemed another Fabius, where the humour of Marcellus would have done better : what need you have sought more evidence than enough ? Whilst you pretended the finding out of more, missing your aim, you discredited what you had found. This best judgments think : though you never used such speeches as are fathered upon you, yet you might well have done it, and but rightly. For this crime was second to none, but the powder-plot : that would have blown up all at a blow, a merciful cruelty ; this would have done the same by degrees, a lingering but a sure way ; one might by one be called out, till all opposers had been removed.

"Besides, that other plot was scandalous to Rome, making Popery odious in the sight of the whole world ; this hath been scandalous to the truth of the whole gospel ; and since the first nullity to this instant, when justice hath her hands bound, the devil could not have invented a more mischievous practice to our state and church than this, hath been, is and is like to be. God avert the evil.

"But herein you committed another fault : that as you were too open in your proceedings, and so taught them thereby to defend themselves ; so you gave them time to undermine justice, and to work upon all advan-

tages, both of affections, and humour, and opportunities and breach of friendship ; which they have so well followed sparing neither pains nor costs, that it almost seems a higher offence in you to have done so much indeed, than that you have done no more : you stop the confessions and accusations of some, who, perhaps, had they been suffered, would have spoken enough to have removed some stumbling blocks out of your way ; and that you did not this in the favour of any one, but of I know not what present unadvised humour, supposing enough behind to discover all ; which fell not out so. However, as the Apostle says in another case, you ‘ went not right to the truth ;’ and therefore, though you were to be commended for what you did, yet you were to be reprehended for many circumstances in the doing ; and doubtless God hath an eye in this cross to your negligence and the briers are left to be pricks in your sides and thorns in your eyes.”

Mr. Spedding gives but a portion of this paper. It is given in full, Works, vol. ii., pp. 485-88, from which we have taken this quotation. The quoted portion may be found in Bacon’s Letters, vol. vi., p. 124. It is indeed an important paper. It bears directly upon Bacon’s troubles, and should be read.

We are of the opinion that this paper was sent by Bacon to Coke, and that he, Coke, himself gave it what publicity it had, and for the advantage it would now yield him.¹ He was at this time suspended from his high office, and, doubtless, through the influence of this, to use his own words, “ wicked crew,” and this the mentioned paper informs him. Bacon doubtless thought Coke’s egotism would not permit him to show the paper, it being so truthful an anatomy of himself in points not here quoted. Bacon, as well as other men, must be permitted to have acid, and he evidently thought this a proper occasion to

¹ Coke had even prior to his removal from office sought to kiss the king’s hands, concerning which Buckingham, in a letter to Bacon, dated October 3d, 1616, touching Coke’s removal, among other things, says : “ Thirdly, for that my lord Coke hath sought means to kiss his Majesty’s hands and withal to acquaint him with some things of great importance to his service, he holdeth it not fit to admit him to his presence before these points be determined, because that would be a grant of his pardon before he had his trial.” (Bacon’s Letters, vol. vi., p. 79.)

use it, and to show Coke that learning may not only be a lark to soar, but a hawk to strike.

Touching the Overbury trial, Knight, in his *History of England*, vol. iii., p. 302, says: "The mysteries which were involved in the death of Overbury, whose murder can scarcely be attributed solely to the revenge of Lady Somerset; the fearful secrets which Somerset might have revealed had he not been assured of the king's pardon, and of the rewards which he afterwards received—are conjectured to be of a nature that had better be buried with the 'carrion' to which they belong. That Somerset was guilty of being accessory to the murder of Overbury is very little to be doubted. That the murder was for the concealment of some terrible secret can as little be questioned. How far James was implicated in these dark affairs may be better judged from a careful perusal of the great body of evidence collected by Mr. Amos than by any brief mention in this or any other historical abstract."

The circumstances preparatory to this trial were in brief as follows: one George More, a kind of self-appointed lieutenant of the Tower, though, in fact, acting under the authority of the king, as will appear from the king's letters, informed Somerset that he must the next day go to his trial, whereupon Somerset absolutely refused, and said that the king had assured him he should not come to any trial, and that the king dare not bring him to trial. Upon this More, late at night, seeks an audience with the king. What followed, as well as the king's letters connected therewith, will appear in Knight's *History of England*, pp. 301-308.

While Bacon was cognizant of the fact that there were involved in this trial secrets concerning which the king, as to himself, feared disclosure, it is by no means certain that he knew their true inwardness at this time, and it is probable that he did not. There were, we judge, other points in the case upon which Bacon's eye was more closely centred. This king's methods were of a treacherous, covert, and secret nature, better seen after than during the transit of events. Even to this day the true inwardness of the case is not known. Bacon's attention during these years was too largely absorbed in literary and other work for him to have attended very closely to the details of the king's private methods. The countess made

confession to the poisoning, and both she and the earl were found guilty. The countess was immediately pardoned and the earl some time later. Upon this nobleman, James, in 1609, conferred Raleigh's estate, and, it is said, upon Salisbury's advice, Raleigh having been convicted in 1603.

Bacon, in a letter to the king in this cause, makes use of the word "providence" in the same sense claimed in earlier pages, thus : "Your Majesty hath put me upon a work of providence in this great cause," etc.

It also has the following : "For certainly there may be an evidence so balanced, as it may have sufficient matter for the conscience of the peers to convict him, and yet leave sufficient matter *in the conscience of the king*¹ upon the same evidence to pardon his life ; because the peers are astringed by necessity either to acquit or condemn ; but grace is free ; and for my part, I think the evidence in this present case will be of such a nature." (Works, vol. ii., p. 329.)

William Shakespeare died near the date of this letter, and on April 23d, 1616, while this letter was written on the 28th, five days later. Let it be investigated as to whether facts in this case be found woven into some later play.

The king was now somewhat beneath the hatchet. Coke's mining he soon stayed, however, by removing him from office. In June, 1616, upon charges which our space will not permit us here to elaborate, Coke was called before the counsel and suspended from both counsel-table and bench, and ordered to make correction of his reports as to claimed extravagant opinions. The task not being performed to the king's satisfaction, he was in November dismissed from office, though done, as one of his contemporaries says, "as if he meant to hang him with a silken halter." Thus matters stood when Coke received the mentioned expostulatory letter from Bacon, who in it tells him that his trouble is all due to his own fault and lack of discretion. As the proceedings for Coke's removal went, by reason of Bacon's office, somewhat under his eye, it seemed, and doubtless in part was so, Bacon's triumph over him. Till now Coke had led the legal race,

¹ We are here reminded of the words in Hamlet, "the play's the thing wherein to catch the conscience of the king."

and sneered ever at Bacon as a mere pretender to law, and whose enthusiasm for accomplishments and polite learning he despised utterly. The effect produced upon Coke, who regarded himself as the unique embodiment of English law, may readily be imagined, and when later his opportunity came for retaliation he put it to full use.

From this moment Bacon was being drawn sharply beneath conflicting influences and such as soon became relentless cords. The king, since the dissolution of his last Parliament, to escape financial and other difficulties, had sought a close alliance with Spain. Between the years 1615 and 1616 the new favorite, George Villiers, afterward Duke of Buckingham, was being moved rapidly to preferment. The practices under Somerset had become known to Bacon, and hence his carefully prepared letter of advice to Villiers upon assuming his new relations.

Early in 1615 and during the dangerous illness of Lord Chancellor Ellesmere, Bacon by a carefully prepared letter to the king proposed himself as Chancellor, should that office fall vacant, and reminding him of his father's connection with it in the former reign. (Works, vol. iii., p. 10.)

Referring in this letter to Somerset's methods, he says : "Upon this heavy accident,¹ I pray your majesty in all humbleness and sincerity, to give me leave to use a few words. I must never forget, when I moved your majesty

¹ Note throughout this use of the word "heavy," as "heavy accident," "heavy judgment," "heavy news." And in the plays it will be found variously woven. In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act iii., sc. 2. p. 197, we have :

"*D. Pedro.* Indeed, that tells a heavy tale for him :
Conclude, conclude, he is in love."

In *Macbeth*, Act. i., sc. 3, p. 251, we have :

"*Ang.* Who was the thane lives yet ;
But under heavy judgment bears that life
Which he deserves to lose."

In *Hamlet*, Act. iv., sc. 1, p. 315, we have :

"*King.* O heavy deed !"

In *Othello*, Act ii., sc. 1, p. 451, we have :

"*Des.* O, heavy ignorance !"

In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 259, we have the expression "with many a heavy cogitation."

for the Attorney's place, it was your own sole act ; more than that, Somerset, when he knew your majesty had resolved it, thrust himself into the business for a fee. And therefore I have no reason to pray to saints.

" I shall now again make oblation to your majesty, first of my heart, then, of my service, thirdly, of my place of attorney which I think is honestly worth £6000 per annum, and, fourthly, of my place of the Star Chamber, which is worth £1600 per annum ; and with the favour and countenance of a chancellor, much more."

Through Villiers the place was within three days assured to him. The king's methods for revenue through Somerset had not worked upon Bacon ; through Villiers they did, though doubtless Bacon regarded these as but gifts to the king in his now great need.

Villiers, in other words, the king, was not only to receive henceforth Bacon's yearly income of £1600 from the Star Chamber, but likewise his office to dispose of elsewhere, as no one from this time forward was permitted to hold footing in the government of James that did not in some way pay tribute to Buckingham, the screen.

Ellesmere having recovered, the king gave Bacon the option either to be made privy counsellor or the assurance of succeeding the Chancellor. He chose the first position for reasons which, in a letter to Villiers June 3d, he states thus :

" SIR : 'The king giveth me a noble' choice, and you are the man my heart ever told me you were. Ambition would draw me to the latter part of the choice ; but in respect to my hearty wishes that my lord chancellor may live long, and the small hopes I have, that I shall live long myself, and above all, because I see his majesty's service daily and instantly bleedeth ; towards which I

¹ Observe particularly in Addison and throughout the plays the use of Bacon's distinguishing word "noble." From Addison, vol. iii., p. 428, we quote as follows : "Allegories when well chosen, are like so many tracks of light in a discourse, that make everything about them clear and beautiful. A noble metaphor, when it is placed to an advantage, casts a kind of glory round it, and darts a lustre through a whole sentence : these different kinds of allusion are but so many different manners of similitude, and, that they may please the imagination, the likeness ought to be very exact, or very agreeable, as we love to see a picture where the resemblance is just, or the posture and air graceful."

persuade myself (vainly, perhaps, but yet in mine own thoughts firmly and constantly) that I shall give, when I am at the table, some effectual furtherance (as a poor thread of the labyrinth, which hath no other virtue but a united continuance, without interruption or distraction), I do accept of the former, to be counsellor for the present, and give over¹ pleading at bar ; let the other matter rest upon my proof and his majesty's pleasure, and the accidents of time. For to speak plainly I would be loth that my lord chancellor, to whom I owe most after the king and yourself, should be locked to his successor for any advancement or gracing² of me. So I remain," etc. (Works, vol. iii., p. 49.)

Bacon took his position at the council-table June 9th, 1616, and soon after presented the king with his long-meditated scheme for legal reform in a paper entitled "A Proposition to his Majesty Touching the Compiling and Amendment of the Laws of England." (Works, vol. ii., pp. 229-33, or Bacon's Letters, vol. vi., pp. 61-70.) This is indeed a masterly piece of work. The subject had been prominent in his thoughts since his first appearance in Parliament in the former reign. By the use of such words as "sleeping laws" and "snaring laws"—and see also ch. 3, Book 8 of the *De Augmentis*—we are reminded of the play of "Measure for Measure," and which first appeared in the Great First Folio of 1623.

The doings of this year we have somewhat recounted. The Overbury trial is over, and by the pardon of Munson, in February, 1616-7, the king was somewhat relieved, and was now preparing for an absence to his native Scotland, having first issued a proclamation ordering all of the gentry of London into the country. On March 14th, accompanied by Buckingham, he quitted England. Previously, however, and on the 5th of the month, Ellesmere, by reason of health, age, and press of business, resigned his position, (had the king method in this?) and two days

¹ To this expression "give over" we have already called attention.

² As to this use of the word "grace," we, from *As You Like It*, Act v., sc. 2, p. 241, quote the following : "Know of me, then (for now I speak to some purpose), that I know you are a gentleman of good conceit : I speak not this, that you should bear a good opinion of my knowledge, insomuch, I say, I know you are ; neither do I labour for a greater esteem than may in some little measure draw a belief from you, to do yourself good, and not to grace me."

thereafter, and on March 7th, 1617, the great seal was conferred upon Sir Francis Bacon, with the title of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, that of Chancellor being added in the following January. Thus Bacon, at the age of fifty-seven, reached the height of his ambition in civil affairs. He thus became the first law officer of the kingdom, the accredited adviser of the king, and on intimate terms with his great favorite, Villiers, who had in the previous January been created Earl of Buckingham.

Bacon had ever great motives for seeking position ; for uniting his will with the royal will.¹ He sought not merely to shape the policy of England, but of Europe. Nay, more ; in Aph. 129, Book 1 of the *Novum Organum* he says : “ It will, perhaps, be as well to distinguish three species and degrees of ambition. First that of men who are anxious to enlarge their own power in their country, which is a vulgar and degenerate kind : next, that of men who strive to enlarge the power and empire of their country over mankind, which is more dignified but not less covetous ; but if one were to endeavour to renew and enlarge the power and empire of mankind in general over the universe, such ambition (if it may be so termed) is both more sound and more noble than the other two. Now the empire of man over things is founded on the arts and sciences alone, for nature is only to be commanded by obeying her.”

As he had already recommended to the king legal reform, and in its very roots and foundations, so now at his entrance upon this great office—the king’s right arm—he sought to shape or give direction to what he regarded as desirable courses to be pursued not only in it, but in all beneath it. This effort at shaping courses must be taken into account and be looked at with care, if we would have a true estimate of Lord Bacon’s character. His motives and ends must in a measure be studied by looking somewhat beneath the surface.

And so the four charges which he mentions as having been given him by the king upon his receiving the seal were evidently products of his own mind and pen. See his speech in taking his place in Chancery. (*Works*, vol. ii., p. 471.) This finding of his pen in other men’s

¹ See Sonnets 135 and 136, p. 205.

work has puzzled many as to certain literary products during his period.

His duties as Lord Keeper began in May, when with much ceremony he rode in state to Westminster, where, being seated, he addressed the bar and assembled spectators by dilating generally upon the mentioned charges given him by the king upon receiving the seal, and stating the manner in which he purposed to execute the trust. As to the third admonition, concerning the speed of business, he, among other things, says : " I shall by the grace of God, as far as God will give me strength add the afternoon to the forenoon, and some fourth night of the vacation to the term, for the expediting and clearing the causes of the court ; only the depth of the three long vacations I would reserve in some measure free from business of state, and for studies, arts, and sciences, to which in my own nature I am most inclined."

And thus was the empire of knowledge ever uppermost in this man's thoughts, and to advance which even the ceremonies of this occasion were doubtless thought by him to lend aid. He, in fact, in his essay entitled " Of Vainglory" says : " In fame of learning the flight will be slow without some feathers' of ostentation." Bacon sought position for the vantage ground which it would yield him in initiating, resting, and seating his great philosophic empire in the minds of men ; and to which all else was made

¹ Bacon made the word " feather" a distinctive figure of speech, and it may be often found in this literature, and particularly in the plays. *Promus*, 1217a. I do as birds do for I fly out of my feathers." *Promus*, 1217. From this your first flight, etc. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act iv., sc. 1, p. 407, we have :

" *Prin.* What plume of feathers is he that indicted this letter ?"

In *Hamlet*, Act ii., sc. 2, p. 258, we have :

" *Ham.* I will tell you why ; so shall my anticipation prevent your discovery, and your secrecy to the king and queen moult no feather."

And in *Hamlet*, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 293, we have :

" Would not this, sir, and a forest of feathers (if the rest of my fortunes turn Turk with me), with two Provincial roses on my rac'd shoes, get me a fellowship in a cry of players, sir ?" Much material of this kind might be introduced did space permit. In *Addison*, vol. iv., p. 214, we have : " I shall appear at the next masquerade, dressed up in my feathers and plumage like an Indian prince, that the quality may see how pretty they will look in their traveling habits." (See vol. ii., p. 312, and *Bacon's Letters*, vol. i., p. 388.)

subservient. He it was who said : " I have raised up a light in the obscurity of philosophy which will be seen centuries when I am dead."

An account of this first day's business in court he by letter communicated to Buckingham, then with the king at Edinburgh, saying : " Yesterday I took my place in chancery, which I hold only from the king's grace and favour, and your friendship. There was much ado¹ and a great deal of world. But this matter of pomp, which is heaven to some men, is hell to me, or purgatory at least. It is true I was glad to see that the king's choice was so generally approved, and that I had so much interest in men's good wills and good opinions, because it maketh me the fitter instrument to do my master's service and my friend's also." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vi., p. 194.)

He was, however, scarcely warm in his seat before circumstances arose which called for opinions and actions likely to at once involve him in great difficulties with the king, and soon with both the king and Buckingham. As remarked, the king was now seeking a close alliance with Spain. Before his departure into Scotland he had appointed commissioners to manage a marriage treaty between his son, Prince Charles, and the Infanta of Spain. Bacon, ever jealous for the Reformed faith, and remembering, doubtless, the days of Mary Tudor and later those of Philip, her husband, advised the king against proceeding with the treaty, and set forth the difficulties that had already been experienced from disunited counsel. (Bacon's Letters, vol. vi., p. 170.) The step was against the decided sentiment of the people, as the king well knew, and his council did not purpose to have it go forward, though they dare not openly oppose it; nor did they know well how to avert it, if it was really intended by Spain, which some of them much doubted. Bacon had as early as March 23d, concerning the instructions to be given to Sir John Digby, who had the matter in charge, recommended that the two countries should take into account in this marriage treaty the subject of a war against the Turks. He says : " Also, that it may be a beginning and seed

¹ This expression " much ado " is found in every phase of these writings. And in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 274, we have : " I had much ado to forbear crying out, undone ! " And see p. 319.

(for the like actions before have had less beginnings) of a holy war against the Turk,¹ whereunto it seems the events of time doth invite Christian kings, in respect of the great corruption and relaxation of discipline of war in that empire ; and much more in respect of the utter ruin and enervation of the Grand Signor's navy and forces by sea ; which openeth a way (without congregating vast armies by land) to suffocate and starve Constantinople, and thereby to put those provinces into mutiny and insurrection." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vi., p. 158.)

And what did Overbury really know ? The question of this marriage alliance was first moved by Spain immediately after the treaty of peace with England in August, 1604, and upon condition that James' eldest son, Prince Henry, then a little boy, should not only be brought up a Catholic, but sent to Madrid for his education. What a proposition to a Protestant king ! The terms were not, of course, accepted, and the Gunpowder Plot followed in October. After the dissolution of Parliament, in 1610, it was moved by James himself, and with the view, it is said, of relieving his exchequer by the marriage portion. As it could be accomplished only upon the conditions mentioned, it was again broken off. No better results having been obtained from his next Parliament, James began to show his intentions, and at the end of 1614 Digby was sent to Madrid to manage the negotiation ; and in March, 1615, Spanish proposals were embodied in a series of articles as a basis of negotiation. At this juncture Mr. Spedding says : " Somerset, in whom, with Sir Robert Cotton as an ally, Gondomar fancied he had found the very instrument he wanted for the conversion of England, was arrested on a charge of complicity in the murder of Overbury, and disappeared from the stage, not to appear again." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vi., p. 146.)

Aside from the negotiations going forward through Digby, it seems that there was a side issue through Somer-

¹ This was one of Bacon's life aims, as may be seen not merely in a later paper entitled *The Holy War*, but in the *Serious Reflections* of *Robinson Crusoe*. We think he may have moved it at this time, however, in order to break relations as to this marriage treaty. In every phase of his doings Bacon will be found to have stood like an oak, and even in subtlety, in support of the Reformed faith. He was more quickly aroused at this point than at any other, as we shall see.

set, and known to the king. Digby received messages showing that Somerset was having some underhand dealing in the matter with the Spanish ambassador, and in this way the matter was brought to light. Overbury through Somerset was fully cognizant of the inwardness of this business. (Bacon's Letters, vol. v., pp. 232, 262-69, 312.)

The forces here at work against England's Protestantism were met, we think, by Bacon's greatest subtlety, and as well toward the king as others.¹

Coke now during the king's absence submissively applied himself to Secretary Winwood to be restored to favor. Previously he had rejected with scorn, but now favored, a proposed marriage alliance between his daughter Frances and Buckingham's brother, Sir John Villiers. Winwood favored the alliance, but Coke's wife, Lady Hatton, and upon whom the young lady's fortune chiefly depended, most bitterly opposed it. But, again, Buckingham's mother, Lady Compton, approved it, and a furious quarrel ensued. Lady Hatton took the daughter, who is said to have been little more than a child, into the country. Coke with his son, Fighting Clem, as he was called, and with ten or twelve servants pursued her with a warrant from Secretary Winwood, Bacon having refused it. She was found; the door of the residence was forced violently open, and the young lady into Coke's carriage. Lady Hatton rushed now to the Lord Keeper Bacon for help, and from a brief account of the affair in Bacon's Letters, vol. vi., p. 225, we quote as follows: "After an overturn by the way 'at last to my Lord Keeper's they came, but could not have instant access to him, for that his people told them he was laid at rest, being not well. Then my La. Hatton desired she might be in the next room where my Lord lay, that she might be the first that [should] speak with him after he was stirring. The door-keeper fulfilled her desire, and in the mean time gave her a chair to rest herself in, and there left her alone: but not long after, she rose up and bounced against my Lord Keeper's door, and waked him and affrighted him, that he called his men to him; and they opening the door, she thrust in

¹ And hence we need not wonder at the remark in his expostulatory letter to Coke that the success of the Gunpowder Plot would have been but a "merciful cruelty."

with them, and desired his Lp. to pardon her boldness, but she was like a cow that had lost her calf, and so justified [herself] and pacified my Lord's anger, and got his warrant and my Lo. Treasurer's warrant and others of the Council to fetch her daughter from the father and bring them both to the Council.' "

Both parties were by the court compelled to keep the peace, and the young lady was for the present taken from the raging parents. Bacon, it seems, had at first supposed the matter to be but an affair between Coke and Winwood, and so at once, July 12th, wrote to Buckingham and entreated him to put an end to the affair. He also wrote the king on the 25th. (Works, vol. iii., pp. 77, 78.)

Coke in the mean time was ordered by the Council before the Star Chamber "for riot and force," to "be heard and sentenced as justice should appertain." Neither Bacon nor the Council apparently to this time had a doubt but that they were doing what the king would approve. Buckingham for a time remained silent, his silence being followed by several haughty and bitter letters. Bacon in the mean time had not, so far as appears, done aught but duty, either as friend, counsellor, or judge; yet he was now upon the very edge not merely of losing his high office, but he knew not what. He seems to have been amazed to find that both the king and Buckingham were for the match, and that the proceedings of the Council were condemned as gross misconduct. In one of Buckingham's letters it appears that the king even threatened to put "some public exemplary mark" upon Bacon, and Buckingham is said to have gone so far as to accuse Bacon with having been unfaithful to Essex, to Somerset—for whom he never professed friendship—and now to himself. Coke had seen the king during his absence, and went to meet him upon his return. Had the king seen the mentioned expostulatory letter? The transaction seems, for some reason not apparent, to have been loaded with a severity entirely inadequate and unnecessary, and to have terminated in a kind of submission on Bacon's part bordering somewhat upon servility. But it must be remembered that his own great purposes were not yet accomplished, and he was ever more attentive to his ends than to his mere will. Again, he saw that his country, if ever, now needed his services. The matter

ended in the gracing of Coke. This Bacon had feared, though he claims to have feared it only by reason of again restoring discord in council. Coke, on September 28th, was restored to the council-table, and the daughter on the 29th was married to the brother of the great favorite, a man whom she detested, whom she loathed. The result was the abandonment of the husband and the fall of the wife.

Coke and Bacon had now both been awed, and as intended, doubtless, left somewhat beneath the whips of power. Bacon's talent was wanted, but it was wanted only in the line of the king's own purposes. Buckingham, the screen, now became troublesome to Bacon in many ways, and he seems able to retain his office only by further tribute, as will appear from the following New Year's letter by Bacon to Buckingham in 1618 :

“MY VERY GOOD LORD : Sir George Chaworth and I am agreed, so that now I shall retain the grace of my place, and yet be rewarded. The King hath no ill bargain ; for, he hath four times as much as he was offered by Sir George, of increase ; and yet I take upon me to content my servants, and to content him. Nevertheless, I shall think myself pleased by his majesty, and do acknowledge, that your lordship hath dealt very honourably and nobly with me.” (Bacon's Letters, vol. vi., p. 286.)

Many of these gracious sayings of Bacon will be found to be subtle shots at the quick of conscience of those dealing unjustly by him. Hamlet's words to Polonius seem to represent his methods wherein he says : “ Use every man after his desert, and who shall 'scape whipping ! Use them after your own honour and dignity : the less they deserve, the more merit is in your bounty.”

Thinking, perhaps, to have Bacon now more to his purposes, the king, and by reason of the mentioned tribute, early in January conferred upon him the additional office of Chancellor, and in July, and as part of the same arrangement, the honorary title of Baron Verulam. Bacon was now at work with all diligence upon matters concerning the king's revenue and retrenching of the expenses of the kingdom. It was hoped that Raleigh's voyage would add something to the Exchequer. He sailed from Plymouth June 12th, 1617. The voyage proved a failure,

and by reason of certain Spanish charges he, on October 23d, 1618, received notice to prepare for death.

During the summer of this year the revolt broke out in Bohemia, and which was the commencement of the Thirty Years' War. Bacon favored the war with Spain for its recovery, but the king opposed it. Though charges of corruption in office were the occasion, still the subtle cause of Bacon's overthrow took deeper its roots, as we shall see, and he was as truly a sacrifice to Spain, or to Spanish influence, as was Raleigh.

In the following year, 1619, Buckingham was raised by the king to the office of Lord High Admiral of England, and was pursuing courses which Bacon thought dangerous, and particularly to the Reformed faith. In his letter of advice to him, upon his becoming the king's favorite, Bacon said : "Take heed, I beseech you, that you be not an instrument to countenance the Roman Catholics. I cannot flatter, the world believes that some near in blood to you are too much of that persuasion ; you must use them with fit respects, according to the bonds of nature ; but you are of kin, and so a friend to their persons, not to their errors." (Works, vol. ii., p. 377.)

This year first appeared the A. D. B. Mask. It was dedicated to Buckingham in words of fulsome uncertainty, and the work, as we view it, contains covert warnings as to courses now being pursued by him, and with the evident design to stay those courses. Buckingham at first pretended to be with the popular movement, but before the summer of 1620 had ended he was found in the closest alliance with Gondomar, and was recklessly pursuing, as the events will show, the already mentioned Spanish marriage alliance. He had himself in the previous year been married to the daughter of the Earl of Rutland, a lady known to be at heart a Roman Catholic, and for a time both his and the king's influence went wholly in that direction, and to the great fear and discomfiture of a large portion of the English people.

James at once denied his son-in-law's title as King of Bohemia, and forbade him to be prayed for as such in the churches. Knight, in his History of England, vol. iii., p. 313, says :

"The Elector Palatine, after some hesitation, accepted the dangerous promotion, and was crowned at Prague, in

Nov. 1619. The resolve was the signal for a general array of hostile forces throughout Europe. The great battle of Protestantism and Catholicism appeared once more likely to be fought out. Had Elizabeth been alive she would have thrown all her force into the conflict. James at first refused to give any assistance to his son-in-law. The Protestants of England were aroused to an enthusiasm which had been repressed for years. They saw the armies of Austria and Spain gathering to snatch the crown from the elective King of Bohemia, and to invade the Palatinate. They saw many of the Protestant princes forming a union for his defence. Volunteers were ready to go forth from England, full of zeal for the support of the elector. James was professing an ardent desire to Protestant deputies to assist his son-in-law ; and at the same time vowing to the Spanish ambassador that the alliance with his Catholic majesty, which was to be cemented by the marriage of Prince Charles to the Infanta, was the great desire of his heart. At length the Catholic powers entered the Palatinate ; and the cry to arms was so loud amongst the English and the Scotch, that James reluctantly marshalled a force of four thousand volunteers, not to support his son-in-law upon the throne of Bohemia, but to assist in defending his hereditary dominions. The scanty assistance came too late. Frederick was defeated by the Austrians at Prague, on the 7th of Nov. 1620, which decisive battle entirely destroyed his slight tenure of power in Bohemia. He was very shortly after driven from the Palatinate which was handed over to the tender mercies of the conquerors. The supporters of the elector in Bohemia, a country which had been the refuge of persecuted reformers, were trodden down by the iron heel of Austria. The Puritan party in England considered this misfortune as ' the greatest blow which the Church of God had received, since the first Reformation by Martin Luther in 1517.' The union of the Protestant princes was broken up. ' The Catholic principle passed with wonderful rapidity from a moment of the utmost danger to an omnipotent sway over the south of Germany and the Austrian provinces.'

" It was during the excitement of this conflict, and in the month following the victory of the Austrians at Prague, that James adopted one of those arbitrary meas-

ures which weak governments resort to in their imbecile desire to control public opinion. On the 27th of December, says D'Ewes, 'I saw and perused a proclamation set out by his majesty inhibiting or forbidding any of his subjects to discourse of state-matters, either foreign or domestic ; which all men conceived to have been procured by the count of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador.' "

But if James covertly entertained the thought of returning England to the old faith, as did later his grandson, James the Second, he dare not brave the fire which he now saw kindling for the new.

Thus matters stood when, on January 22d, 1620, surrounded by admiring friends, Bacon celebrated his sixtieth birthday at York House, the place of his birth, and where his father before him as Lord Keeper had lived. And in October appeared his crowning literary work, the *Novum Organum*, and concerning which, and with the hope of obtaining aid in the work, he wrote thus to the king :

"IT MAY PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY : It being a thing to speak or write, especially to a king in public, another in private ; although I have dedicated a work, or rather a portion of a work, which at last, I have overcome, to your majesty, by a punie epistle where I speak to you in the hearing of others ; yet I thought fit also humbly to seek access for the same, not so much to your person, as to your judgment, by these private lines.

"The work, in what colours soever it may be set forth, is no more but a new logic, teaching to invent and judge by induction, as finding syllogism incompetent for sciences of nature ; and thereby to make philosophy and sciences both more true and more active.

"This tending to enlarge the bounds of reason, and to endow man's estate with new value, was no improper oblation¹ to your majesty, who of men is the greatest master of reason and author of beneficence.

¹ This word "oblation" is spread quite generally in this literature. In Addison, vol. iv., p. 339, we have : "When he is making his oblations at the temple, he will let the dish drop out of his hand, and fall a laughing, as if he had done some brave exploit." In Pericles, Prince of Tyre, Act v., sc. 3, p. 383, we have :

"*Per.* Pure Diana !
I bless thee for thy vision, and will offer
My night oblations to thee."

"There be two of your council, and one other bishop of this land, that know I have been about some such work near thirty years ;' so as I made no haste. And the reason why I have published it now, especially being unperfect, is, to speak plainly, because I number my days, and would have it saved. There is another reason of my so doing, which is to try whether I can get help in one intended part of this work, namely, the compiling of a natural and experimental history, which must be the main foundation of a true and active philosophy.

"This work is but a new body of clay, whereunto your majesty, by your countenance and protection, may breathe life. And to tell your majesty truly what I think, I account your favour may be to this work as much as a hundred years' time : for I am persuaded the work will gain upon men's minds in ages, but your gracing it may make it take hold more swiftly ; which I would be very glad of, it being a work meant, not for praise or glory, but for practice and the good of men. One thing I confess, I am ambitious of, with hope, which is, that after these beginnings, and the wheel once set on going, men shall seek more truth out of Christian pens than hitherto they have done out of heathen. I say with hope, because I hear my former book of the Advancement of Learning, is well tasted in the universities here, and the English colleges abroad : and this is the same argument sunk deeper.

"And so I ever humbly rest in prayers, and all other duties, etc. York House this 12th of Oct., 1620." (Works, vol iii., p. 129.)

We understand the basal idea of the *Novum Organum* to be, that the particulars of knowledge viewed relationally yield light in and of themselves to the mind, in that thus standing before attention, they yield the knowing faculty new products or conclusions ; and hence the reaching of discoveries before unknown. The conclusions are

¹ From those great satires, *Gulliver's Travels*, p. 222, we quote as follows : "I had hitherto seen only one side of the academy, the other being appropriated to the advancers of speculative learning, of whom I shall say something, when I have mentioned one illustrious person more, who is called among them 'the universal artist.' He told us 'he had been thirty years employing his thoughts for the improvement of human life.'" Note at p. 216 that this academy of Lagado was an academy of projectors, and see the opening words of ch. 6, p. 225.

not that which is viewed. While dwelling in attention we dwell in the field of invention, in the field from which spontaneity or inventions spring; and this field, as described by Bacon, is the field of natural magic. In this field the will has no part, save that of directing the attention or mental energies. To this extent and to this extent only may our thoughts be said to be under our control, or ours. The will may apply honey to the tongue, but there its power ceases, and the effect, the product, the sweetness, is wholly independent of it. Not only this, but the product is unlike the thing itself. We may o'ermaster the spontaneous shiftings of the globes of vision, but once set no power of the will or shifting force can either produce or prevent the retinal effects—in other words, the products to the mind. The products themselves, both objective and subjective, of mind, spring ever independently of the will; and hence the field of the divine and the field of the human provision or providence. This human providence is wise or unwise according as we may choose to set and hold the mental energies to wise or unwise courses. As applied to science, this, as we understand it, is the first stage of Bacon's methods of schooling wisely the intellect to external relations, purging first from the mind its idols. From this stage selected particulars of knowledge may be tabled, and they so standing and viewed relationally again yield new and higher light. Thus the objective or outlying world, by a wise choice, and within the range of experience, becomes transfigured or subjectively knit, in its just relations to the mental texture, so to speak, and thus is formed in the sensibility the very substance, body, ground; or, as it were, the very earth, air, sea, and sky, so to speak, ready for subjective evolution or recall. But mere memory, the possibility of recall, may draw from experience only. Imagination may do more. It may not merely from the sensibility recall outlines, boundaries, forms, and relations once experienced to present consciousness, but by its own kaleidoscopic combinings or creative evolutions, as evidenced in dream life, it may create or produce wholly, vividly, and instantly anew, and beyond and different from that ever before experienced in the sensibility. With care do we chose here our words. Imagination may feebly do this in the second, the subjective wakeful state of the mind, by

the dwelling of attention subjectively upon known relations. But the mind can never normally in this second state, as it may in the third or dream life, have active perceptions of objects and relations, nor may it ever normally during wakefulness, unless such objects and relations are present to sense. This can normally arise during wakefulness only in the first, or purely objective state of the mind, when in relation with the outer world of sense.¹

Science fails utterly to show us how, in this third state or stage of the mind, it may have active perceptions without physical objects, and which stage is and can be reached normally only when the objective nerve centres have found repose—that is, been locked to external relations. How, for instance, may the mind in this state be so vividly conscious of definite objects of sight, and even of those never beheld during wakefulness without the physical rays of light and the particular physical object being present to the retina? And as to this, so of the other senses. Sight is a species of touch through a purposely devised organ. Can the objects of sight, then, in this state rest in material change or effects upon the retina; in other words, in sensations? We here reach the deepest mysteries of mind, and which hitherto have been but feebly or but partially explored. In this field Bacon him-

¹ Yet in the repose of sleep, with the external avenues to sense closed, with no physical object presented to the retina of the eye, no sound to the ear, smell, touch, or taste presented to the consciousness, the mental world thus without aid of external sense may live a full rounded life of most vivid consciousness as to objects and relations and even amid those never before experienced. The spirit now during the repose of its instrument, the body, may be up and active, and in full relations either of antics, business, or pleasure. It may live and meander amid beautiful scenery. It may discourse of the objects before it—the rising sun, the sky, the landscape, the delicacy of fruits, or the fragrance of flowers; and this to faces never beheld during wakefulness. Sadness in turn may visit it, and it may awake in a flood of tears, thus showing that it has been passing through active experiences, the effects of which no amount of mere thinking during wakefulness could produce, and so vivid, perhaps, as to require moments of reflection to determine that the experience was really a dream, and this done only by the surrounding conditions of wakefulness. These thoughts are not matters of fancy, but facts more or less familiar to the consciousness of every individual. And if these things may take place without aid from the senses, the thought naturally suggests itself, May they not when their sum—the body—is dropped altogether?

self recommends further exploration. But for the particular views here expressed we hold ourselves responsible. From his *Addison*, vol. iv., pp. 1-5, we quote an able article upon the subject, and which is in these words :

" Though there are many authors who have written on dreams, they have generally considered them only as revelations of what has already happened in distant parts of the world, or as passages¹ of what is to happen in future periods of time.

" I shall consider this subject in another light, as dreams may give us some idea of the great excellency of a human soul, and some intimations of its independency on matter.²

" In the first place, our dreams are great instances of that activity which is natural to the human soul, and which it is not in the power of sleep to deaden or abate. When the man appears tired and worn out with labours of the day, this active part of his composition is still busied and unwearied. When the organs of sense want their due repose and necessary reparations, and the body is no longer able to keep pace with that spiritual substance³ to which it is united, the soul exerts herself in her several faculties, and continues in the action till her partner is again qualified to bear her company. In this

¹ This use of the word " passages " and the expression " passages of action " is distinctively Baconian. Bacon says : " The government of the Soul in moving the Body is inward and profound, and the passages thereof hardly to be reduced to demonstration." (*Phil. Works*, vol. iii., p. 474.) " For as in buildings there is great pleasure and use in the well casting of the stair-cases, entries, doors, windows, and the like ; so in speech the conveyances and passages are of special ornament and effect." (*Phil. Works*, vol. iii., p. 413.) " And though he had fine passages of action, yet the real conclusions came slowly on." (*Bacon's Letters*, vol. iv., p. 280.) And in sub. 326 of his *Natural History* he says : " But we, when we shall come to handle the version and transmutation of bodies, and the experiments concerning metals and minerals, will lay open the true ways and passages of nature, which may lead to this great effect." In *Hamlet*, Act iv., sc. 7, p. 341, we have :

" But that I know love is begun by time ;
And that I see, in passages of proof."

² This independency may be later noted in quotations from Defoe. These authors all knew the same things and in the same sense.

³ As to the words " spiritual substance " as applied to the soul and these distinctive views concerning it, see ch. 3, Book 4 of the *De Augmentis*. From it we quote a single sentence, as follows : " The doc-

case dreams look like the relaxations and amusements of the soul, when she is disencumbered of her machine, her sports and recreations, when she has laid her charge asleep.

"In the second place, dreams are an instance of that agility and perfection which is natural to the faculties of the mind, when they are disengaged from the body. The soul is clogged and retarded in her operations, when she acts in conjunction with a companion that is so heavy and unwieldy in its motions. But in dreams it is wonderful to observe with what a sprightliness and alacrity she exerts herself.¹ The slow of speech make unpremeditated harangues, or converse readily in languages that they are but little acquainted with. The grave abound in pleasantries, the dull in repartees and points of wit. There is not a more painful action of the mind than invention;² yet in dreams it works with that ease and activity, that we are not sensible when the faculty is employed. For instance, I believe every one some time or other, dreams that he is reading papers, books, or letters; in which case the invention prompts so readily, that the mind is imposed upon, and mistakes its own suggestions for the compositions of another.

"I shall under this head, quote a passage out of³ the *Religio Medici*, in which the ingenious author gives an account of himself in his dreaming and his waking thoughts. 'We are somewhat more than ourselves in our sleeps, and the slumber of the body seems to be but the waking of the soul. It is the ligation of sense, but the liberty of reason; and our waking conceptions do not match the fancies of our sleeps. At my nativity my as-

trine of the inspired substance, as also of the substance of the rational soul, comprehends several inquiries with relation to its nature, as whether the soul be native or adventitious, separable or inseparable, mortal or immortal; how far it is subject to the laws of matter, how far not, and the like." (Bohn's ed., p. 172.)

¹ For a further phase of the subject, see Defoe's *History of the Devil*, p. 548.

² In our mentioned *Head-light* Bacon makes use of the words "because I account my ordinary course of study and meditation to be more painful than most parts of action are." And in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act ii., sc. 1, p. 386, we have the expression "painful study."

³ Bacon in making a quotation ever uses the words "out of," and so they will be found throughout these writings.

cendant was the watery sign of Scorpius : I was born in the planetary hour of Saturn, and, I think, I have a piece of that leaden planet in me. I am no way facetious, nor disposed for the mirth and galliardize of company ; yet in one dream I can compose a whole comedy, behold the action, comprehend the jests, and laugh myself awake at the conceits thereof. Were my memory as faithful as my reason is then fruitful, I would never study but in my dreams ; and this time also would I choose for my devotions : but our grosser memories have then so little hold of our abstracted understandings, that they forget the story, and can only relate to our awaked souls a confused and broken tale of that that has passed.—Thus it is observed, that men sometimes, upon the hour of their departure, do speak and reason above themselves ; for then the soul, beginning to be freed from the ligaments of the body, begins to reason like herself, and to discourse in a strain above mortality.’

“ We may likewise observe in the third place, that the passions affect the mind with greater strength when we are sleep, than when we are awake. Joy and sorrow give us more vigorous sensations of pain or pleasure at this time, than any other. Devotion likewise, as the excellent author above-mentioned has hinted, in a very particular manner heightened and inflamed,¹ when it rises in the soul at a time that the body is thus laid at rest. Every man’s experience will inform him in this matter, though it is very probable that this may happen differently in different constitutions. I shall conclude this head with the two following problems, which I shall leave to the solution of the reader. Supposing a man always happy in his dreams, and miserable in his waking thoughts, and that his life was equally divided between them, whether would he be more happy or miserable? Were a man a king in his dreams, and a beggar awake, and dreamt as consequentially and in as continued unbroken schemes as he thinks when awake, whether he would be in reality a king or a beggar, or rather whether he would not be both ?²

¹ To Bacon’s distinctive use of this word “inflamed” we have already called attention.

² In *Romeo and Juliet*, Act v., sc. 1, p. 146, we have :

“ *Rom.* If I may trust the flattering eye of sleep,
My dreams presage some joyful news at hand :

“ There is another circumstance, which methinks gives us a very high idea of the nature of the soul, in regard to what passes in dreams, I mean that innumerable multitude and variety of ideas which then arise in her. Were that active and watchful being only conscious of her own existence at such a time, what a painful solitude would her hours of sleep be? Were the soul sensible of her being alone in her sleeping moments, after the same manner that she is sensible of it while awake, the time would hang very heavy on her, as it often actually does when she dreams that she is in such a solitude :¹

“—Semperque relinqui
Sola sibi semper longam incommitata videtur
Ire viam—”

—*Virg.*

“ But this observation I only make by the way. What I would here remark, is that wonderful power in the soul, of producing her own company upon these occasions. She converses with numberless beings of her own creation, and is transported into ten thousand scenes of her own raising. She is herself the theatre, the actor, and the beholder.² This puts me in mind of a saying which I am infinitely pleased with, and which Plutarch

My bosom's lord sits lightly in his throne ;
And, all this day, an unaccustom'd spirit
Lifts me above the ground with cheerful thoughts.
I dreamt, my lady came and found me dead,
(Strange dream ! that gives a dead man leave to think,)
And breath'd such life with kisses in my lips,
That I reviv'd, and was an emperor.”

¹ Observe the emphasis in Bacon's attributed writings upon the subjects of silence and solitude, and note it later in connection with the *Serious Reflections* of Crusoe, hereafter to be considered.

² And in *The Tempest*, Act iv., sc. 1, p. 85, we have :

“ These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
Are melted into air, into thin air :
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,
Yea, all which it inherit, shall dissolve ;
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.”

ascribes to Heraclitus, 'That all men, whilst they are awake, are in one common world ; but that each of them, when he is asleep, is in a world of his own.' The waking man is conversant in the world of nature, when he sleeps he retires to a private world that is particular to himself. There seems something in this consideration that intimates to us a natural grandeur and perfection in the soul which is rather to be admired than explained.

"I must not omit that argument for the excellency of the soul, which I have seen quoted out of Tertullian, namely, its power of divining in dreams.¹ That several such divinations have been made none can question, who believe the holy writings, or who has but the least degree of a common historical faith ; there being innumerable instances of this nature in several authors, both ancient and modern, sacred and profane. Whether such dark passages,² such visions of the night, proceed from any latent power of the soul, during this her state of abstraction, or from any communication with the Supreme Being, or from any operation of subordinate spirits,³ has been a great dispute among the learned ; the matter of fact, is, I think, incontestable, and has been looked upon as such by the greatest writers, who have been never suspected either of superstition or enthusiasm.

"I do not suppose, that the soul, in these instances, is entirely loose and unfettered from the body : it is sufficient, if she is not so far sunk and immersed in matter,⁴

¹ Bacon says : "There be some perfumes prescribed by the writers of natural magic, which procure pleasant dreams ; and some others (as they say) which procure prophetic dreams ; as the seeds of flax, fleaworth, etc." (Sub. 933 of Bacon's Natural History.) Every phase of this subject was familiar to him, as his writings will abundantly show. In sub. 955 he says : "For imagination is like to work better upon sleeping men than men awake ; as we shall show when we handle dreams."

² We here again have Bacon's use of the word "passages."

³ The subject of these subordinate spirits is handled in the Defoe work on Apparitions, and in Crusoe's "Vision of the Angelic World."

⁴ This distinctive and unusual expression "immersed in matter" Bacon uses thus : "Civil knowledge is conversant about a subject, which of all others is most immersed in matter, and with most difficulty reduced to axioms." (Phil. Works, vol. v., p. 32.) He also says : "We must note, that as physics regards the things which are wholly immersed in matter and movable, so metaphysics regards what is more abstracted and fixed." He likewise makes use of the

nor entangled and perplexed in her operations, with such motions of blood and spirits, as when she actuates the machine in its waking hours. The corporeal union is slackened enough to give the mind more play. The soul seems gathered within herself, and recovers that spring which is broken and weakened, when she operates more in concert with the body.

“The speculations I have here made, if they are not arguments, they are at least strong intimations, not only of the excellency of a human soul, but of its independency on the body ; and if they do not prove, do at least confirm these two great points, which are established by many other reasons that are altogether unanswerable.”

And he closes an article touching allegory and the imagination in his Addison, vol. iii., p. 429, thus :

“There is not a sight in nature so mortifying as that of a distracted person, when his imagination is troubled, and his whole soul disordered and confused. Babylon in ruins is not so melancholy a spectacle. But to quit so disagreeable a subject, I shall only consider, by way of conclusion, what an infinite advantage this faculty gives an almighty being over the soul of man, and how great a measure of happiness or misery we are capable of receiving from the imagination only.¹

“We have already seen the influence that one man has over the fancy of another, and with what ease he conveys into² it a variety of images ;³ how great a power then may

expression “drenched in flesh and blood,” and in Macbeth, Act i., sc. 7, p. 266, we have :

“When in swinish sleep
Their drenched natures lie, as in a death,
What cannot you and I perform upon
The unguarded Duncan ?”

Bacon says of swine that “their flesh is moister than that of any other animal.” (Phil. Works, vol. v., p. 235.)

¹ See in this connection our quotation from Bacon at p. 194.

² Bacon aided much his definiteness of thought by a wise choice of the direction words of the language ; in other words, prepositions, and particularly so in the use of the word “into.” Note its use here and throughout, and particularly in the plays. We shall indeed find this word to be so used as to be a distinct earmark in these writings.

³ See, please, upon this point Bacon’s Natural History, sub. 901-60. Sub. 947 is as follows : “For authority, it is of two kinds : belief in an art, and belief in a man. And for things of belief in an

we suppose lodged in Him, who knows all the ways of affecting the imagination, who can infuse what ideas he pleases, and fill those ideas with terror or delight to what degree he thinks fit ! He can excite images in the mind without the help of words, and make scenes rise up before us and seem present to the eye, without the assistance of bodies or exterior objects. He can transport the imagination with such beautiful and glorious visions, as cannot possibly enter into our present conceptions ; or haunt it with such ghostly spectres and apparitions, as would make us hope for annihilation, and think existence no better than a curse.¹ In short, he can so exquisitely ravish or torture the soul through this single faculty, as might suffice to make up the whole heaven or hell of a finite being."

Bacon indeed recommends the writing of a "History of Sleep and Dreams."² And in his *De Augmentis*, ch. 1, Book 4, he, as to "the League or Common Bond between soul and body," and "how these two disclose the one the other," considers the soul under the heads of *Physiognomy* and *Dreams*, and concerning them says : "And although they have of late times been polluted with superstitious and fantastical arts, yet being purged and restored to their true state, they have both a solid ground in nature

art, a man may exercise them by himself ; but for belief in a man, it must be by another. Therefore if a man believe in astrology, and find a figure prosperous ; or believe in natural magic, and that a ring with such a stone, or such a piece of a living creature, carried, will do good ; it may help his imagination ; but the belief in a man is far the more active. But howsoever, all authority must be out of a man's self, turned (as was said) either upon an art, or upon a man ; and where authority is from one man to another, there the second must be ignorant, and not learned, or full of thoughts ; and such are (for the most part) all witches and superstitious persons ; whose beliefs, tied to their teachers and traditions, are no whit controlled either by reason or experience ; and upon the same reason, in magic, they use (for the most part) boys and young people ; whose spirits easiest take belief and imagination."

¹ See Clarence's dream in *Richard III.*, Act i., sc. 4, p. 54, and which opens thus :

"*Clar.* O ! I have pass'd a miserable night,
So full of fearful dreams, of ugly sights,
That, as I am a Christian faithful man,
I would not spend another such a night,
Though 'twere to buy a world of happy days ;
So full of dismal terror was the time."

² *Philosophical Works*, vol. iv., p. 268.

and a profitable use in life. The first is Physiognomy,¹ which discovers the dispositions of the mind by the lineaments of the body; the second is the Interpretation of Natural Dreams, which discovers the state and disposition of the body by the agitations of the mind. In the former of these I note a deficiency. For Aristotle has very ingeniously and diligently handled the structure of the body when at rest, but the structure of the body when in motion (that is the gestures of the body) he has omitted; which nevertheless are equally within the observations of art, and of greater use and advantage. For the lineaments of the body disclose the dispositions and inclinations of the mind in general; but the motions and gestures of the countenance and parts do not only so, but disclose likewise the seasons of access, and the present humour and state of the mind and will. For as your Majesty says most aptly and elegantly, ‘As the tongue speaketh to the ear so the gesture speaketh to the eye.’ And well is this known to a number of cunning and astute persons; whose eyes dwell upon the faces² and gestures of men, and make their own advantage of it,³ as being most part of their ability and wisdom. Neither indeed can it be denied, but that it is a wonderful index of simulation in another, and an excellent direction as to the choice of proper times and seasons to address persons; which is no small part of civil wisdom. Nor let any one imagine that a sagacity of this kind may be of use with respect to particular persons, but cannot fall under a general rule; for we all laugh and weep and frown and blush nearly in the same fashion; and so it is (for the most part) in the more subtle motions.⁴

¹ See the article on Physiognomy in Addison, vol. ii., pp. 398–402.

² Throughout these writings observe the emphasis placed upon the “face,” and see Addison, vol. ii., p. 421. In *Hamlet*, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 285, we have:

“Give him heedful note:
For I mine eyes will rivet to his face;
And, after, we will both our judgments join
In censure of his seeming.”

³ The Baconian expressions “find their account in it” and “make their own advantage of it” may be found in most phases of these writings. They occur in many places in Addison, and in vol. v., p. 170, we have: “Let this be a secret, and you shall find your account in it.”

⁴ It was on the basis of this thought that he made his tables apply to mental as well as to material change.

But if any one be reminded here of chiromancy, let him know¹ that it is a vain imposture, not worthy to be so much as mentioned in discourses of this nature. With regard to the Interpretation of Natural Dreams, it is a thing that has been laboriously handled by many writers, but it is full of follies.² At present I will only observe that it is not grounded upon the most solid foundation of which it admits ; which is, that when the same sensation is produced in the sleeper by an internal cause which is usually the effect of some external act, that external act passes into the dream."³

As to the imagination Bacon says : " It was ever thought to have some participation of divineness, because it doth raise and erect the mind by submitting the shows of things to the desires of the mind ; whereas reason doth buckle and bow the mind into the nature of things."

Again he says : " The imagination not being tied⁴ to the laws of matter, may at pleasure join that which nature hath severed and sever that which nature hath joined ; and so make unlawful matches and divorces of things." (Works, vol. i., p. 144.)

Imagination is neither tied to the order nor to the relations of the outlying world, though it draws what it

¹ To this expression, " let him know," we have already called attention, and shall do so again when we come to the work *Crusoe*.

² Let the emphasis on the word " folly" be noted throughout, together with the rhyming of it with " melancholy" in the poem introductory to the *Anatomy of Melancholy*.

³ While this may have an influence in turning aside or giving direction to a dream drama, still it will in no way explain or account for the objects and scenes themselves. nor furnish the light, earth, air, seas, nor sky of them. Nor can science tell us how in this third stage of the mind it may have retinal effects without actual rays of light and the particular physical objects from which they may spring. Nor can imagination in the wakeful state, even by effort, ever present to consciousness actual objects and experiences.

⁴ We have already in earlier pages called attention to this unusual use of the word " tie" and given examples. We will add from *King Henry V.*, Act v., sc. 2, p. 587, the following :

" *King.* This moral ties me over to time, and a hot summer ; and so I will catch the fly, your cousin, in the latter end, and she must be blind too."

In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 143, we have : " He said, that a tender conscience was an unmanly thing ; and that for a man to watch over his words and way, so as to tie up himself from that hectoring liberty that the brave spirits of the times accustomed themselves unto, would make him the ridicule of the times."

will from its grounds, both objective and subjective. But as the will may by choice so direct the mental energies as wisely to enrich the subjective world or sensibility, so subjectively it may inhibit fugitive thought and desires, and thus point and hold the mental energies in the particular direction from which spontaneity is sought. And so the mind may grow to a habit in this. This method of control is recommended to the queen in the play of *Hamlet*, and in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. ii., p. 357, it is recommended generally as to the passions, and wherein it is said "if one chance to light upon a woman, that hath good behavior joined with her excellent person. and shall perceive his eyes, with a kind of greediness, to pull unto them this image of beauty, and carry it to the heart; shall observe himself to be somewhat incensed with this influence, which moveth within; when he shall discern those subtle spirits sparkling in her eyes¹ to minister more fuel to the fire; he must wisely withstand the beginnings, rouse up reason stupefied almost; fortify his heart² by all means, and shut up all those passages³ by which it may have entrance."

¹ As to the eyes, we in *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act ii., sc. 2, p. 298, have:

" Things growing are not ripe until their season ;
 So I, being young, till now ripe not to reason ;
 And touching now the point of human skill,
 Reason becomes the marshal to my will,
 And leads me to your eyes ; where I o'erlook
 Love's stories written in love's richest book."

² Note the expression "fortify the heart." Bacon, and in connection with this subject of melancholy, says: "For the physicians prescribe drugs to heal mental diseases, as in the treatment of phrensy and melancholy; and pretend also to exhibit medicines to exhilarate the mind, to fortify the heart and thereby confirm the courage, to clarify the wits, to corroborate the memory, and the like." (*Phil. Works*, vol. iv., p. 377.) And as to fortifying the heart, we in *Hamlet*, Act i., sc. 2, p. 209, have:

" But to persevere
 In obstinate condolement, is a course
 Of impious stubbornness; 'tis unmanly grief;
 It shows a will most incorrect to Heaven;
 A heart unfortified, a mind impatient,
 An understanding simple and unschool'd."

³ Here, again, we have Bacon's word "passages," and in *Macbeth* we find the expression "stop up the access and passage to remorse."

Let it be here particularly noted that in all of the works under review there is manifested the settled opinion that both lust and pride are first set in motion through the eyes.¹ Even in the youthful treatise, the *Anatomy of Abuses*, we, p. 9, as to pride, have: "Pride is tripartite, namely, the pride of the heart, the pride of the mouth, and the pride of apparel, the last whereof (unless I be deceived) offendeth God more than the other two. For as the pride of the heart, and of the mouth, are not opposite to the eye, nor visible to the sight, and therefore cannot entice others to vanity and sin (notwithstanding they be grievous sins in the sight of God); so the pride of apparel object to the sight, as an exemplar of evil, induceth the whole man to wickedness and sin."

During this year, 1620, and following the issue of the *Novum Organum*, was planted by the Pilgrim Fathers the first permanent settlement in that part of America known as New England.

The next year, 1621, Bacon received the honorary title of Viscount St. Albans, thus reaching the zenith of his prosperity, though by no means of his fame, which even now anew enkindles.

But the throes of the tempest which were to wreck his fortunes were at this time fed fat and trembling to the birth, as James, pretending aid to Bohemia, though really for private aid, resolved upon another Parliament late in 1620, and which convened in January, 1621. Not merely the mining trails of Coke and envy had been laid; but being in the way of influences that had long tried to ripen, herein stood an ambush of greater danger.² A new

¹ In *Twelfth Night*, Act i., sc. 5, p. 373, we have:

"How now?
Even so quickly may one catch the plague.
Methinks I feel this youth's perfections
With an invisible and subtle stealth
To creep in at mine eyes."

See the court of the eye described in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act ii., sc. 1, p. 393.

² *Promus*, 749. I may be in their light, but not in their way. On February 16th there was a conference of the Lords to settle upon the points for a petition to be presented to the king, asking the better enforcement of the laws against Jesuits, seminary priests, and Popish recusants. Bacon was chairman of the conference, and the next day

policy was now at once pursued toward the king. The Commons, under the leadership of Coke, at the very outset of the session, and without a dissenting voice, voted him two subsidies. Then in a temperate, discreet, and systematic manner they went to their grievances, which later they awoke to a universal cry for reform.

The Treasury was still in commission, and as late as October 7th, five days before the issue of his *Novum Organum*, Bacon in a letter to Buckingham was urging upon the king the appointment of a Treasurer. He says: "The state of his Majesty's treasure still maketh me sad, and I am sorry I was not at Tiballs to report it, or that it was not done by my fellows.¹ It is most necessary we do it faithfully and freely; for to flatter in this, were to betray his Majesty with a kiss. I humbly pray his Majesty to think of my former counsel, and this I will promise, that whosoever his Majesty shall make Treasurer, if his Majesty will direct him to have relation to my advice, I will continue the same care and advice I do now, and much more cheerfully when I shall perceive that my propositions shall not be *literæ scriptæ in glacie*." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 116.)

Bacon entered this Parliament stoutly urging reform. And many facts show that the king was now growing apprehensive that the screen, Buckingham, was absorbing too greedily. He was growing rapidly out of the king's power to adjust or control, as events will show. Bacon urged that the most obnoxious patents, such as alehouses, inns, the monopoly of gold and silver thread, should be given up; and he wrote to Buckingham, whose brothers were interested, to withdraw them from the pending storm. The advice was rejected. Extravagant and unwarranted exactions under Buckingham, scarcely to be credited, were pressed for examination on every side. There were patents for each of the necessities of life even, and the profits were being shared by various classes connected with Buckingham. Though the king was receiving but a portion of the spoils, still he was receiving

made the presentation speech to the king. See Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., pp. 181-83.

¹ This word "fellows," as used in the *New Atlantis*, in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and in the Plays, will be found to have its distinctive use throughout.

all the odium. Before a committee of the House it appeared that the Countess of Bedford, Lord Harrington, Christopher Villiers, a brother, and Sir George Villiers, a half-brother, of Buckingham, between them received £1800 annually, and that from one single patent alone the king received £10,000. James, ever a moral coward, now became alarmed at the rumors, and especially so as the Commons were beginning to be gracious to him. He at once communicated to the Lords that this patent had been sanctioned by several of the judges in point of law. He had through Buckingham, in October, 1618, requested Bacon to consult the Lord Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, and the Solicitor-General in relation thereto, and with the following result :

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY : According to your majesty’s pleasure, signified to us by the Lord Marquis Buckingham, we have considered of the fitness and conveniency of the gold and silver thread business, as also the profit that may accrue unto your majesty.

“We are of opinion that it is convenient that the same should be settled, having been brought hither at the great charge of your majesty’s own agent, and being a means to set many of your poor subjects on work ; and to this purpose there was a former certificate to your majesty from some of us with others.

“And for the profit that will arise, we see no cause to doubt ; but do conceive apparent likelihood, that it will redound much to your majesty’s profit, which we esteem may be at the least ten thousand pounds by the year ; and, therefore, in a business of such benefit to your majesty, it were good it were settled with all convenient speed, by all lawful means that may be thought of ; which notwithstanding we most humbly leave to your majesty’s wisdom. Your majesty’s most humble and faithful servants. Fr. Verulam, Canc. H. Montagu, Henry Yelverton.” (Works, vol. iii., p. 177.)

Earlier the king had impatiently urged to the seal this monopoly, as will appear from the following letter from Buckingham to Bacon, under date February 7th, 1617 :

“MY HONORABLE LORD : His majesty marvelleth, that he heareth nothing of the business touching the gold and silver thread ; and therefore hath commanded me to write

unto your lordship to hasten the dispatch of it ; and to give him as speedy an account thereof as you can. And so I rest your lordship's faithful servant G. Buckingham." (Works, vol. iii., p. 113.)

This patent was granted to Sir Giles Mompesson and Sir Francis Mitchell, and who by this Parliament were brought to punishment for frauds committed under it.

If the king had merely intended a curtail upon Buckingham and his dependents, things were now so shaped by certain manipulators that he was himself put to the dread of much odium ; and which must, as he was advised, if not diverted, fall full upon himself. His long screen-managed affairs were now upon the very eve of full investigation. But his fears did not stop there, for he saw that investigation, if allowed to go forward, must disclose to the Spanish court his true financial needs and motive for the still pending marriage alliance. Hume says the Infanta was to "bring with her an immense fortune of two million pieces of eight, or six hundred thousand pounds sterling—a sum four times greater than Spain had ever before given with any princess, and almost equal to all the money which the Parliament, during the whole course of this reign, had hitherto granted to the king." (Hume, vol. iv., p. 63.)

And so the king, who had through Bacon moved the Parliament to these purgings, receded, and permitted the tempest to fall where its guiding spirits sought, and so in full upon Bacon, and concerning which he in Sonnet 118 says :

" Like as, to make our appetites more keen,
With eager compounds we our palate urge ;
As, to prevent our maladies unseen,
We sicken to shun sickness when we purge ;
Even so, being full of your ne'er-cloying sweetness,
To bitter sauces did I frame my feeding ;¹
And, sick of welfare, found a kind of meetness
To be diseas'd, ere that there was true needing.

¹ This use of the word "feed" is Baconian. He says : "A man who feeds twice a day takes no small quantity of meat and drink into his body ; much more indeed than he discharges by stool, urine, or sweat." (Phil. Works, vol. v., p. 314.) In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 379, we have : "As for Mr. Despondency, the music was not so much to him ; he was for feeding rather than dancing, for that he was almost starved."

Thus policy in love, t' anticipate
The ills that were not, grew to faults assur'd,
And brought to medicine a healthful state,
Which, rank of goodness, would by ill be cur'd :
But thence I learn, and find the lesson true,
Drugs poison him that so fell sick of you."¹

Buckingham, fearing full exposure to king and people, now consulted Williams, Dean of Westminster, a man subtle in matters of state, and in whom Buckingham's mother is said to have had a deep interest. Williams advised that Buckingham's brother, Villiers, be at once sent upon some foreign embassy. He next advised compliance with the popular humor, and that certain persons, including Mompesson and Mitchell, should be thrown over board as wares that might now the better be dispensed with. Buckingham (the false brother of *The Tempest*) had professed hitherto to be guided by Bacon's counsels. But now he not only consulted with Williams, but with him went privately to the king. The king had at first thought to dissolve the Parliament, even though thereby he were to lose his mentioned subsidies. But Williams—had he thus early Buckingham's encouragement for the seals—dissuaded the king from that course, saying : " There is no colour to quarrel at this general assembly of the kingdom, for tracing delinquents to their form : it is their proper work, and your majesty hath nobly encouraged them to it. Your lordship," he said, turning to Buckingham, " is jealous, if the Parliament continue embodied, of your own safety. Follow it, swim with the tide : trust me and your other servants that have some credit with the most active members, to keep you clear from the strife of tongues ; but if you break up this Parliament, in pursuit of justice, only to save some cormorants who have devoured that which they must disgorge, you will pluck up a sluice which will overwhelm you all. Resistance will be attended with danger to your lordship and to his majesty. These popular outcries thrive by opposition, and when they cease to be opposed, they cease to exist. The Chancellor has been accused. He cannot escape unheard. He must be acquitted or convicted. He cannot, in this time of excitement and pre-

¹ This sonnet should be read with close attention, and the mind should return to it after other relations have been introduced.

judgment, expect justice. His mind will easily be impressed by the fate of other great men, sacrifices to the blind ignorance of a vulgar populace, whom talent will not propitiate or innocence appease. Can it be doubted, that the prudent course will be the Chancellor's submission, as an atonement for all who are under popular suspicion? ¹ The only difficulty will be to prevail upon him to submit. He has resolved to defend himself, and in speech he is all-powerful; but he is of a yielding nature, a lover of letters, in mind contemplative, although in life active; his love of retirement may be wrought upon; the king can remit any fine, and, the means once secured to him of learned leisure for the few remaining years of his life, he will easily be induced to quit the paradise of earthly honours." (Works, vol. i., p. 92.)

That this course was pursued toward Bacon every feature of what follows in the history of his overthrow bears witness. On March 17th, 1621, he presided for the last time in the House of Lords. He was now at once made to realize the faithlessness of friends, as well as the malignity of his enemies. Coke was the foremost spirit in Parliament. The charges were at first but those of Awbry and Egerton of the previous year. They were now accumulated to twenty-eight in number. The complaints were not to the effect that the gratuities had, but that they had not, influenced his decision, as he had decided against the parties making the presents, and this was their grievance. In some of these matters he had but acted as arbitrator, in some they were loans, and in other instances presents had been given to servants. Fourteen of them related to presents claimed to have been made long after the causes were terminated or disposed of. Let it be investigated as to whether there were here gratuities that were, and were intended, to go to the king.

Mining into the state of the Treasury, now managed through projects and monopolies, was, and according to design, diverted to the inquiry touching the Chancellor. And for this reason, doubtless, it was that his alluded-to scheme for revenue never came to light, and which subject we shall later call under review.

¹ We shall later find Bacon to say in one of the sonnets that he alone bore the "canopy."

The accumulation of the mentioned charges caused Bacon to write thus to Buckingham :

“MY VERY GOOD LORD : Your lordship spoke of purgatory. I am now in it ; but my mind is in a calm ; for my fortune is not my felicity. I know I have clean hands, and a clean heart ; and I hope a clean house for friends and servants. But Job himself, or whosoever was the justest judge, by such hunting for matters against him as hath been used against me, may for a time seem foul, especially in a time when greatness is the mark, and accusation is the game. And if this be to be a chancellor, I think, if the great seal lay upon Hounslow Heath, nobody would take it up. But the king and your lordship will I hope put an end to these my straits one way or other. And, in truth, that which I fear most, is, lest continual attendance and business, together with these cares, and want of time to do my weak body right this spring by diet and physick,¹ will cast me down ; and that it will be thought feigning, or fainting. But I hope in God I shall hold out. God prosper you.” (Works, vol. iii., p. 134.)

On March 19th, being too depressed to assume his position in the House of Lords, he, by the hands of Buckingham, sends them the following communication :

“MY VERY GOOD LORDS : I humbly pray your lordships all to make a favorable and true construction of my absence. It is not feigning or fainting, but sickness both of my heart and of my back, though joined with that comfort of mind that persuadeth me that I am not far from Heaven, whereof I feel the first-fruits.

“And because, whether I live or die I would be glad to preserve my honour and fame, so far as I am worthy ; hearing that some complaints of base bribery are coming before your lordships, my requests unto your lordships are :

“First, That you will maintain me in your good opinion, without prejudice, until my cause be heard.

“Second, That in regard I have sequestered my mind at this time in great part from worldly matters, thinking of my account and answers in a high court, your lordships will give me convenient time, according to the course

¹ Note later in Sonnet 147 his allusion to this word “physick.”

of other courts, to advise with my counsel, and to make my answer ; wherein, nevertheless, my counsel's part will be the least : for I shall not, by the grace of God trick up an innocency with cavillations, but plainly and ingeniously (as your lordships know my manner is) declare what I know or remember.

“ Thirdly, That according to the course of justice, I may be allowed to except to the witnesses brought against me ; and to move questions to your lordships for their cross-examinations ; and likewise to produce my own witnesses for the discovery of the truth.

“ And Lastly, That if there be any more petitions of like nature, that your lordships would be pleased not to take any prejudice or apprehension of any number or muster of them, especially against a judge, that makes two thousand orders and decrees in a year (not to speak of the courses that have been taken for hunting out complaints against me), but that I may answer them according to the rules of justice, severally and respectively.

“ These requests, I hope, appear to your lordships no other than just. And so thinking myself happy to have so noble peers and reverend prelates to discern of my cause ; and desiring no privilege of greatness for subterfuge of guiltiness, but meaning, as I said, to deal fairly and plainly with your lordships, and to put myself upon your honours and favours ; I pray God to bless your counsels and persons. And rest,” etc. (Works, vol. iii., p. 182.)

It may thus be seen that Bacon resolved at once upon his defence. But this was just what was not wanted. Nor did Buckingham purpose to have it made. He doubtless feared the disclosures which it was likely to bring. The mentioned interview between Williams, Buckingham, and the king must have occurred following this communication to the Lords, as Williams there speaks of Bacon's expressed intention to defend himself. On April 10th he made his will and composed the following notable prayer, which, Mr. Spedding thinks, could not have been done later than the 18th, and which was found among his papers.

“ Most gracious Lord God, my merciful Father, from my youth up, my Creator, my Redeemer, my Comforter.

Thou (O Lord) soundest and searchest the depths and secrets of all hearts ; thou knowedgest the upright of heart, thou judgest the hypocrit, thou ponderest men's thoughts and doings as in a balance, thou measurest their intentions as with a line, vanity and crooked ways cannot be hid from thee.

“Remember (O Lord) how thy servant hath walked before thee : remember what I have first sought, and what hath been principal in mine intentions. I have loved thy assemblies, I have mourned for the divisions of thy Church, I have delighted in the brightness of thy sanctuary. This vine which thy right hand hath planted in this nation, I have ever prayed unto thee that it might have the first and the latter rain ; and that it might stretch her branches to the seas and to the floods. The state and bread of the poor and oppressed have been precious in mine eyes : I have hated all cruelty and hardness of heart : I have (though in a despised weed) procured the good of all men. If any have been mine enemies, I thought not of them ; neither hath the sun almost set upon my displeasure ; but I have been as a dove, free from superfluity of maliciousness. Thy creatures have been my books, but thy Scriptures much more. I have sought thee in the courts, fields, and gardens, but I have found thee in thy temples.

“Thousand have been my sins, and ten thousand my transgressions ; but thy sanctifications have remained with me, and my heart, through thy grace, hath been an unquenched coal upon thy altar. O Lord, my strength, I have since my youth met with thee in all my ways, by thy fatherly compassions, by thy comfortable chastisements, and by thy most visible providence. As thy favours have increased upon me, so have thy corrections ; so as thou hast been always near me, O Lord ; and ever as my worldly blessings were exalted, so secret darts from thee have pierced me ; and when I have ascended before men, I have descended in humiliation before thee.

“And now when I thought most of peace and honour, thy hand is heavy upon me, and hath humbled me, according to thy former loving-kindness, keeping me still in thy fatherly school, not as a bastard, but as a child. Just are thy judgments upon me for my sins, which are more in number than the sands of the sea, but have no

proportion to thy mercies ; for what are the sands of the sea, to the sea, earth, heavens ? and all these are nothing to thy mercies.

“ Besides my innumerable sins, I confess before thee, that I am debtor to thee for the gracious talent of thy gifts and graces, which I have neither put in a napkin, nor put it (as I ought) to exchangers, where it might have made best profit ; but misspent it in things for which I was least fit ; so as I may truly say, my soul hath been a stranger in the course of my pilgrimage. Be merciful unto me (O Lord) for my Saviour’s sake, and receive me into thy bosom or guide me in thy ways.” (Bacon’s Letters, vol. vii., p. 229.)

He seems to have been active in the preparation for his defence until April 16th, when he was sent for by the king. He now at once, as was his method in any important matter, prepared minutes for the interview, in which he says : “ The law of nature teaches me to speak in my own defence. With respect to this charge of bribery, I am as innocent as any born upon St. Innocent’s day : I never had bribe or reward in my eye or thought when pronouncing sentence or order. If, however, it is absolutely necessary, the king’s will shall be obeyed. I am ready to make an oblation of myself to the king, in whose hands I am as clay, to be made a vessel of honour or dishonour.” (Works, vol. i., p. 92. And upon this point see Bacon’s Letters, vol. vii., pp. 235–39.) On p. 235 he says :

“ There be three degrees or cases of bribery charged or supposed in a judge :

“ 1. The first, of bargain or contract for reward to pervert justice, *pendente lite*.

“ 2. The second, where the judge conceives the cause to be at an end by the information of the party, or otherwise, and useth not such diligence as he ought to inquire of it.

“ 3. And the third, when the cause is really ended, and it is *sine fraude* without relation to any precedent promise.

“ Now if I might see the particulars of my charge, I should deal plainly with your Majesty, in whether of these degrees every particular case falls.

“ But for the first of them, I take myself to be as innocent as any born upon St. Innocent’s day, in my heart.

“ For the second, I doubt in some particulars I may be faulty.

“And for the last, I conceive it to be no fault, but therein I desire to be better informed, that I may be twice penitent, once for the fact, and again for the error. For I had rather be a briber, than a defender of bribes.

“I must likewise confess to your Majesty that at new-year’s tides and likewise at my first coming in (which was as it were my wedding), I did not so precisely as perhaps I ought examine whether those that presented me had causes before me, yea or no.”

And from notes, p. 237, we have : “In the next place, I am to make an oblation of myself into his Majesty’s hands : that as I wrote to him, I am as *clay in his hands*, his Majesty may make a vessel of honour or dishonour of me, as I find favour in his eyes, and that I submit myself wholly to his grace and mercy, and to be governed both in my cause and fortunes by his direction : knowing that his heart is inscrutable for good. Only I may express myself thus far, That my desire is that the thread or line of my life may be no longer than the thread or line of my service : I mean that I may be of use to your Majesty in one kind or another.”

From this moment his defence was abandoned, and he was thus as effectually bound as if in chains. Did the king as an inducement to this step, as suggested by Williams, promise financial or other aid in his philosophy? See Williams’ advice concerning this. What particular influences were brought to bear we shall probably never fully know, though Sonnets 88, 89, and 90 will yield us light. He says :

“When thou shalt be dispos’d to set me light,
And place my merit in the eye of scorn,
Upon thy side against myself I’ll fight,
And prove thee virtuous, though thou art foresworn.
With mine own weakness being best acquainted,
Upon thy part I can set down a story
Of faults conceal’d, wherein I am attainted ;
That thou, in losing me, shalt win much glory :
And I by this will be a gainer too ;
For bending all my loving thoughts on thee,
The injuries that to myself I do,
Doing thee vantage, double-vantage me.
Such is my love, to thee I so belong,
That for thy right myself will bear all wrong.”¹

¹ At the time of Bacon’s troubles Shakespeare had been some five years in his grave. Let the would-be doubting reader here exclude

“ Say that thou didst forsake me for some fault,
 And I will comment upon that offence :
 Speak of my lameness, and I straight will halt,
 Against thy reasons making no defence.
 Thou canst not, love, disgrace me half so ill
 To set a form upon desired change,
 As I'll myself disgrace : knowing thy will,
 I will acquaintance strangle, and look strange ;
 Be absent from thy walks ; and in my tongue
 Thy sweet beloved name no more shall dwell,
 Lest I (too much profane) should do it wrong,
 And haply of our old acquaintance tell.
 For thee, against myself I'll vow debate ;
 For I must ne'er love him whom thou dost hate.”

“ Then, hate me when thou wilt ; if ever now :
 Now, while the world is bent my deeds to cross,
 Join with the spite of fortune, make me bow,
 And do not drop in for an after-loss.
 Ah ! do not, when my heart hath 'scap'd this sorrow,
 Come in the rearward of a conquer'd woe ,
 Give not a windy night a rainy morrow,
 To linger out a purpos'd overthrow.
 If thou wilt leave me, do not leave me lost,
 When other petty griefs have done their spite ;
 But in the onset come : so shall I taste
 At first the very worst of fortune's might ;
 And other strains of woe, which now seem woe,
 Compar'd with loss of thee, will not seem so.”

Later, to Buckingham, he writes : “ My offences I have myself recorded ; wherein I studied as a good confessant, guiltiness and not excuse ; and therefore I hope it leaves me fair to the King's grace, and will turn many men's hearts to me. As for my debts, I showed them to your Lordship when you saw the little house and the gallery, besides a little wood or desert, which you saw not.”¹

from consideration what has been said of the sonnets touching the Tables of the Instauration, p. 97, touching the Epitaph, p. 115, touching a Protestant heir to the throne of England, p. 150, touching the Will of the queen, p. 205, and even then tell us how, without stultifying common sense, he may avoid the Baconian theory as to those now to be reviewed.

¹ Did Bacon now entertain some such notions as he puts into the mouth of Prince Henry the Fifth in the play of Henry IV., part 1, Act i., sc. 2, p. 177, where we have :

“ So, when this loose behavior I throw off,
 And pay the debt I never promised,
 By how much better than my word I am,
 By so much shall I falsify men's hopes ;

(Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 296.) And in a still later paper, prepared for an interview with Buckingham, and which, by reason of its importance, we give in full, he says :

"MY LORD MARQUIS: Afflictions are truly called trials. Trials of a man's self, and trials of friends. For the first, I am not guilty to myself¹ of any unworthiness, except perhaps too much softness in the beginning of my troubles.² But since, I praise God I have not lived like a drone nor like a mal-content, nor like a man confused ; but though the world hath taken her talent from me, yet God's talent I put to use.

"For trial of friends, he cannot have many that hath chosen to rely upon one. So that is in a small room, ending in yourself. My suit therefore to you is. that you would now upon this vouchsafed conference open yourself to me, whether I stand in your favour and affection as I have done, and if there be any alteration, what is the cause, and if none, what effects I may expect for the future of your friendship and favour, my state being not unknown to you.

"The reasons, why I should doubt of your Lordship's coolness towards me or falling from me, are either out of³

And like bright metal on a sullen ground,
My reformation, glittering o'er my fault,
Shall show more goodly, and attract more eyes,
Than that which hath no foil to set it off.
I'll so offend, to make offence a skill,
Redeeming time, when men think least I will."

¹ As to this expression "to myself," as here used, we from *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 120, quote thus : "Indeed, I cannot commend my life, for I am conscious to myself of many failings therein." In *Hamlet*, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 290, we have :

"Most necessary 'tis, that we forget
To pay ourselves what to ourselves is debt :
What to ourselves in passion we propose,
The passion ending, doth the purpose lose."

² Is not this thought in keeping with, and in the direct line of, these sonnets ?

³ This use of the words "out of," as "out of judgment," "out of hope," "out of doubt," "out of countenance," etc., occur throughout this literature. In *Othello*, Act iv., sc. 1, p. 515, we have :

"*Cas.* This is the monkey's own giving out : she is persuaded I

judgment and discourse, or out of experience and somewhat that I find. My judgment telleth that when a man is out of sight and out of use, it is a nobleness somewhat above this age to continue a constant friend : That some that are thought to have your ear or more love me not, and may either disvalue me, or distaste your Lordship with me. Besides, your Lordship hath now so many either new-purchased friends or reconciled enemies, as there is scarce room for an old friend specially set aside. And lastly, I may doubt that that for which I was fittest, which was to carry things *suavibus modis*, and not to bristle or undertake or give ventrous counsels, is out of fashion and request.

“As for that I find, your Lordship knoweth as well as I what promises you made me, and iterated them both by message and from your mouth, consisting of three things, the pardon of the whole sentence, some help for my debts, and an annual [pension] which your Lordship ever set at £2000 as obtained, and £3000 in hope.¹ Of these being promises undesired as well as favours unreserved, there is effected only the remission of the fine, and the pardon now stayed. From me I know there hath proceeded nothing that may cause the change. These I lay before you, desiring to know what I may hope for ; for hopes are racks,² and your Lordship that would not condemn me to the Tower I know will not condemn me to the rack.

“I have, though it be a thing trivial, and that at a coronation one might have it for five marks and after a Parliament for nothing, yet have great reason to desire it, specially being now stirred. Two chiefly ; first because I have been so safted, and now it is time there were an end. Secondly, because I mean to live a retired life, and so cannot be at hand to shake off every clamour.

“For any offence the Parliament should take ; it is rather honour, that in a thing wherein the king is absolute, yet he will not interpose in that which the Parlia-

will marry her, out of her own love and flattery, not out of my promise.”

¹ We may here see methods taken to induce Bacon to abandon his defence, including a promise of pardon “of the whole sentence.”

² “*Bass.* Let me choose ;

For, as I am, I live upon the rack.”

—Merchant of Venice, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 76.

ment hath handled, and the king hath already restored judicature, after a long intermission, but for matter of his grace, his Majesty shall have reason to keep it entire.

"I do not think any except a Turk or Tartar would wish to have another chop out of me. But the best is, it will be found there is a time for envy and a time for pity, and cold fragments will not serve if the stomach be on edge.¹ For me, if they judge by that which is past, they judge of the weather of this year by an almanack of the old year; they rather repent of that they have done, and think they have but served the turns of the few." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., pp. 312-15.)

Sonnet 118—see p. 274—was doubtless written after he found himself within the trap.

Reflecting upon what he had agreed to do as to his defence, after the mentioned interview with the king, he in Sonnet 113 says :

" Since I left you, mine eye is in my mind,
And that which governs me to go about
Doth part his function, and is partly blind ;
Seems seeing, but effectually is out ;
For it no form delivers to the heart
Of bird, of flower, or shape, which it doth latch :
Of his quick objects hath the mind no part,
Nor his own vision holds what it doth catch ;
For if it see the rud'st or gentlest sight,
The most sweet favour, or deformed'st creature,
The mountain or the sea, the day or night,
The crow or dove, it shapes them to your feature :
Incapable of more, replete with you,
My most true mind thus maketh mine untrue." ²

He here tells the king that by being true to him, he makes his own mind untrue, and so stultifies it that it seems to receive or retain his features only. What known facts in the life of William Shakespeare could have called to expression these feelings and in the line here portrayed?

Bacon, as we have seen, was ever of the opinion that the crown should from the king's own errors be shielded, and

¹ Note the use of this word "edge" in the plays. In *Hamlet*, Act iii., sc. 1, p. 274, we have :

" Good gentlemen, give him a further edge,
And drive his purpose on to these delights."

² *Promus*, 1151. (I was dumb and was cast down, I held my peace even from good ; and my sorrow was renewed.)

this though at the sacrifice, if need be, of any of his ministers.

Before these troubles, and even as early as 1605, he in the *Advancement of Learning* says :

“ Another fault likewise much of this kind hath been incident to learned men, which is, that they have esteemed the preservation, good, and honour of their countries or masters before their own fortunes or safeties. For so said Demosthenes unto the Athenians : ‘ If it please you to note it, my counsels unto you are not such whereby I should grow great amongst you, and you become little amongst the Grecians : but they be of that nature, as they are sometimes not good for me to give, but are always good for you to follow.’ And so Seneca, after he had consecrated that Quinquennium Neronis to the eternal glory of learned governors, held on his honest and loyal course of good and free counsel, after his master grew extremely corrupt in his government. Neither can this point otherwise be ; for learning endueth men’s minds with a true sense of the frailty of their persons, the casualty of their fortunes, and the dignity of their soul and vocation : so that it is impossible for them to esteem that any greatness of their own fortune can be a true and worthy end of their being and ordainment ; and therefore are desirous to give their account to God, and so likewise to their masters under God (as kings and the states that they serve) in these words ; ‘ Ecce tibi lucrefecì,’ and not ‘ Ecce mihi lucrefecì ;’ whereas the corrupter sort of mere politicians, that have not their thoughts established by learning in the love and apprehension of duty, nor ever look abroad into universality, do refer all things to themselves, and thrust themselves into the center of the world, as if all lines should meet in them and their fortunes ; never caring, in all tempests, what becomes of the ship of state, so they may save themselves in the cockboat of their own fortunes : whereas men that feel the weight of duty,¹ and know the limits of self-love, use to make

¹ Already have we called attention to the emphasis placed in these writings upon the subject of duty, and in *Hamlet*, Act ii., sc. 2, p. 247, Polonius is made to say :

“ I hold my duty, as I hold my soul,
Both to my God, and to my gracious king ;

good their places and duties, though with peril ; and if they stand in seditions and violent alterations, it is rather the reverence which many times both adverse parts do give to honesty, than any versatile advantage of their own carriage. But for this point of tender sense, and fast obligation of duty which learning doth endue the mind withal, howsoever fortune may tax it, and many in the depth of their corrupt principles may despise it, yet it will receive an open allowance, and therefore, needs the less disproof or excursion." (Works, vol. i., p. 168.)

And thus in the abandonment of his defence may we see that Bacon was true to his own teachings. But his feelings touching its effects upon his child, his philosophy, may be somewhat realized in Sonnets 124 and 125, p. 99.

The words "suborned informer," used in the second of the mentioned sonnets, probably refer to Lionel Cranfield, to be referred to hereafter, and made Lord Treasurer in October of this year, or possibly to one Churchill, who is said to have been an infamous forger of chancery orders, and as such dismissed from the Chancery Court for extortion.

These persons interested themselves in hunting out charges against him. The word "oblation" in this sonnet is Bacon's word to the king in the mentioned interview, and used in the same sense. The day following the interview, and on April 17th, the House convened, and which had adjourned March 27th for an Easter vacation. A brief account of the king's interview with Bacon was then given, and was ordered to be entered upon the journals of the House. Coke is said to have been now most jubilant in his ridicule about "Instauratio Magna." The true "Instauratio" was to restore laws, etc. The next day Bacon wrote thus to Buckingham :

"MY VERY GOOD LORD : I hear yesterday was a day of very great honour to his majesty, which I do congratulate. I hope, also, his majesty may reap honour out of my adversity, as he hath done strength out of my prosperity. His majesty knows best his own ways ; and for

And I do think (or else this brain of mine
Hunts not the trail of policy so sure
As it hath us'd to do) that I have found
The very cause of Hamlet's lunacy."

me to despair of him, were a sin not to be forgiven. I thank God, I have overcome the bitterness of this cup by Christian resolution, so that worldly matters are but mint and cumin. God ever preserve you." (Works, vol. iii., p. 159.)

The Lords by means of their committees now took the matter from the Commons, the original accusers, and thus, as it were, became the prosecutors. The king's son, Prince Charles, was on the 22d entrusted by Bacon with a letter to the House of Lords, in which he consented to abandon his defence, indicating in it, and, what had doubtless been assured him by the king, that he hoped the loss of the seals only would be the penalty. (Works, vol. i., p. 94.) On the morning of the 24th the king addressed the House in a speech which showed a full intention to conform to the popular humor, and in the afternoon the prince presented the mentioned letter by Bacon of the 22d.

Bacon was now within the trap. The Lords influenced not simply by Coke and Southampton, but by that element of which Somerset had been the foreground, purposed that his submission should be in their own way. Buckingham had even thus early, we think, his eye upon York House. Church in his *Life of Bacon*, p. 140, says: "Buckingham kept up appearances by saying a word for him from time to time in Parliament, which he knew would be useless, and which he certainly took no measures to make effective. It is sometimes said that Buckingham never knew what dissimulation was. He was capable, at least, of the perfidy and cowardice of utter selfishness. Bacon's conspicuous fall diverted men's thoughts from the far more scandalous wickedness of the great favorite." As to his character and influence over the king, see Hume, vol. iv., pp. 65-73.

But it was now too late for Bacon to retrace his steps. "No word of confession of any corruption in the Lord Chancellor's submission," said Southampton, and who seemed as if itching for investigation. He says: "It stands with the justice and honour of this House not to proceed without the party's particular confession or to have the party to hear the charge and we to hear the party's answers." But, said Lord Pembroke, "Shall the Great Seal come to the bar?" The Lords now required

that the Chancellor be particularly charged, that he be required to make specific answers to each, and with all convenient speed. This answer Bacon at once prepared, and caused to be delivered to the Lords April 30th, and which the reader should examine with some care. He saw what they purposed to have, and so gave it them. Some of these gifts were New Year's presents from wealthy people. They were made mostly after the causes were terminated, and in which case Bacon says he regarded it no fault. This had been a custom with the early chancellors and so until his day. Even in the Egerton case it seems that the award had been made, though not published at the receiving of the present.

Church in his work, p. 137, says: "Yet it is strange that they should not have observed that not a single charge of a definitely unjust decision was brought, at any rate was proved against him. He had taken money they argued, and therefore he must be corrupt; but if he had taken money to pervert judgment, some instance of the iniquity would certainly have been brought forward and proved. There is no such instance to be found; though, of course, there were plenty of dissatisfied suitors; of course the men who had paid their money and lost their cause were furious. But in vain do we look for any case of proved injustice. The utmost that can be said is that in some cases he showed favour in pushing forward and expediting suits. So that the real charge against Bacon assumes, to us who have not to deal practically with dangerous abuses, but to judge conduct and character, a different complexion. Instead of being the wickedness of perverting justice and selling his judgments for bribes, it takes the shape of allowing and sharing in a dishonorable and mischievous system of payment for services, which could not fail to bring with it temptation and discredit, and in which fair reward could not be distinguished from unlawful gain. Such a system it was high time to stop; and in this rough and harsh way, which also satisfied some personal enmities, it was stopped. We may put aside for good the charge on which he was condemned, and which in words he admitted—of being corrupt as a judge. His real fault—and it was a great one—was that he did not in time open his eyes to the wrongness and evil, patent to every one, and to himself as soon as pointed out, of the

traditional fashion in his court of eking out by irregular gifts the salary of such an office as his."¹

It was now expected that he would come to the bar of the House to receive his sentence, but he was found too ill to leave his bed. It was thought, indeed, that he would not survive the struggle, and on May 3d the Lords proceeded to fix the sentence in his absence. Every extremity was talked of. Coke, whose hand had been prominent in every feature of the case, cited in the Commons precedents where judges had been hanged for bribery. To this the Lords would not listen. Lord Arundel said: "His offence foul; his confession pitiful. Life not to be touched." Southampton asked that he should at least be degraded from the peerage, and asked whether "he whom this House thinks unfit to be a constable should come to the Parliament."

The sentence fixed upon was a fine of £40,000 and imprisonment in the Tower during the king's pleasure. He was to be incapable of any office, place, or employment in the State or Commonwealth. He was never to sit in Parliament, nor come within the verge of the court. This last provision excluded him from London. He had been induced to abandon his defence in order to stay disclosures and to shield the king, and this was the result.²

Having observed the feelings manifested toward him, he the day previous to the sentence wrote to the king asking that he, Buckingham, and the Prince, would unite to avert the sentence further than the loss of the seal, and he concludes the letter thus:

"This is my last suit that I shall make to your majesty in this business, prostrating myself at your mercy-seat, after fifteen years' service, wherein I have served your majesty in my poor endeavours, with an entire heart. And, as I presume to say unto your majesty, am still a virgin,³ for matters that concern your person or crown,

¹ As to great persons, Bacon in his essay entitled "Of Great Place" says: "For they are the first to find their own griefs, though they be the last to find their own faults."

² This permitting Parliament to chastise a minister of the crown was all important upon the question of civil liberty. The crown could never after be regarded as the sun of the governmental system.

³ In many places in his works Bacon refers to himself as a virgin.

and now only craving that after eight steps of honour, I be not precipitated altogether.

“But, because he that hath taken bribes is apt to give bribes, I will go further, and present your majesty with bribe;¹ for if your majesty give me peace and leisure, and God give me life, I will present you with a good history of England, and a better digest of your laws. And so concluding with my prayers, I rest Clay in your majesty’s hands.” (Works, vol. iii., p. 183.)

The king made no effort either to stay or to mitigate the sentence, but seemed now inclined to shun him, and concerning which, he in Sonnet 49 says :

“Against that time, if ever that time come,
When I shall see thee frown on my defects,
When as thy love hath cast his utmost sum,
Call’d to that audit by advis’d respects;²
Against that time, when thou shalt strangely pass,
And scarcely greet me with that sun, thine eye;
When love, converted from the thing it was,
Shall reasons find of settled gravity;—
Against that time do I ensconce me here
Within the knowledge of mine own desert,
And this my hand against myself uprear,
To guard the lawful reasons on thy part:
To leave poor me thou hast the strength of laws,
Since, why to love, I can allege no cause.”

Bacon now in Sonnet 111, as in many places in his writings, laments his entry into public life. He says :

“O ! for my sake do you with Fortune chide,
The guilty goddess of my harmful deeds,
That did not better for my life provide,
Than public means, which public manners breeds.
Thence comes it that my name receives a brand,³
And almost thence my nature is subdued
To what it works in, like the dyer’s hand.

¹ We think this shows how little he felt himself guilty of the offence charged.

² We understand him here to say that he came to this audit on the king’s own advice. Note in these sonnets, and everywhere in these writings, a kind of distinctive use of the word “against.” Bacon says : “It is usually practised, to set trees that require much sun upon walls against the south ; as apricots, peaches, plums, vines, figs, and the like.” (Sub. 430 of Bacon’s Natural History.)

³ And what brand, please, upon the name of William Shakespeare ?

Pity me, then, and wish I were renew'd,
 Whilst, like a willing patient, I will drink
 Potions of eyself 'gainst my strong infection :
 No bitterness that I will bitter think,
 Nor double penance, to correct correction.
 Pity me, then, dear friend ; and I assure ye,
 Even that your pity is enough to cure me."

Williams, the giver of the crafty advice against Bacon, now steps into his shoes as Chancellor of England. Bacon's state of health, coupled with his now treatment by the king, finds expression in Sonnets 140, 147, and 148. He says :

" Be wise as thou art cruel ; do not press
 My tongue-tied patience with too much disdain ;
 Lest sorrow lend me words, and words express
 The manner of my pity-wanting pain.
 If I might teach thee wit, better it were,
 Though not to love, yet, love, to tell me so ;
 As testy sick men, when their deaths be near.
 No news but health from their physicians know :
 For, if I should despair, I should grow mad,
 And in my madness might speak ill of thee :
 Now this ill-wresting world is grown so bad,
 Mad slanderers by mad ears believed be.
 That I may not be so, nor thou belied,
 Bear thine eyes straight, though thy proud heart go wide." ¹

" My love is as a fever, longing still
 For that which longer nurseth the disease ;
 Feeding on that which doth preserve the ill,
 Th' uncertain sickly appetite to please.²
 My reason, the physician to my love,
 Angry that his prescriptions are not kept,
 Hath left me ; and I desperate now approve,
 Desire is death, which physic did except.
 Past cure I am, now reason is past care,
 And frantic mad with ever-more unrest :
 My thoughts and my discourse as madmen's are,
 At random from the truth vainly express'd ;
 For I have sworn thee fair, and thought thee bright,
 Who art as black as hell, as dark as night."

¹ Promus, 594. (*Hold your friend tightly by the face.*)

² Though a man of firm and unyielding convictions, Lord Bacon had still an unbounded desire to please and to be of service to others. The importance which he claimed seems chiefly for his work, not for his person. He did not permit himself easily to take offence, and his nature seems to have possessed little of the elements of revenge. His ends he sought to move chiefly through others, making them pliant instruments by yielding to their humors and foibles.

" O me ! what eyes hath love put in my head,
 Which have no correspondence with true sight !
 Or, if they have, where is my judgment fled,
 That censures falsely what they see aright ?
 If that be fair whereon my false eyes dote,
 What means the world to say it is not so ?
 If it be not, then love doth well denote
 Love's eye is not so true as all men's no.
 How can it ? O ! how can Love's eye be true,
 That is so vex'd with watching and with tears ?
 No marvel, then, though I mistake my view ;
 The sun itself sees not, till heaven clears.
 O, cunning Love ! with tears thou keep'st me blind,
 Lest eyes well-seeing thy foul faults should find."

As Bacon's feelings must have vent, and as he would not make them public, so he talked them into these sonnets, as well as into Defoe articles, yet to be reviewed. We do not say that these sonnets came to the king's eyes, though some of them probably did. On account of Bacon's health his imprisonment was delayed until May 31st. But no sooner had he gone to the Tower than he wrote thus to Buckingham :

"GOOD MY LORD : Procure the warrant for my discharge this day. Death, I thank God, is so far from being unwelcome to me, as I have called for it (as Christian resolution would permit) any time these two months. But to die before the time of his majesty's grace, and in this disgraceful place, is even the worst that could be ; and when I am dead,¹ he is gone that was always in one tenor, a true and perfect servant to his master, and one that was never author of any immoderate, no, nor unsafe, no (I will say it), not unfortunate counsel ; and one that no temptation could ever make other than a trusty, and honest, and Christ-loving friend to your lordship ; and howsoever I acknowledge the sentence just, and for reformation sake fit, the justest chancellor that hath been in the five changes since Sir Nicholas Bacon's time. God bless and prosper your lordship, whatever becomes of me. Your lordship's true friend," etc. (Works, vol. iii., p. 169.)

Had not the peremptory first line of this letter been complied with, we judge that an explosion would now have occurred. But it was at once obeyed, as may be seen by

¹ Please see in this connection Sonnet 71.

his letter to Prince Charles the next day, June 1st, and in whom, for his philosophy, he now began to centre hopes for the future. (Works, vol. iii., p. 183.)

At Buckingham's first appearance at court, it is said that he was so poor that he had to borrow money with which to buy himself an outfit. Touching the foregoing letter and this thought we quote Sonnet 66. He says :

“ Tir'd with all these, for restful death I cry ;—
 As to behold desert a beggar born,
 And needy nothing trimm'd in jollity,
 And purest faith unhappily foresworn,
 And gilded honour shamefully misplac'd,
 And maiden virtue rudely strumpeted,
 And right perfection wrongfully disgrac'd,
 And strength by limping¹ sway disabled,
 And art made tongue-tied by authority,
 And folly (doctor-like) controlling skill,
 And simple truth miscall'd simplicity,
 And captive good attending captain ill :
 Tir'd with all these, from these would I be gone,
 Save that, to die, I leave my love alone.”

“ Love” as here used refers, we think, to his literary work, to his philosophy, to his Miranda of *The Tempest*. This it was that gave

“ An undergoing stomach, to bear up
 Against what should ensue.”—Act i., sc. 2, p. 27.

The word “ thee,” in Sonnet 29, also alludes, we think, to his philosophy. He says :

“ When, in disgrace with fortune and men's eyes,
 I all alone beweepe my outcast state,
 And trouble deaf heaven with my bootless cries,
 And look upon myself, and curse my fate ;
 Wishing me like to one more rich in hope,
 Featur'd like him, like him with friends possess'd,
 Desiring this man's art, and that man's scope,
 With what I most enjoy contented least ;
 Yet in these thoughts myself almost despising ;
 Haply I think on thee, and then my state,
 Like to the lark at break of day arising
 From sullen earth, sings hymns at heaven's gate :
 For thy sweet love remember'd such wealth brings,
 That then I scorn to change my state with kings.”

Sonnets 67 and 70 are in the same line. He says :

¹ “ Here man's power limps, as it were, with one leg.” (Novum Organum, Aph. 49, Book 2.)

“ Ah ! wherefore with infection should he live,
 And with his presence grace impiety,
 That sin by him advantage should achieve,
 And lace itself with his society ?
 Why should false painting imitate his cheek,
 And steal dead seeing of his living hue ?
 Why should poor beauty indirectly seek
 Roses of shadow, since his rose is true ?
 Why should he live, now nature bankrupt is,
 Beggar'd of blood to blush through lively veins ?
 For she hath no exchequer now but his,
 And, proud of many, lives upon his gains.
 O ! him she stores, to show what wealth she had,
 In days long since, before these last so bad.”

“ That thou art blam'd, shall not be thy defect,
 For slander's mark was ever yet the fair ;
 The ornament of beauty is suspect,¹
 A crow that flies in heaven's sweetest air.
 So thou be good, slander doth but approve
 Thy worth the greater, being woo'd of time ;
 For canker vice the sweetest buds doth love,
 And thou present'st a pure, unstained prime.
 Thou hast pass'd by the ambush of young days,
 Either not assail'd or victor being charg'd ;
 Yet this thy praise cannot be so thy praise,
 To tie up envy, evermore enlarg'd :
 If some suspect of ill mask'd not thy show,
 Then thou alone kingdoms of hearts shouldst owe.”

It is not improbable that the production of the first of these two sonnets may have occupied Bacon's thoughts while at the Tower, and his quick release may have induced him to think himself hasty. It at least gave hope of being now restored to favor, or at least to favors, for on June 4th he wrote thus to the king :

“ IT MAY PLEASE YOUR MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY : I humbly thank your majesty for my liberty, without which timely grant, any further grace would have come too late. But your majesty, that did shed tears in the beginning of my troubles, will, I hope, shed the dew of your grace and goodness upon me in the end. Let me live to serve you,

¹ This distinctive and unusual use of the word “suspect” may be found in many places in Bacon's writings. He says that “I do in no sort prejudice, being ignorant of the cause, but take him as the law takes him for a suspect.” (Bacon's Letters, vol. v., p. 218.) In his essay on “Praise” he says : “There be so many false points of praise, that one may justly hold it a suspect.”

else life is but the shadow of death to your majesty's most devoted servant." (Works, vol. iii., p. 184.)

A glimpse of this king's methods with Bacon, wherein he procured the abandonment of his defence, may, we think, be seen in the foregoing letter. See also his hypocritical methods and tears upon Somerset's arrest, and when he had gone he said, "Now the Deel go with thee for I will never see thy face any more." (Knight, vol. iii., p. 300.)

Knight here says: "The king had a loathsome way of lolling his arms about his favorites' necks, and kissing them; and in this posture the messenger found the king with Somerset, saying, 'When shall I see thee again?'"¹

It was Bacon's custom to couch his feelings in words during or near the transit of events; and so as to the king's expressed sorrow at the beginning of his troubles, he in Sonnet 35 says:

"No more be griev'd at that which thou hast done:
Roses have thorns, and silver fountains mud;
Clouds and eclipses stain both moon and sun,
And loathsome canker lives in sweetest bud.
All men make faults, and even I in this,
Authorizing thy trespass with compare;
Myself corrupting, salving thy amiss,
Excusing thy sins more than thy sins are:
For to thy sensual fault I bring in sense,
(Thy adverse party is thy advocate,)
And 'gainst myself a lawful plea commence.
Such civil war is in my love and hate,
That I an accessory needs must be
To that sweet thief, which sourly robs from me."

And so in the play of *The Tempest*, Act v., sc. 1, p. 92, does he, as Prospero, say:

"Yet, with my nobler reason, 'gainst my fury
Do I take part: The rarer action is
In virtue than in vengeance: they being penitent,
The sole drift of my purpose doth extend
Not a frown further."²

Yet in the previous sonnet, Sonnet 34, he says:

¹ See please in this connection Sonnet 131. Also see Sonnet 120.

² Promus, 62. (He is the best asserter [of the liberty] of his mind who bursts the chains that gail his breast, and at the same moment ceases to grieve.) In his *Essay on Revenge*, Bacon says: "That which is past is gone, and irrevocable; and wise men have enough to do with things present and to come; therefore they do but trifle with themselves that labour in past matters."

" Why didst thou promise such a beauteous day,
 And make me travel forth without my cloak,
 To let base clouds o'ertake me in my way,
 Hiding thy bravery in their rotten smoke ?
 'Tis not enough that through the cloud thou break,
 To dry the rain on my storm-beaten face ;
 For no man well of such a salve can speak,
 That heals the wound, and cures not the disgrace ;
 Nor can thy shame give physic to my grief ;
 Though thou repent, yet I have still the loss :
 Th' offender's sorrow lends but weak relief
 To him that bears the strong offence's cross.
 Ah ! but those tears are pearl which thy love sheds,
 And they are rich, and ransom all ill deeds."

As to the word "cloak" here used, we in the A. D. B. Mask, p. 66 (really 76, the pagination of this work being like the Great Folio), have : "But peradventure thou wilt object and Say, a Courtier must have a cloake against every winde that bloweth : Indeepe I heare it, and it grives me that I heare it, yet I can hardly, and in truth very hardly, denie and gainsay it. For Courtierrs had neede to apply and confirme themselves, to all occasions, and to the conditions of them with whome they live ; to bee subtile and craftie both in their Genius and disposition, and more mutable and variable than Proteus himselfe."

What Bacon thought of gifts and bribes in 1619, and so before his fall, may be seen in several places in the mentioned work. On p. 148 (omitting its mode of spelling) we have :

"Wherefore let the Courtier use sometime this beneficence and liberality, especially towards those whom he knows he hath offended and whom he is persuaded his riches and possessions may very much resist and withstand ; questionless, if there be any hammer or wedge wherewith to pierce, penetrate, or cleave in sunder the most obdurate and stubborn heart of man, 'tis this, namely, Gifts or Rewards. Yet here again it is not idle, but worth the questioning, whether the Courtier himself may also receive gifts again, we may answer with *Antoninus* the Emperour, *Neg omnia, neque quovis tempore, neg ab omnibus*, *Neither may he take all things, nor at all times, nor from all men, but each of these discreetly and wisely* ; For, as in all other matters, two extremes are to be avoided, namely, *Excess* and *Defect*, even so it is here, for the extremity of *defect*, is, not to receive aught from

any man, which were very inhumane and uncivil ; and the extremity of *excess*, is, always to receive all whatsoever is proffered, which is most vile and avaricious.¹

“Those Courtiers are to be highly commended, who receive small rewards, and that very sparingly from men of mean estate or condition, especially for the propagation and necessary execution of equity and Justice, but let them rather with a free heart, and a grateful mind, accept of what is, for that cause, conferred upon them by their Prince himself : But those Courtiers are contrariwise most worthy detestation and bitter execration, which do sell Justice and Truth for gold and gain.”

And on pp. 135–37 we have :

“Moreover, let the Courtier attempt all his enterprises and employments smoothly, currently, and privately, without any the least rumour, or reports, of what he intends to do, let him I say² use all diligence, hate all arrogance, and in the very act itself, be as private and silent as a man asleep. The reason hereof why thus he shall perform his actions, I have already declared which here (with the reader’s patience) I shut up in silence.³ I only

¹ See p. 281. This use of the words “excess” and “defect” is strictly Baconian, and found in Bacon’s interpretation of the fable of “Scylla and Icarus ; or, The Middle Way.” He says : “The parable is easy and vulgar : for the way of virtue lies in a direct path between excess and defect. Neither is it a wonder that Icarus perished by excess, seeing that excess for the most part is the peculiar fault of youth, as defect is of age ; and yet of two evil and hurtful ways, youth commonly makes choice of the better, defect being always accounted worst ; for whereas excess contains some sparks of magnanimity, and, like a bird, claims kindred of the heavens, defect only like a base worm crawls upon the earth.”

² This expression, “I say,” is so thrown in in every phase of these writings as to make it a distinguishing mark.

³ I am very desirous that the reader shall here turn to his Addison, vol. ii., p. 96, and read the article upon the subject of silence. Note also the emphasis placed upon the subject in the plays. In *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act ii., sc. 1, p. 175, we have :

“*Claud.* Silence is the perfectest herald of joy : I were but little happy, if I could say how much.”

In *Twelfth Night*, Act ii., sc. 5, p. 393, we have :

“*Fab.* Though our silence be drawn from us with cords, yet peace !”

And in Act i., sc. 3, p. 354, we have :

“What else may hap, to time I will commit ;
Only shape thou thy silence to my wit.”

add thus much and it is indeed a shame to be spoken ; yet such is the property and ungodly guise of most Courts, that gifts and bribing presents, are the present and chief preparations to remove all the rubs,¹ and to make the way plain to grace, favour, and preferment. But the truly noble and illustrious Courtier which hath learned by virtue (a better way than by fawning favour, and insinuated friendship) to rise and raise himself to honour and dignity, were better to want both place and grace, than to acquire or desire his honour, by gifts and rewards yet 'tis true which *Salust* that most grave and learned Historian says, especially of the court of *Rome*. *Rome omnia esse venalia. That all things are set to sale at Rome*, So are they for the most part at many other Courts, where little or nothing is given without Gold or Gain."

Again as to *Rome*, and toward which Buckingham was now stoutly drifting, we have : " Even the imposition or laying on of hands, and the gifts of the Holy Ghost are sold for money ; Yea I say the very Pardon and forgiveness of sins is in the Court of *Rome* made only a money matter : They which know the Court of *Rome*, and that monstrous great hireling of *Rome* himself, do know that I tell no fabulous fiction, but know too well to the cost of many of them, that he and his Courtiers are of *Titus Vespasian's* opinion, *Lucri odorem esse bonum ex re qualibet : That the sent and savour of gain is sweet by what*

¹ This distinctive use of the word " rubs " is Baconian. And in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 371, we have : " We have met with some notable rubs already, and what are yet behind we know not ; but for the most part, we find it true that has been talked of old, A good man must suffer trouble.

" *Cont.* You talk of rubs ; what rubs have you met withal." And in *Henry VIII.*, Act ii., sc. 1, p. 252, we have :

" Heaven has an end in all : Yet, you that hear me,
This from a dying man receive as certain :
Where you are liberal of your loves and counsels,
Be sure you be not loose ; for those you make friends,
And give your hearts to, when they once perceive
The least rub in your fortunes, fall away
Like water from ye, never found again
But where they mean to sink ye."

In *King Richard II.*, Act iii., sc. 4, p. 97, we have :

" *Queen.* 'Twill make me think, the world is full of rubs,
And that my fortune runs against the bias."

means soever it be gotten. This imposture, deceivable juggler, and pesantly Pedler, doth foster and favour under him such cunning cozeners¹ and sharking shifters, as scarcely with good conscience or credit, do use not from urine² or stale, but even from Strumpets, Jews, Grecians, and Barbarians too, scrape together and even wipe their noses of myriads and millions of gold and treasure. I here omit the epicurious gluttons, the refuse offal and scum of all men, who when they once, like ravening Harpies, begin to hunger and gape after gain, will bring the wealthiest man (though never so honest) within the danger of their devillish Inquisition."

Under this onslaught, in 1619, had the Catholics any interest in proving back upon Bacon, if they could, charges of corruption? Did they unduly urge presents upon him, and for the very purpose of a trap?³ What were the religious convictions of those making charges against him? And yet, we would go no further here, than to draw into view elements which we regard as involved in Bacon's fall.

¹ This use of the word "cozen" will be found in each division of these writings, and quite often in the plays and in the Anatomy of Melancholy. And in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 175, we have: "This schoolmaster taught them the art of getting, either by violence, cozenage, flattering, lying, or by putting on a guise of religion; and these four gentlemen had attained much of the art of their master, so that they could each of them have kept such a school themselves." Bacon says: "Neither if Rome will cozen itself, by conceiving it may be some degree to the like toleration in England, do I hold it a matter of any moment, but rather a good mean to take off the fierceness and eagerness of the humour of Rome, and to stay further excommunications or interdictions for Ireland." (Bacon's Letters, vol. iii, p. 49, and see vol i., p. 129.)

² Bacon, as to this use of the word "urine," says: "Vespasian set a tribute upon urine. Titus his son emboldened himself to speak to his father of it: and represented it as a thing indigne and sordid. Vespasian said nothing for the time; but a while after, when it was forgotten, sent for a piece of silver out of the tribute money, and called to his son, bidding him smell to it; and asked him: *Whether he found any offence?* Who said, No. *Why lo* (said Vespasian again), *and yet this comes out of urine.*" (Bacon's Literary Works, vol. ii., p. 149.)

³ At this time, as we have seen, Spain and the Catholics were seeking anew the ascendancy in Christendom. The mentioned work was dedicated to Buckingham, who had just wedded a lady of Catholic views, and he himself was seeking the closest alliance with Spain and her Catholic interests. We are giving the facts, and from which the reader may form his own conclusions. Note here also the words "sharking" and "harpies," used in the plays.

He had in his opening speech as Chancellor, concerning the Catholics, said : " Now to some particulars and not many : of all other things I must begin as the king begins ; that is, with the cause of religion, and especially the hollow church Papists. St. Augustine hath a good comparison of such men, affirming, that they are like the roots of nettles, which themselves sting not, but yet they bear all the stinging leaves :¹ let me know of such roots, and I will root them out of the country." (Works, vol. ii., p. 476.) In an important paper prepared by Bacon, concerning Great Britain and Spain during this year, he as to Spain, among other things, says :

" The policy of Spain hath trodden more bloody steps than any state of Christendom. Look into the treatise and the negotiations of his ministers abroad. You shall find as much falsehood in these as blood in the other. He never paid debt so truly as to those he employed in corrupting of the ministers of other princes. He holds league with none but to have the nearer access to do harm by ; and a match in kindred shall not hinder it when he intends his advantage once. He disturbs all Christendom with his yearly alarms and armadas, and yet doth less hurt to Infidels and Pirates than any ; unless it be to get wherewithal to arm himself against other Christian princes. And he hath an ambition to the whole empire of Christendom. These are motives² wherein all Christian princes are interested, so as with reason they cannot oppose the design : nor will, I think, the most of them : he hath derived himself into such an hatred with them.

" Let us now betwixt his Majesty and the United Provinces consider how the particular causes of both nations do importune us both to the undertaking thereof. Who hath been so thirsty of our blood as Spain ? and who hath spilled so much of it as he ? and who hath been so long our enemy ? and who hath corrupted so many of our nation as Spain ? and that with help of the gold which

¹ In King Richard II., Act iii., sc. 2, p. 81, we have the expression " Yield stinging nettles to mine enemies," and in *The Tempest*, Act ii., sc. 1, p. 48, we have :

" *Gon.* Had I plantation of this isle, my lord,—
Ant. He'd sow't with nettle-seed."

² To this Baconian use of the word " motives" we shall have occasion to allude in works yet to be reviewed.

by reason of the neglect of this design he doth still enjoy, to attempt our weak ones and our false ones withal. Would you find a traitor of a sudden? Balaam's ass will tell you where; at the Spanish ambassador's door. And when? When they come from mass. And otherwise when too? Even when they treated the match with us. For his malice is so great, he cannot hide it: nor will God I hope suffer it."¹ See this paper, Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., pp. 22-29. And see this work, p. 222.

The Spanish ambassador here alluded to was doubtless Gondomar. Spain was now striving anew, as we shall see, to return England to the old faith, and Bacon stood athwart the ripening of events. Again, his deep methods for reform, his *Novum Organum* had for months before his fall been beneath Rome's scrutinizing eye. From the *Britannica* article on Buckingham, p. 418, we quote as follows: "In the winter of 1621 and the succeeding year, Buckingham was entirely in Gondomar's hands, and it was only with some difficulty that in May 1622 Laud argued him out of a resolution to declare himself a Roman Catholic."

Whatever may have been the pretensions to Bacon by either king or Buckingham, they never did aught to save or to in any way break his fall; but by systematic manœuvring thereafter took his fleece, his York House, his wealth, and who, according to Mr. Spedding's presentation, instead of being miserly, was the most liberal of men.

After the flush of his sorrow had passed, he with renewed energy sought to make himself of service to the king, and through the king to posterity. Being by the Parliamentary sentence excluded from the verge of the court and hence from London, he on June 23d retired to his residence at Gorhambury, in Hertfordshire, where soon was completed his History of Henry the Seventh. He now proposed to the king as "active work" the re-compiling of laws, the regulation of the jurisdiction of courts, the regulation of trade,² the disposing of wards, and the education of youth generally. For "contempla-

¹ The chief harshness in Bacon's writings will be found to be upon this subject. Promus, 937. (I lost my honour in talking ill and in ill listening.)

² This and other of these subjects will be found treated in the Defoe literature. See Addison's Vision on Public Credit, vol. ii., p. 237.

tive work" he proposed a continuance of the History of England from his now completed History of Henry the Seventh, a general treatise de Legibus et Justitia, and a treatise on the Holy War against the Ottomans or Turks. And so in various ways did he offer his services to the king. But the king did not care for his work, and so his literary methods were left to be chosen in his own way. During this year appeared the enlarged Anatomy of Melancholy in two volumes, and which we unhesitatingly pronounce a product of his pen. It embraces much of the note-book, and as such contains scaffolding or building materials for other work. His "Holy War" is but a fragment, having been broken off in the form in which it was begun, as we shall claim, for the Bunyan work.¹ So also his History of Henry the Eighth was broken off, and in its stead we have the Shakespeare drama by that name, and which first appeared in the Great Folio of 1623. In the postscript of a letter by Bacon to the king, September 5th, 1621 (see end of sc. 2, Act iii., Henry VIII.), he says :

"Cardinal Wolsey said that if he had pleased God as he had pleased the king, he had not been ruined. My conscience saith no such thing ; for I know not but in serving you, I have served God in one. But it may be, if I had pleased God, as I had pleased you, it would have been better with me." (Works, vol. iii., p. 136.)

He in this letter says : "For in that other poor prop of my estate, which is the farming of the petty writs, I improved your majesty's revenue by four hundred pounds the year. And likewise, when I received the seal, I left both the attorney's place, which was a gainful place, and the clerkship of the Star Chamber, which was Queen Elizabeth's favour, and was worth twelve hundred pounds by the year, which would have been a good *commendam*. The honours which your majesty hath done me have put me above the means to get my living ; and the misery I am fallen into hath put me below the means to subsist as I am. I hope my courses shall be such, for this little end of my thread² which remaineth, as your majesty

¹ See this trail laid in the Serious Reflections of Crusoe, and where is painted forth many of Bacon's life aims, and along and upon which line, other works were designed to tie.

² Note this use of the word "thread," as we shall later find it woven into the play of The Tempest.

in doing me good may do good to many, both that live now, and shall be born hereafter."

This was in September. In October he prepared a petition to Parliament asking relief from his sentence. This he entrusted to Buckingham for presentation. All things that were expected to succeed had to go through this channel. After some little manœuvring he gave Bacon to understand that York House must first be his. Bacon now sought an interview, and prepared the paper which we have already quoted at p. 283, and which Mr. Spedding says must have been between October 20th and December 16th. Buckingham did not come, and so he wrote to him as follows :

"MY LORD : I say to myself that your Lordship hath forsaken me ; and I think I am one of the last, that findeth it, and in nothing more, than that, twice in London, your Lordship would not vouchsafe to see me, though the latter time I begged it of you. If your lordship take any insatisfaction about York House, good my lord, think of it better ; for I assure your Lordship, that motion to me was to me as a second sentence ; for I conceive it sentenced me to the loss of that which I thought was saved from the former sentence, which is your love and favour. But sure it would not be that pelting matter, but the being out of sight, out of use, and the ill offices done me, perhaps, by such as have your ear. Thus I think, and thus I speak for I am far enough from any baseness or detracting, but shall ever love and honour you, however it be. Your forsaken friend and freed servant."¹ (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 314.)

To the Earl of Lenox, who now tried to secure York House, he wrote :

"MY VERY GOOD LORD : I am sorry to deny your grace any thing ; but in this you will pardon me. York House is the house wherein my father died, and wherein I first breathed ; and there will I yield my last breath, if so please God, and the king will give me leave ; though I be now by fortune (as the old proverb is) like a bear in a

¹ From this moment, we think, Bacon's interest in Buckingham ceased, and that later he endeavored to bring the "pinches"—to use a Baconian word—upon him. Was he thereafter justified in using the soft side of speech in endeavoring to save the sequestration of his estate, is a point involved as to later letters.

monk's hood. At least no money, no value, shall make me part with it. Besides as I never denied it to my lord Marquis, so yet the difficulty I made was so like a denial, as I owe unto my great love and respect to his lordship a denial to all my other friends; among whom, in a very near place next his lordship, I ever accounted of your grace. So not doubting that you will continue me in your former love and good affection I rest," etc. (Works, vol. iii., p. 140.)

The king himself, had he felt so disposed, might have pardoned him and saved this application to Parliament. Bacon, in fact, did first apply to him, but Buckingham, through Williams, now made Chancellor, procured the pardon to be stopped at the seal. Buckingham's mother, and in whom Williams was interested, had also some hand in this matter, as we shall see. Sackville recommends that Bacon's letters be now "made all of sweetmeats."¹ Through manœuvring, however, Buckingham finally got Bacon's estate into the hands of Cranfield, now made Treasurer, and this done by means of a reference from the king, and he was thereafter required to deed to him York House. Later, in certain Defoe papers, we may learn something further concerning this.

The neglect, indifference, postponement, and trifling as to his now sought pardon may be seen in the correspondence. It may likewise be seen in Sonnets 57 and 58, where he as to the king says :

" Being your slave, what should I do but tend
Upon the hours and times of your desire ?
I have no precious time at all to spend,
Nor services to do, till you require.²
Nor dare I chide the world-without-end hour,
Whilst I, my sovereign, watch the clock³ for you ;
Nor think the bitterness of absence sour,⁴

¹ See Works, vol. iii., pp. 141 and 144.

² His tendered services to the king we have already considered. We have likewise seen that Bacon considered contemplation a real delight.

³ In a letter to Buckingham in 1619, Bacon says : " For the Star-Chamber business, I shall (as you write) keep the clock on going, which is hard to do when sometimes the wheels are too many and sometimes too few." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 74.)

⁴ In his Essay on "Judicature," Bacon says : " There be (saith the Scriptures) that turn judgment into wormwood; and surely

When you have bid your servant once adieu :
 Nor dare I question with my jealous thought
 Where you may be, or your affairs suppose ;
 But like a sad slave, stay and think of nought,
 Save, where you are, how happy you make those.
 So true a fool is love, that in your will,
 Though you do any thing, he thinks no ill."

" That God forbid, that made me first your slave,
 I should in thought control your times of pleasure
 Or at your hand th' account of hours to crave,
 Being your vassal, bound to stay your leisure !
 O ! let me suffer, being at your beck,
 Th' imprison'd absence of your liberty ;
 And patience, tame to sufferance, bide each check,
 Without accusing you of injury.
 Be where you list, your charter is so strong,
 That you yourself may privilege your time
 To what you will ; to you it doth belong
 Yourself to pardon of self-doing crime.¹
 I am to wait, though waiting so be hell,
 Not blame your pleasure, be it ill or well."

And was William Shakespeare watching the clock—the financial clock—for his sovereign ? and so his slave that he had no precious time to spend nor services to do till he required ? And what self-doing crime had his sovereign put upon him ? See also Sonnet 120.

And thus under the shield of Venus, as we shall see, or in the form of a lover, did Bacon apply himself for aid to the fountain function—the kingly office. Touching this, we in the A. D. B. Mask, p. 9, have : " But I stray too far, time calls upon me, now to set upon the Subject itself, before I proceed to any other matters. First then let the Courtier or whosoever else, which hath determined with himself, to bestow and dedicate his endeavours to the service of Princes, often deliberate, and think upon this one thing, that the Court in some sort, doth represent and resemble, love, or a warfare, and lovers we know, will

there be also that turn it into vinegar ; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour."

¹ We understand him here to say that the king, having procured him to abandon a good defence, that the crime rests there, and hence that he and not the Parliament should pardon it. See this point, as well as to loss of time, touched upon in his notes for an interview with Buckingham at p. 284. Promus, 1152. (*I was dumb, and opened not my mouth because thou didst it.*) Promus, 1043. (However, I postponed my serious business to their play.)

diligently remove every rub, obstacle, or impediment, whereby they may content and please their beloved : Soldiers also do labour, and endeavour, with all care and diligence, and make this the mark, whereat they wholly level and aim, namely to follow their Captain or leader ; and as much as in them lies, to do what he commandeth : so should an honest Courtier, adorned and endued, with wit and discretion, bend and incline, all his study and industrious endeavours, not only with diligence, to entertain his King's, and Prince's commission and command ; but promptly, speedily, and with all care and fidelity, to discharge the charge, which is committed unto him : And he which lays this foundation of a Courtier's life, shall doubtless be graciously acceptable, in the sight of his Sovereign."

In this work the court is ever likened to the sea. Was this the allegoric sea upon which Crusoe was warned not to enter?

For reasons of state or otherwise, it is said that silence was imposed upon Bacon and upon his friends after he was in his grave. Archbishop Tennyson says : " The great cause of his sufferings is to some a secret. I leave them to find it out by his own words to King James : ' I wish that as I am the first, so I may be the last of sacrifices in your times : and when, from private appetite, it is resolved that a creature shall be sacrificed, it is easy to pick up sticks enough from any thicket whither it hath strayed to make a fire to offer it with.' " (Works, vol. i., p. 99.)

His chaplain, Dr. Rawley, says : " Some papers touching matters of estate, tread too near to the heels of truth and to the times of the persons concerned." We think we shall later learn something touching those papers.

When the sonnets were put forth, none of which appeared in the Great First Folio, they were so transposed and mixed, and evidently by design, as to cloak their true relations. Here we anticipate a question, Did the first edition contain them all? as those applying to King James could not have been produced earlier than 1621, and the first edition of them is said to have been issued in 1609. If, then, the first edition contained them all—which it probably did not—was the method as to mixing them, in order to destroy relations, extended likewise to

the date, by antedating the edition, so as but still more effectually to cloak their relations? The sonnets, however, as we now have them, did not probably appear until the second edition, put forth in 1640.

The sonnets, then, point chiefly : 1. To new and unfolding methods in philosophy ; 2. To the fact that they were the product of some covert pen ; 3. To a desire through Elizabeth for a Protestant heir to the throne of England ; and 4. To the downing of their author—the then chief pillar of Protestantism in Europe.

The galsomeness of Buckingham sent York House to the hands of the now Treasurer, Cranfield ; and his liberty to come within the verge of the court he was able to secure only through the Spanish minister, and so we need not therefore wonder that in the play of *The Tempest* James is represented in a couplet as the king of both countries. After the dissolution of James' last Parliament Mr. Spedding says : " Gondomar thought that there was an end of Parliaments in England, that the king would be inevitably thrown into the arms of Spain, and that though the people would be much enraged, they would not be able to help themselves. Digby regarded it as settling the question as to the expediency of the match. The Palatinate could not be rescued except by the co-operation of Spain ; and in order to secure that co-operation the marriage must be concluded. The Spaniards, ready to do whatever was necessary to keep James on their side and detach him from the Protestant cause in the European quarrel, professed the strongest wish for the alliance, promised everything that was likely to encourage him to proceed with it, and made Digby believe that they intended performance. It was only by the absolute authority of the two kings, he said, that the business could be brought to any good conclusion ; the Spanish council of State had decided, after a full discussion of the question of the Palatinate, that complete satisfaction should be given to the King of England : and he ' made no doubt but that the Prince should entirely be restored both to his territories and his electorate : and the King of Spain, merely to gratify his Majesty, would make it his work.' " (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 369.)

Mr. Spedding also says : " When Gondomar proposed to Bacon (a few weeks after the Lords had passed judg-

ment upon him at the demand of the Commons), to engage the King of Spain to become an intercessor for him with the King of England, the proposal was so unfit and unreasonable that he could only thank him and put it by. But when upon their confidence in Gondomar's advice and invitation the Prince and Buckingham had taken so bold and hazardous a step, it could not be doubted that he had influence with them, and Bacon (presuming that he would be disposed to use it in his favour as he had been before) wrote to remind him of his condition and explain how matters now stood." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 410.)

But between Gondomar and Buckingham a breach arose, as will appear by Bacon's letter to Matthew into Spain, while Buckingham and the Prince were there in the matter of the marriage alliance. The letter is as follows :

"GOOD MR. MATTHEW: I have received your letter, sent by my Lord of Andover ; and, as I acknowledged your care, so I cannot fit it with any thing, that I can think on for myself ; for, since Gondomar, who was my voluntary friend, is in no credit, neither with the Prince, nor with the Duke, I do not see what may be done for me there ; except that which Gondomar hath lost you have found ; and then I am sure my case is amended : so as, with a great deal of confidence, I commend myself to you, hoping, that you will do what in you lieth, to prepare the Prince and Duke to think of me, upon their return. And if you have any relation to the Infanta, I doubt not but it shall be also to my use. God keep you," etc. (Works, vol. iii., p. 151.)

Gondomar befriended Bacon when all other avenues had been closed to him, and he is represented as Gonzalo in the play of *The Tempest*,¹ and where this breach with Buckingham clearly appears.

Upon his fall, Bacon, as already remarked, applied himself industriously to the Prince, in whom from that moment he began to centre his hopes for the future of his philosophy, and who in 1622 had grown indifferent to the Spanish alliance, and was pursuing courses that were pleasing to Bacon. From the *Britannica* article on Charles the First we quote : " By the death of his brother

¹ See Bacon's letter to Matthew concerning Gondomar, February 28th, 1621. (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 335.)

Henry, he became Prince of Wales in 1612, but the first public matter of importance in which he was concerned was the Spanish marriage. At first he was quite indifferent to the affair, and in 1622 he was full of a dream that he would lead an army into the Palatinate, and set his dear sister upon her throne. But, by the beginning of the next year, Buckingham had filled him with the romantic notion of setting off, in defiance of all policy, on a private visit to Spain."

At this time Bacon was urging the union of all Christian princes to a war against the Ottomans, the Turks. In 1622 was written his fragment on the "Holy War," and where the six disputants or characters may not inaptly be compared to the six subtle nymphs or spirits in the play of *The Tempest*.¹ Note likewise the six characters in his brilliant court mask in 1594, already alluded to; and by which he was trying to educate the queen, their subjects being philosophy, buildings and foundations, state and treasure, virtue and a gracious government, pastimes and sports; and note the treatment of these subjects in the Defoe literature. Observe in his article on the "Holy War" the consummate skill employed in handling a subject dialogue-wise, and yet this is the only piece of like composition with which Lord Bacon's name is associated. So is the *New Atlantis*, his only narrative piece. Neither of these was published until after his death.

Buckingham and the Prince having failed to bring about the marriage alliance with Spain returned in anger. Shifting now from their previous courses, they at once resolved upon a war with Spain. In this they struck the popular wave, and for the moment Buckingham was the most popular man in England. The king, though reluc-

¹ Of these Ariel, or the cogitative faculty, stands chief, the senses yielding to it their reports. And so, falling within the gigantic drama of the Defoe period, may be found these six characters, five of whom remit to Bickenstaff (a mere *nom de plume*) their messages. Please see Addison, vol. ii., pp. 228-37, and pp. 1-18. And in vol. iv., p. 67, we have: "These rigid critics are so afraid of allowing me anything which does not belong to me, that they will not be positive whether the lion, the wild boar, and the flower-pots in the play-house, did not actually write those letters which come to me in their name." He, Addison, is said to have been a very shy man, and one hard to draw into discourse.

tantly, was compelled to fall in with the changes which these circumstances brought, and which placed Buckingham beyond his control, and whom he ever after feared, as Buckingham held the firm confidence of the Prince, the prospective heir to the throne, and as the history of the times will fully show. As to Buckingham's power over, and his violent courses toward, the king, even before he and the Prince went into Spain, and which was against the king's wishes, see Hume, vol. iv., pp. 66-69.

Concerning a plot against the life of the king and other points in the play of *The Tempest*, we from Weldon's Court and Character of King James quote matter between pp. 44 and 47, as follows :

"The *Spanish Match*, having been long in Treaty, and it being suspected now, that the *Spaniard* did juggle with this State in this, as they formerly did in a Match with that brave Prince *Henry*, and in truth, in all other things wherein any negotiation had been, only feeding the King with fair hopes, and fair words, yet foul deeds. Whether the King suspected any such matter, or any whimsey came in the brain of this great Favorite and Prince, to imitate the old story of the Knights Errand, but agreed it was (it should seem) between the Favorite and the Prince only (no one other so much as dreaming of any such adventure) except *Cottington*, who also accompanied them, that the Prince must go himself into *Spain*: away they went under the borrowed names of *Jack* and *Tom Smith* to the amazement of all wise men, only accompanied with *Cottington*, and some one or two more at most, taking their way by *France*; had the Ports laid so, that none should follow them, or give any notice to the *French* Court, till they might get the start, etc., yet their wisdoms made them adventure to stay in the *French* Court, and look on that Lady whom he after married; and there did this *Mars* imitate one of Prince *Arthur's* Knights, in seeking Adventures through foreign Princes' territories; 1st beheld this *French* beauty *Mars vidit visamq; cupit potiturq; cupita*: as in our discourse will afterwards appear; from thence away to *Spain*; but as the Journey was only plotted by young heads, so it was so childishly carried, that they escaped the *French* King's Curriers very narrowly, but escape they did, and arrived

safely in *Spain* their wished Port, before either welcome, or expected, by our Embassadors, or that State.

“ Yet now must the best face be put on, at all hands, that put their Grandees to new shifts, and our Embassador the Earl of *Bristol* to try his wit, for at that time was Sir *Walter Aston* also Embassador at *Spain*, in all occurrences *Aston* complied with the Prince and Duke, *Bristol* ran counter ; and the Duke and *Bristol* hated each other mortally.

“ *Bristol* had the advantage of them there, as having the much better head-piece, and being more conversant and dear with that state, wholly complying with them, and surely had done them very acceptable services (and in this very Treaty was one of the pack) *Buckingham* had the advantage of him in *England* (although the King did now hate *Buckingham*, yet was so awed that he durst not discover it.) Then *Buckingham* had all interest in his successor by this journey, so that he laid a present and future foundation of his succeeding greatness.

“ For all his power and greatness, *Bristol* did not forbear to put all scorns, affronts, and tricks on him, and *Buckingham* lay so open, as gave the other advantage enough by his lascivious carriage and miscarriage.

“ Amongst all his tricks, he plays one so cunningly, that it cost him all the hair on his head, and put him to the diet ; for it should seem he made court to *Conde Olivons* L. a very handsome Lady ; But it was so plotted betwixt the Lady, her Husband, and *Bristol*, that instead of that beauty, he had a notorious Stew sent him, and surely his carriage there was so lascivious, that had ever the match been really intended for our Prince, yet such a Companion, or Guardian, was enough to have made them believe he had been that way addicted, and so have frustrated the marriage, that being a grave and sober Nation, *Buckingham* of a light and loose behavior ; and had the Prince himself been of an extraordinary well staid temper, the other had been a very ill Guardian unto him.

“ But now many Lords flockt over, and many Servants, that he might appear the Prince of *England*, and like himself, though he came thither like a private person, many Treaties were, sometimes hope, sometimes despair, sometimes great assurance, then all dasht again, and however, his entertainment was as great as possible that State could

afford ; yet was his addresses to, and with the Lady such, as rendered him mean, and a private person, rather than a Prince of that State, that formerly had made *Spain* feel the weight of their anger, and power ; and was like a Servant, not a Suitor, for he never was admitted, but to stand barehead in her presence, nor to talk with her, but in a full audience with much company.

“ At last, after many heats and cools, many hopes and despairs, the Prince wrote a letter to his Father of a desperate despair, not only of not enjoying his Lady, but of never more returning, with this passage, You must now Sir look upon my Sister and her children, forgetting ever you had such a Son, and never think more of me.

“ Now the folly of this voyage, plotted only by green heads, began to appear, many showing much sorrow, many smiling at their follies (and in truth glad in their Hearts) and however the King was a cunning dissembler, and showed much outward sorrow, as he did for Prince *Henries* death, yet something was discerned, which made his Court believe little grief came near his heart, for that hatred he bear to *Buckingham* long (as being satiated with him) and his adoring the rising sun, not looking after the sun setting, made the world believe he would think it no ill bargain to loose his son, so *Buckingham* might be lost also, for had he not been weary of *Buckingham* he would never have adventured him in such a journey, all his Courtiers knew that very well.

“ And for a further illustration of his weariness of *Buckingham*, it appeared in the Parliament before, when the King gave so much way to his ruine, that *Buckingham* challenged him that he did seek his ruine, and being generally held a lost man, the King to make it appear it was not so, and that the King durst not avow his own act, brought him off from that Parliament, but *Buckingham* hated the King ever afterwards.”

It is here further stated that after the marriage of *Buckingham* the king's edge was taken off from all favorites, but that he durst not choose another, and that the king stood in fear of the now intimacy between the Prince and *Buckingham*, toward whom great disgust was entertained by one *Juniossa*, a Spanish ambassador extraordinary, and concerning which we, p. 48, have :

“ This *Juniossa* being a brave daring Gentleman, used

some speeches in the derogation of the Prince and *Buckingham*, as if they were dangerous to the old King ; nay, Juniossa sent one *Padro Mecestria*, a *Spanish* Jesuite, and a great Statesman, to King *James*, to let him know, that he, under confession, had found the King was by *Buckingham*, or by his procurement, to be killed, but whether by Poyson, Pistol, Dagger, etc., that he could not tell.

“The King, after the hearing this, was extream melancholy, and in that passion was found by *Buckingham* at his return to him. The King, as soon as ever he espied him, said, Ah *Stenny*, *Stenny*, for so he ever called him in familiarity, wilt thou kill me? at which *Buckingham* started, and said, who Sir hath so abused you? at which the King sate silent ; out went *Buckingham*, fretting and fuming, asked, who had been with the King in his absence?”

We would gladly quote further did space permit. This work is little more than a pamphlet consisting of but sixty-one pages, and by the initials A. W. was put forth in 1650, and it has generally been attributed to Anthony Weldon. As we regard the A. D. B. Mask as having been written by Bacon before, so we regard this pamphlet as written by him subsequent to his fall, though ingenious interpolations may have been made between pp. 39 and 44.

In the breaking off of the Spanish marriage alliance, Bacon, as well as the populace, was delighted, as he had now new hopes from the Prince. The play of *The Tempest* must have been completed at about this time, as the Great First Folio, of which it forms the first piece, is said to have appeared during this year, 1623.

Upon the return of the Prince to England Bacon at once addressed to him the following letter, accompanied with a copy of the *De Augmentis*, which then made its first appearance.

“IT MAY PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENT HIGHNESS : I send your highness in all humbleness, my book of *Advancement of Learning*, translated into Latin, but so enlarged, as it may go for a new work. It is a book, I think, will live, and be a citizen of the world, as English books are not.¹ For Henry the Eighth, to deal truly with your

¹ In *Hamlet* it was the babe. In the *Advancement of Learning* it was the child. And now, as the *De Augmentis*, it was a citizen of

highness, I did so despair of my health this summer, as I was glad to chose some such work, as I might compass within days ; so far was I from entering into a work of length. Your highness' return hath been my restorative. When I shall wait upon your highness, I shall give you a further account. So I most humbly kiss your highness hands, resting

“ Your highness' most devoted servant.”

“ I would (as I wrote to the Duke in Spain) I could do your highness' journey any honour with my pen. It began like a fable of the poets ; but it deserveth all in a piece a worthy narration.”² (Works, vol. iii., p. 152.)

Bacon also prepared minutes for a letter to Buckingham in these words :

“ That I am exceeding glad his grace is come home with so fair a reputation of a sound Protestant, and so constant for the king's honour and errand.

“ His grace is now to consider that his reputation will vanish like a dream except now, upon his return, he do some remarkable act to fix it, and bind it in.

“ They have a good wise proverb in the country whence he cometh, taken I think from a gentleman's sampler,³ *Qui en no da nudo, pierdo punto*, ‘ he that tieth not a knot⁴ upon his thread, loseth his stitch.’

the world. It had passed through different swaddlings, and was now in its citizen's clothes.

¹ Note in the play of *The Tempest* the use of this expression “ your highness.”

² Note this allusion to fable in the foregoing quotation from Weldon, p. 311.

³ Note the use of the words “ gentlewoman” and “ wench” through all this literature, and as to the word “ sampler,” here used, we quote from *Gulliver's Travels*, p. 193, as follows :

“ She furl'd her sampler, and haul'd in her thread,
And stuck her needle into Gridrig's bed,
Then spread her hands, and with a bounce let fall
Her baby, like the giant in Guildhall.”

⁴ *Promus*, 614. He who does not tie the knot loses the end (of his string). This use of the words “ knot” and “ thread” will be found in nearly every phase of this literature, and quite often in the plays. In the introduction to Defoe's *Duncan Campbell* we have :

“ This knot I knit,
To know the thing I know not yet,
That I may see
The man that shall my husband be ;

“Any particular, I that live in darkness, cannot propound. Let his grace, who seeth clear, make his choice; but let some such thing be done, and then this reputation will stick by him; and his grace may afterwards be at the better liberty to take and leave off the future occasions that shall present.” (Works, vol. iii., p. 152.)

We would have the reader here call into relation the word “thread,” as used in the foregoing notes, as used at p. 281, as used in Bacon’s Letter, p. 303, and as used in the play of *The Tempest*, Act iv., sc. 1, p. 78, where Bacon, as Prospero, again tenders to the Prince his Miranda, his philosophy, saying, “for I have given you here a thread of mine own life, or that for which I live; whom once again I tender to thy hand.”¹

The remaining thread of Bacon’s years will be found chiefly in his literary work. In his dedicatory letter to Bishop Andrews, in 1622, of the fragment entitled the “Holy War,” he mentions the overthrow of Demosthenes, Cicero, and Seneca, and the after manner of expending their time. As to Seneca he says:

“Seneca indeed, who was condemned for many corruptions and crimes, and banished into a solitary island, kept a mean; and though his pen did not freeze yet he abstained from intruding into matters of business; but spent his time in writing books of excellent argument and use for all ages;² though he might have made better choice sometimes, of his dedications.

“These examples confirmed me much in a resolution, whereunto I was otherwise inclined, to spend my time wholly in writing; and to put forth that poor talent, or half talent, or what it is,³ that God hath given me, not,

How he goes, and what he wears,
And what he does all days and years.”

¹ See this identical expression, “thread of my life,” in Bacon’s letter to Queen Elizabeth in 1599. (Bacon’s Letters, vol. ii., p. 165.)

² And we shall later see what Bacon did for the ages to come.

³ It may thus be seen that Bacon was conscious of an unusual talent. Upon this point see his prayer already quoted at p. 278. Read likewise his letter, our Head-light, in connection with the following from Henry IV., part 1, Act iii., sc. 1, p. 230:

“Cousin, of many men
I do not bear these crossings. Give me leave
To tell you once again,—that at my birth
The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes;

as heretofore, to particular exchanges, but to banks or mounts of perpetuity, which will not break. Therefore, having not long since set forth a part of my Instauration ; which is the work that, in mine own judgment, ‘*si nunquam fallit imago,*’ I do most esteem : I think to proceed in some new parts thereof ; and although I have received from many parts beyond the seas, testimonies touching that work, such as beyond which I could not expect at the first in so abstruse an argument ; yet, nevertheless, I have just cause to doubt, that it flies too high over men’s heads : I have a purpose, therefore, though I break the order of time,¹ to draw it down to the sense, by some patterns of a natural story and inquisition.”

He here also says : “ As for my Essays, and some particulars of that nature, I count them but as the recreations of my other studies, and in that sort purpose to continue them : though I am not ignorant that those kind of writings would, with less pains and embracement, perhaps, yield more lustre and reputation to my name than those other which I have in hand.”² But I account the use that a man should seek of the publication of his own writings before his death, to be but an untimely anticipation of that which is proper to follow a man, and not to go along with him.” (Works, vol. ii., pp. 435–36.)

For these essays let Defoe’s “ Review ” and the works of Addison be examined. They were doubtless begun as early as 1608. In the foregoing may be seen Bacon’s expressed intention of writing “ patterns of natural story.”

The goats ran from the mountains, and the herds
Were strangely clamorous to the frightened fields.
These signs have mark’d me extraordinary ;
And all the courses of my life do show
I am not in the roll of common men.
Where is he living,—clipp’d in with the sea
That chides the banks of England, Scotland, Wales,—
Which calls me pupil, or hath read to me ?
And bring him out, that is but woman’s son,
Can trace me in the tedious ways of art,
And hold me pace in deep experiments.’

¹ What is here meant by breaking the order of time ?

² Bacon’s Essay entitled “ Of Studies ” opens thus : ‘ Studies serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight, is in privateness and retiring ; for ornament, is in discourse ; and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business.’

Observe also, in connection with Crusoe, his mention of Seneca's experience in a solitary island. And so we bring this sketch to conclusion by calling attention to the significant fact that to Lord Bacon's last will, executed December 19, 1625, one Will Atkins was a witness, and so by that name, identical in form, have we the prominent character late in the story of Crusoe.

THE TEMPEST.

WE here set forth some further thoughts touching that most subtle piece of work known as the play of *The Tempest*. Its leading characters we understand to be, Bacon as Prospero ; Miranda, his child of philosophy, his Protestant heir, that was to be wedded to a prince of power ; and she desiring her husband to play for a score of kingdoms ; while as to Caliban, the monster, the warning, this character we reserve for more specific statement.

The opening of the voyage is the entry of James the First upon his third Parliament, in 1621. The tempest, the storm for reform, the vessel, the ship of state.

James, as Alonzo, is at this time so far absorbed in Naples—in other words, in Spain and the Spanish marriage alliance, as to be represented a dual character, standing as the king of both countries ; while the real King of Spain, as Sebastian, is the brother—in other words, our dear brother, the King of Spain.

The king's great screen, Buckingham, as Antonio, is the false brother to Bacon, or Prospero, and by whom his Milan, his dukedom, his empire of learning, is bowed "to most ignoble stooping." Buckingham being in this sense brother to Bacon, to Miranda he is the false uncle.

The Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, as Gonzalo, is represented as master of the design. He to Bacon, or Prospero, became the noble Neapolitan who gave rich garments and furnished him with books from his own library, which he prized above his dukedom.

The king's son, Prince Charles, as Ferdinand, is the young Prince of power, to whom Bacon, or Prospero, sought to wed his Miranda, while the king sought to wed him to the Infanta of Spain.

The vessel is represented as trying to make two courses. The mentioned parties represent the one, and the rabble the other of these courses, the latter having control of the

vessel. After the storm's collapse, and according to design, all were left in confusion, upon which confusion Prospero sought to exercise his art. He says he saved the vessel, and had done all for Miranda's sake, and that it was she that had given "An undergoing stomach to bear up against what should ensue."

Bacon himself moved the Parliament to its purgings, and the object of the storm was to bring the king, the Prince, and Buckingham to their senses; and the king and his party are represented as having been cast upon the same sad island to which their dealings had consigned him. Out of this confusion the Prince, and as designed, becomes wedded to his Protestant heir, to his philosophy, and his dukedom restored. This, though not accomplished, Bacon doubtless thought he had accomplished at the writing of this play, and which must have been completed soon after the breach of the Spanish alliance, to have permitted its entry in the Great Folio of 1623. But Charles soon fell away from Bacon's influence, as the facts, as well as the play, will show. As it was issued during the life of James, it was drowned deep in subtlety, otherwise its interpretation might have cost Bacon his head. It is, we think, a play with the underplot here indicated. See note as to underplot, p. 88.

Through these doings Bacon by the Parliamentary sentence was himself excluded from London, from his library, from his estate, and he and Miranda were for a time at sea and without aid. Some little poetic license in this must be allowed, as also in putting language into Miranda's mouth, and which must be allowed in any interpretation of this subtle piece of work. Concerning Miranda, see pp. 87, 224, 225.

We understand the six airy spirits of the play to stand for the five human senses, over which Ariel, or the cogitative faculty of the mind, as the sixth spirit, holds sway. That Ariel is the highest order among his fellows may be seen, Act iv., sc. 1, p. 80, where we have :

"*Ari.* What would my potent master? here I am.

Pro. Thou and thy meaner fellows! your last service

¹ This word "fellows," used throughout the plays, throughout *The Pilgrim's Progress*, we shall later call into relation with the New Atlantis.

Did worthily perform ; and I must use you
 In such another trick : Go, bring the rabble,
 O'er whom I give thee power, here, to this place :
 Incite them to quick motion ; for I must
 Bestow upon the eyes of this young couple
 Some vanity of mine art ; it is my promise,
 And they expect it from me."

Bacon says : " Hence one of the moderns has ingeniously reduced all the power of the soul to motion, noting the precipitancy of some of the ancients, who, fixing their thoughts prematurely on memory, imagination, and reason, have neglected the cogitative faculty, which, however, plays the chief role in the work of conception. For he that remembers, cogitates, as likewise he who fancies or reasons ; so that the soul of man in all her moods dances to the musical airs of the cogitations, which is that rebounding of the Nymphs." (De Augmentis, Book 2, ch. 13, p. 105, Bohn's ed.) See quotation, p. 62.

By these nymphs did Bacon bring to view the subtle ends sought in this work, and its magic is the magic of genius.

While Charles, as Ferdinand, seeks to place his sister Elizabeth, Claribel in the play, upon the throne of Bohemia, he is in accord with Bacon's wishes. See p. 310. But Buckingham thwarts Bacon in this, and drew the Prince anew to the Infanta and to Spain.

Prospero then interposes between him and his daughter and calls him a " traitor," an " impostor." But after the breach of the Spanish alliance he renews the spell. As to what Miranda is to yield when wedded to power, see the whole of sc. 1, Act iv. Here we find pictured forth what Bacon claimed would be the results of his philosophy. It was to bring peace and plenty. It was to increase men's bread and wine. We here also find an allusion to certain groves :

" Whose shadow the dismissed bachelor loves,
 Being lass-lorn."

As to Charles being lass-lorn upon the breach of the Spanish alliance, see our quotation from Weldon, p. 313.

This play, as does the New Atlantis, opens abruptly in the midst of a voyage, and in case of the New Atlantis the vessel is headed by way of the South Sea to China and

Japan,¹ and thereby hangs a tale yet untold, in connection with Bacon's troubles. As we enter upon its further consideration, let Macaulay's words as to Bacon be taken with us as we go, wherein he says : " In wit, if by wit be meant the power of perceiving analogies between things which appear to have nothing in common, he never had an equal." And see Promus note 1006, p. 158.

The play opens in some cautionary words by those in command of the vessel, and the king and his party immediately appear upon its deck, and the king, as Alonzo, in his first speech to the crew, says :

" *Alon.* Good boatswain, have care. Where's the master ? Play the men." ²

By the words " Play the men," Hudson in a note says : " That is, act with spirit, behave like men." Had these words been intended as a question they would have been followed with a mark of interrogation.

The popular discontent in Parliament at this period toward the king may be seen in the boatswain's³ speech soon after, in the words " What care these roarers for the name of king ?" After some converse with the rabble by the king's party the boatswain, as to the vessel, says :

" *Boats.* Lay her a-hold, a-hold : set her two courses ; off to sea again ; lay her off."

The two courses for the vessel, as already indicated, were : 1. That trying to be made by the king's party

¹ Note the references to " China" and " Japan" in the New Atlantis and in the various phases of this literature, and particularly in the Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe.

² In many places in The Pilgrim's Progress do we find this expression, " play the man." On p. 330 it is said : " Verily, Christian did here play the man, and showed himself as stout as Hercules could, had he been here, even he himself." And see pp. 192, 353, 380 ; and on p. 331 we have :

" The man so bravely play'd the man,
He made the fiend to fly ;
Of which a monument I stand,
The same to testify."

³ This word " boatswain" may be found in nearly every branch of this literature. In Robinson Crusoe, p. 8, we have : " However, the storm was so violent, that I saw what is not often seen, the master, the boatswain, and some others, more sensible than the rest, at their prayers, and expecting every moment the ship would go to the bottom."

toward Catholic influences and the Spanish alliance ; and, 2. That pursued by the rabble, who, recklessly seeking reform, had control of the vessel or ship of state.

Concerning the nautical knowledge displayed in this play and in the plays generally, as well as that displayed in portions of the Defoe literature—much marvelled at in Defoe—we refer the reader to Bacon's writings in general, which are nautical in structure, and in particular to his "History of the Winds," and where will be found minutely described the masts, sails, and the motion of wind in the sails of vessels.¹ (Works, vol. iii. pp. 455-58.) As to geography it is needless to say that Bacon's knowledge was simply encyclopædic, and that the world's pulse was ever beneath his forefinger.² Under the figure of an intellectual globe, he in the Advancement of Learning examined the state of the world's then knowledge, marking the desert portions, and those portions that were but partially discovered or explored.³ And so again are we reminded of our Head-light : "For I have taken all knowledge to be my providence."

In the first or wrecking scene Gondomar, as Gonzalo, says :

"*Gon.* The king and prince at prayers ! let us assist them,
For our cause is as theirs."

Scene 1 of Act ii. opens by Gonzalo's congratulating the King and his party upon their escape from the storm, after which Prospero's condition is covertly alluded to thus :

"*Seb.* He receives comfort like cold porridge.

Ant. The visitor will not give him o'er so.

Seb. Look ; he's winding up the watch of his wit : by and by it will strike."

We understand the visitor here alluded to, to be the mentioned Spanish ambassador, and who on the next page speaks of "dolour"⁴ coming to one who entertains every

¹ Promus, 335. (With favoring breezes Neptune filled their sails.)

² See his Notes on the States of Europe, made even in his youth.

³ In his essay entitled "Of Great Place" he makes use of this figure, saying : "In the discharge of thy place set before thee the best examples ; for imitation is a globe of precepts."

⁴ The word "dolour" is a Baconian word. In his essay entitled "Of Death" he says : "He that dies in earnest pursuit, is like one that is wounded in hot blood ; who for the time scarce

grief that is offered, and he is shown to have assisted Bacon.¹ Following this speech Buckingham, as Antonio, says :

“ *Ant.* Fie what a spendthrift is he of his tongue !

Alon. I pr'ythee spare.

Gon. Well, I have done : But yet—

Seb. He will be talking.

Ant. Which of them, he, or Adrian, for a good wager, first begins to crow ?”

Adrian, the Roman emperor, whose reign began early in the second century, is said to have been remarkable for every manly and scientific accomplishment, and to whom Bacon most likened himself. Adrian rebuilt Carthage and Jerusalem, and on the site of Solomon's temple built the temple of Jupiter.² There were also six popes by this name, Adrian the Fourth having been born near St. Alban's, in Hertfordshire, England, and he is the only Englishman who has occupied the Papal chair, and whose name was not Shakespeare, but Nicholas Breakspear.

On the next page, p. 45, Prospero's pockets, and his ignorance as to the true cause of his troubles, are alluded to, thus :

“ *Ant.* He misses not much.

Seb. No ; he doth but mistake the truth totally.

Gon. But the rarity of it is, which is indeed almost beyond credit,—

Seb. As many vouch'd rarities are.

Gon.—that our garments, being, as they were, drenched in the sea, hold, notwithstanding, their freshness, and gloss ; being rather new dyed than stain'd with salt water.³

feels the hurt ; and therefore a mind fixed and bent upon somewhat that is good doth avert the dolours of death.”

¹ See Bacon's letters to Gondomar. (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., pp. 318, 411, 421-23.)

² Bacon says : “ Adrian was the greatest inquirer that ever lived, and an insatiable explorer into everything curious and profound.” (De Augmentis, Book 1, Bohn ed., p. 60.)

³ Promus, 904. Salt to water, whence it came. (*Salis onus unde venerat, illuc abiit.*—Eras. Ad., 257. The freight of water has gone whence it came—said of the loss of ill-gotten gains, etc.) Bacon says : “ Indeed I knew two great and wise counsellors on whom the weight of business principally rested, with whom it was a constant care and especial art, whenever they conferred with their princes on matters of state, not to end their discourse with matters relating to the business itself, but always by way of divertissement to draw it away by some jest or some agreeable news, and so end by washing off (as the prov-

Ant. If but one of his pockets could speak, would it not say, he lies?

Seb. Ay, or very falsely pocket up his report."

Again, at the moment when the prince is about to solemnize his relations with Miranda, same scene and act, p. 87, Prospero is reminded by Ariel of the forces anew at work against him, and which he strives now to neutralize by yielding up more of his estate. He says :

" *Pro.* This was well done, my bird.
Thy shape invisible retain thou still :
The trumpery in my house, go, bring it hither,
For state to catch these thieves.

Ari. I go, I go.

[*Exit.*

Pro. A devil, a born devil, on whose nature
Nature can never stick ; on whom my pains,
Humanly taken, all, all lost, quite lost ;
And as with age his body uglier grows,
So his mind cankers : I will plague them all."

Note the balance of this scene. In the mentioned paper by Bacon, for a sought interview with Buckingham, p. 283, he says : " I do not think any except a Turk or Tartar would wish to have a further chop out of me." But we shall have occasion later to return to this feature of the play.

The wrecked enterprise is in sc. 1, Act ii., p. 46, charged upon the King himself by his having permitted his daughter Elizabeth, Claribel in the play, to marry as she did, she having married the Protestant Elector Palatine of Bohemia, the right to whose throne was claimed by Spain or the Catholics.

Spain at this time held a higher position than it had since the defeat of the Armada in 1588. With renewed consciousness of power the old policy of advancing the Roman faith rekindled. The claim to the throne of Bohemia by the English people, if not by their King, was now likely to thwart the marriage alliance, and thus result in the loss, to the Catholic cause, of the King's son, Prince Charles, who after the Parliamentary tempest became cool toward the alliance, and warm to his sister's interests in the throne of Bohemia. Gonzalo says :

erb has it) their salt water discourses with fresh." (Phil. Works, vol. v., p. 41.) Promus, 693. When it was too salt to wash with fresh water (when speech groweth in bitterness to find talk more grateful).

Gon. Is not, sir, my doublet as fresh as the first day I wore it ?
I mean in a sort.

Ant. That sort was well fish'd for.

Gon. When I wore it at your daughter's marriage.¹

Alon. You cram those words into mine ears, against
The stomach² of my sense. 'Would I had never
Married my daughter there ! for, coming thence,
My son is lost ; and, in my rate, she too,
Who is so far from Italy remov'd,
I ne'er again shall see her. O thou mine heir
Of Naples and of Milan ! what strange fish
Hath made his meal on thee ?

Fran.

Sir, he may live :

I saw him beat the surges under him,
And ride upon their backs : he trod the water,
Whose enmity he flung aside, and breasted
The surge most swoln that met him : his bold head
'Bove the contentious waves he kept, and oar'd
Himself with his good arms in lusty stroke
To the shore, that o'er his wave-worn basis bow'd,
As stooping to relieve him : I not doubt,
He came alive to land.

Alon.

No, no ; he's gone.

Seb. Sir, you may thank yourself for this great loss ;
That would not bless our Europe with your daughter,
But rather lose her to an African ;
Where she, at least, is banish'd from your eye,
Who hath cause to wet the grief on't.

Alon.

Pr'ythee, peace.

Seb. You were kneel'd to, and importun'd otherwise
By all of us ; and the fair soul herself
Weigh'd between loathness and obedience, at
Which end o' the beam she'd bow. We have lost your son,

¹ We have an impression that this play is but a kind of rewriting of the mask performed in honor of the marriage of the king's daughter, Elizabeth, to the Prince Palatine in 1613.

² The emphasis placed by Bacon upon the stomach as "master of the house," we have noted in earlier pages. He also says : "My Lord, I thank God my wit serveth me not to deliver any opinion to the Queen, which my stomach serveth me not to maintain ; one and the same conscience of duty guiding me and fortifying me." (Bacon's Letters, vol. ii., p. 161.) He likewise uses such expressions as "bridled stomachs," "stomach of the times," etc. Note the emphasis placed upon this word throughout the plays. And in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 205, we have : "And verily, since this is the height of thy stomach, now they are at a distance from us, should they appear to thee as they did to him, they might put thee to second thoughts." In *Richard II.*, Act i., sc. 1, p. 22, we have :

"High stomach'd are they both, and full of ire,
In rage deaf as the sea, hasty as fire."

I fear, forever : Milan and Naples¹ have
More widows in them of this business' making,
Than we bring men to comfort them : the fault's
Your own.

Alon. So is the dear'st o' the loss.

Gon. My lord Sebastian,
The truth you speak doth lack some gentleness,
And time to speak it in : you rub the sore,
When you should bring the plaster.²

Seb. Very well.

Ant. And most chirurgically.

Gon. It is foul weather³ in us all, good sir,
When you are cloudy.

Seb. Foul weather ?

Ant. Very foul.

Gon. Had I plantation of this isle, my lord,—

Ant. He'd sow't with nettle⁴-seed."

As James' son and daughter, heirs to England's throne, were now apparently lost to the Catholic cause, so Spanish interest ceased in Buckingham, through whom their projects had been moved. James or Alonzo was now coming to realize that he was being merely trifled with, and so in the same scene, p. 49, following Gonzalo's views of a commonwealth, we have :

"*Ant.* Long live Gonzalo !

Gon. And, do you mark me, sir ?—

Alon. Pr'ythee, no more : thou dost talk nothing to me.

Gon. I do well believe your highness ; and did it to minister occasion to these gentlemen, who are of such sensible and nimble lungs, that they always use to laugh at nothing.

Ant. 'Twas you we laugh'd at.

Gon. Who, in this kind of merry fooling, am nothing to you : so you may continue, and laugh at nothing still.

Ant. What a blow was there given !

Seb. And it had not fallen flat-long.

¹ Spain in 1623 was in competition with France and Rome for Naples. See Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., pp. 464, 479, 500 ; and as to Milan see p. 472.

² To Bacon's use of this word "plaster" we have already called attention. See p. 108.

³ In his Essay entitled "Of Seditions and Troubles" Bacon says : "So when any of the four pillars of government are mainly shaken or weakened (which are Religion, Justice, Counsel, and Treasure), men had needs to pray for fair weather." Already have we called attention to his use of the word "weather" as applied to mental states.

⁴ We have likewise noted his application of the word "nettle" to the Catholics in his opening speech in Chancery, p. 301.

Gon. You are gentlemen of brave mettle: you would lift the moon out of her sphere, if she would continue in it five weeks without changing."

Hume says: "Gondomar was at this time the Spanish ambassador in England, a man whose flattery was the more artful because covered with the appearance of frankness and sincerity—whose politics were the more dangerous because disguised under the mask of mirth and pleasantry. He now made offer of the second daughter of Spain to Prince Charles; and, that he might render the temptation irresistible to the necessitous monarch, he gave hopes of an immense fortune which should attend the princess. The court of Spain, though determined to contract no alliance with a heretic, entered into negotiations with James, which they artfully protracted, and, amid every disappointment, they still redoubled his hopes of success. The transactions in Germany, so important to the Austrian greatness, became every day a new motive for this duplicity of conduct." (Hume, vol. iv., p. 43.)

Later in the same scene and act Buckingham, as Antonio, is represented as trying to stimulate Sebastian to a plot to rid themselves of the King and Gonzalo, first by swords (pp. 50–56), and then by poison (pp. 72–77), and to the end that Sebastian, the real King of Spain, may have the crown. And so, beginning at p. 51, we have:

"*Seb.* What a strange drowsiness possesses them!

Ant. It is the quality o' the climate.

Seb.

Why

Doth it not then our eye-lids sink? I find not

Myself disposed to sleep.

Ant.

Nor I: my spirits are nimble.

They fell together all, as by consent;¹

They dropp'd, as by a thunder-stroke. What might

Worthy Sebastian!—O, what might!—No more:—

And yet, methinks, I see it in thy face,

What thou should'st be: The occasion speaks thee; and

My strong imagination sees a crown

Dropping upon thy head.

Seb.

What! art thou waking?

Ant. Do you not hear me speak?

Seb.

I do; and, surely,

It is a sleepy language; and thou speak'st

¹ Bacon in many places speaks of the consent of bodies, and of their falling together as by consent. In sub. 36 of his *Natural History* we have: "For nothing is more frequent than motion of consent in the body of man." And please see p. 48.

Out of¹ thy sleep : What is it thou didst say ?
 This is a strange repose, to be asleep
 With eyes wide open ; standing, speaking, moving,
 And yet so fast asleep.

Ant. Noble Sebastian,
 Thou let'st thy fortune sleep—die rather ; wink'st²
 Whiles thou art waking.

Seb. Thou dost snore distinctly :
 There's meaning in thy snores.

Ant. I am more serious than my custom : you
 Must be so too, if heed me ; which to do,
 Trebles thee o'er.

Seb. Well ; I am standing water.

Ant. I'll teach you how to flow.

Seb. Do so : to ebb,
 Hereditary sloth instructs thee.

Ant. O !
 If you but knew how you the purpose cherish,
 Whiles thus you mock it ! how, in stripping it,
 You more invest it ! Ebbing men, indeed,
 Most often do so near the bottom run
 By their own fear, or sloth.

Seb. Pr'ythee, say on :
 The setting of thine eye, and cheek, proclaim
 A matter from thee ; and a birth, indeed,
 Which throes thee much to yield.

Ant. Thus, sir :
 Although this lord of weak remembrance, this,
 (Who shall be of as little memory,
 When he is earth'd,) hath here almost persuaded
 (For he's a spirit of persuasion, only
 Professes to persuade) the King his son's alive ;
 'Tis as impossible that he's undrown'd,
 As he, that sleeps here, swims.

Seb. I have no hope
 That he's undrown'd.

Ant. O ! out of that no hope,
 What great hope have you ! no hope, that way, is

¹ As to this expression "out of" we quote Bacon thus : "This I speak not out of ostentation, but out of gladness, when I have done my duty." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vi., p. 208.)

² Bacon's views concerning Cupid and Nox, or desire and night, have already passed under review. And so the word "wink" as used in the plays often indicates, we think, a short night of desire. Bacon says : "It is strange how men, like owls, see sharply in the darkness of their own notions, but in the daylight of experience wink and are blind." (Phil. Works, vol. v., p. 231.) And in Henry V., Act v., sc. 2, p. 586, we have :

"*King.* Yet they do wink, and yield ; as love is blind, and enforces."

Another way so high a hope, that even
Ambition cannot pierce a wink beyond,
But doubts discovery there. Will you grant, with me,
That Ferdinand is drown'd ?¹

Seb.

He's gone.

Ant.

Then tell me

Who's the next heir of Naples ?

Seb.

Claribel.

Ant. She that is queen of Tunis ; she that dwells
Ten leagues beyond man's life ; she that from Naples
Can have no note, unless the sun were post,²
(The man i' the moon's too slow,³) till new-born chins
Be rough and razorable : she, from whom
We all were sea swallow'd, though some cast again ;
And, by that destiny, to perform an act,
Whereof what's past is prologue ; what to come,
In yours and my discharge.

Seb.

What stuff is this !—How say you ?

'Tis true my brother's daughter's queen of Tunis ;
So is she heir of Naples ; 'twixt which regions
There is some space.

Ant.

A space whose every cubit
Seems to cry out, ' How shall that Claribel
Measure us back to Naples ? '—Keep in Tunis,
And let Sebastian wake !—Say, this were death
That now hath seiz'd them ; why they were no worse
Than now they are : There be,⁴ that can rule Naples
As well as he that sleeps ; lords, that can prate
As amply, and unnecessarily,
As this Gonzalo ; I myself could make
A chough of as deep chat. O, that you bore
The mind that I do ! what a sleep were this
For your advancement ! Do you understand me ?

Seb. Methinks, I do.

Ant.

And how does your content

Tender your own good fortune ?

Seb.

I remember,

You did supplant your brother Prospero.⁵

¹ We understand the word "drowned," as here used, to mean, lost to the Catholic cause.

² "In process of time there came a post to the town again, and his business was with Mr. Ready-to-halt." (The Pilgrim's Progress, p. 406.)

³ Is this an allusion to Bacon himself ?

⁴ Bacon says : " Yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick."

⁵ Sebastian here gives Antonio, or Buckingham, to understand that he does not purpose to rely upon his pretensions, and points him to his already treacherous dealings with Prospero, or Bacon. As to Buckingham's intentions to be rid of the king, see our quotation from Weldon's Court and Character of King James, p. 314.

Ant.

'True :

And look how well my garments sit upon me ;
 Much feater than before : My brother's servants
 Were then my fellows, now they are my men.

Seb. But, for your conscience—

Ant. Ay, sir ; where lies that ? if it were a kybe
 'Twould put me to my slipper ;¹ but I feel not
 This deity in my bosom : twenty consciences,
 That stand 'twixt me and Milan, candied be they,
 And melt, ere they molest ! Here lies your brother,
 No better than the earth he lies upon,
 If he were that which now he's like, that's dead ;
 Whom I, with this obedient steel, three inches of it,
 Can lay to bed forever : whiles you, doing thus,
 To the perpetual wink for aye might put
 This ancient morsel, this sir Prudence, who
 Should not upbraid our course. For all the rest,
 They'll take suggestion, as a cat laps milk ;
 They'll tell the clock² to any business that
 We say befits the hour.

Seb.

Thy case, dear friend,

Shall be my precedent : as thou got'st Milan,
 I'll come by Naples. Draw thy sword : one stroke
 Shall free thee from the tribute which thou pay'st ;
 And I the king shall love thee.

Ant.

Draw together

And when I rear my hand, do you the like,
 To fall it on Gonzalo."

Were there designs by Buckingham upon the life of King James? See statement at p. 314.

Ariel averts the murder by waking Gonzalo, p. 55, thus :

"*Ari.* My master through his art foresees the danger
 That you, his friend, are in ; and sends me forth,
 (For else his project dies,) to keep thee living.

[Sings in Gonzalo's ear.

While you here do snoring lie,

Open-ey'd conspiracy

His time doth take :

If of life you keep a care,

Shake off slumber, and beware :

Awake ! awake !"

Having failed by the sword, poison is next resorted to.
 This is, by strange shapes, spread in the form of a banquet.
 And so in sc. 3, Act iii., pp. 72-77, we have :

¹ Promus, 712. (*Jupiter's slipper.* A man esteemed only for nearness to some great personage.—Eras. Ad., 5, 558.)

² To this use of the word "clock" by Bacon, we have already called attention in connection with one of the sonnets.

" *Alon.* What harmony is this ? my good friends, hark !

Gon. Marvellous sweet music !

Alon. Give us kind keepers, heavens ! What were these ?

Seb. A living drollery : Now I will believe
That there are unicorns ; that in Arabia
There is one tree, the phoenix' throne ; one phoenix
At this hour reigning there.¹

Ant. I'll believe both ;
And what does else want credit, come to me,
And I'll be sworn 'tis true : Travellers ne'er did lie,
Though fools at home condemn them.²

Gon. If in Naples
I should report this now, would they believe me ?
If I should say I saw such islanders,
(For certes, these are people of the island,)
Who, though they are of monstrous shape, yet note,
Their manners are more gentle, kind, than of
Our human generation you shall find
Many, nay, almost any.

Pro. [*Aside.*] Honest lord,
Thou hast said well ; for some of you there present
Are worse than devils.

¹ Read in this connection Bacon's interpretation of the fable entitled " Sphinx, or Science." In Addison, vol. iv., p. 371, it is turned into verse thus :

" Sphinx was a monster, that would eat
Whatever stranger she could get ;
Unless his ready wit disclosed
The subtle riddle she proposed.
Œdipus was resolved to go,
And try what strength of parts could do ;
Says Sphinx, on this depends your fate ;
Tell me what animal is that,
Which has four feet at morning bright ?
Has two at noon, and three at night ?
'Tis man, said he, who, weak by nature,
At first creeps, like his fellow-creature,
Upon all four : as years accrue,
With sturdy steps he walks on two :
In age, at length, grows weak and sick,
For his third leg adopts a stick.
Now in your turn, 'tis just methinks,
You should resolve me, Madame Sphinx,
What strange creature yet is he,
Who has four legs, then two, then three ;
Then loses one, then gets two more,
And runs away at last on four ?"

Let the reader peruse the most subtle article in which this riddle occurs.

² There is here a subtle allusion, we think, to Buckingham's report upon his return with the Prince from Spain.

Alon. I cannot too much muse,
Such shapes, such gestures, and such sound, expressing
(Although they want the use of tongue) a kind
Of excellent dumb discourse.

Pro. [Aside.] Praise in departing.

Fran. They vanish'd strangely.

Seb. No matter, since
They have left their viands behind ; for we have stomachs.—
Will't please you taste of what is here ?

Alon. Not I.¹

Gon. Faith, sir, you need not fear.—When we were boys,
Who would believe that there were mountaineers
Dew-lapp'd like bulls, whose throats had hanging at them
Wallets of flesh ? or that there were such men,
Whose heads stood in their breasts ? which now we find,
Each putter-out on five for one will bring us
Good warrant of.

Alon. I will stand to and feed,²
Although my last : no matter, since I feel
The best is past,—Brother, my lord the duke,
Stand to, and do as we."

At this instant Ariel enters and causes the banquet to
vanish and then says :

"*Ari.* You are three men of sin, whom destiny
(That hath to instrument this lower world,
And what is in't) the never-surfeited sea
Hath caused to belch up, and on this island
Where man doth not inhabit ; you 'mongst men
Being most unfit to live. I have made you mad ;

[Seeing *Alon.*, *Seb.*, etc., draw their swords.
And even with such like valour, men hang and drown

¹ Note the expression "Not I," and the distinctive expression,
"No, not I," found not only in the plays, but throughout the narra-
tional portions of the Defoe literature, and in *The Pilgrim's Prog-*
ress. This expression, "No, not I," will be found in *The Pilgrim's*
Progress at pp. 65, 77, 216 ; and on 145 we have :

"*Chr.* You say true ; but did you meet with nobody else in that
valley ?

Faith. No, not I ; for I had sunshine all of the rest of the way
through that, and also through the Valley of the Shadow of Death."

In *Hamlet*, Act iii., sc. 1, p. 277, we have :

"*Oph.* My Lord, I have remembrances of yours,
That I have longed long to re-deliver ;
I pray you, now receive them.

Ham. No, not I ;
I never gave you aught."

When Bacon made notes to the king they were called "Remem-
brances for the King." See Bacon's Letters, vol. vi., p. 139.

² We here again have Bacon's distinctive use of the word "feed."
See p. 274.

Their proper selves. You fools ! I and my fellows
 Are ministers of fate : the Elements,
 Of whom your swords are temper'd, may as well
 Wound the loud winds, or with bemock'd-at stabs
 Kill the still-closing waters, as diminish
 One dowe that's in my plume : my fellow-ministers
 Are like invulnerable : If you could hurt,
 Your swords are now too massy for your strengths,
 And will not be uplifted.¹ But, remember,
 (For that's my business to you,) that you three
 From Milan did supplant good Prospero ;
 Expos'd unto the sea, which hath requit it,
 Him, and his innocent child : for which foul deed
 The powers, delaying, not forgetting, have
 Incens'd the seas and shores, yea all the creatures,
 Against your peace : Thee, of thy son, Alonzo,
 They have bereft ; and do pronounce by me,
 Lingering perdition (worse than any death
 Can be at once) shall step by step attend
 You, and your ways ;² whose wraths to guard you from,
 (Which here, in this most desolate isle, else fall
 Upon your heads,) is nothing, but heart's sorrow,
 And a clear life ensuing."

Upon the breach of the Spanish alliance Bacon had at once purposed an interview with the Prince, as will appear by his letter, quoted at p. 314. And so in the next speech Prospero, among other things, says :

" My high charms work,
 And these, mine enemies, are all knit up
 In their distractions : they now are in my power ;
 And in these fits I leave them, whilst I visit
 Young Ferdinand (whom they suppose is drown'd,)
 And his and my lov'd darling."³

Act iv. opens on the next page, p. 78, with Prospero's interview with the Prince, or Ferdinand, concerning Miranda, thus :

" *Pro.* If I have too austere punish'd you,
 Your compensation makes amends ; for I

¹ Promus, 783. (To fight with shadows.) The alliance with Spain had now been broken, and new forces were setting in.

² This was in fact true. For, as we have already seen, out of the confusion which grew upon the breach of the Spanish alliance, the Prince and Buckingham took up an independent position as against the king, and he was ever after afraid of them. They were now with the populace.

³ Bacon now hoped anew to interest the Prince in his philosophy, and presented him with its first book, the *De Augmentis*, and congratulated him upon his return as a sound Protestant.

Have given you here a thread of mine own life
 Or that for which I live ; whom once again
 I tender to thy hand :¹ all thy vexations
 Were but my trials of thy love, and thou
 Hast strangely stood the test :² here, afore Heaven,
 I ratify this my rich gift. O Ferdinand !
 Do not smile at me, that I boast her off,
 For thou shalt find she will outstrip all praise,
 And make it halt behind her.

Fer.

I do believe it,

Against an oracle.

Pro. Then, as my gift, and thine own acquisition
 Worthily purchas'd, take my daughter ; But
 If thou dost break her virgin knot before
 All sanctimonious ceremonies may
 With full and holy rite be minister'd,
 No sweet aspersion shall the heavens let fall
 To make this contract grow ; but barren hate,
 Sour-ey'd disdain, and discord, shall bestrew
 The union of your bed with weeds so loathly,
 That you shall hate it both : therefore, take heed,
 As Hymen's lamps shall light you.

Fer.

As I hope

For quiet days, fair issue, and long life,
 With such love as 'tis now ; the murkiest den,
 The most opportune place, the strongest suggestion
 Our worser Genius can, shall never melt
 Mine honour into lust ; to take away
 The edge of that day's celebration,
 When I shall think, or Phœbus' steeds are founder'd,
 Or night kept chain'd below."

But a little further on Prospero has occasion to caution him, and says :

" *Pro.* Look, thou be true : do not give dalliance³
 Too much the reign ; the strongest oaths are straw
 To the fire i' the blood : Be more abstemious,
 Or else, good night your vow !"

Buckingham strove artfully to keep the Prince away from Bacon's influence.

¹ This identical expression, "thread of my life," may be found in Bacon's letter to Queen Elizabeth in 1599. (Bacon's Letters, vol. ii., p. 165) And in Addison, vol. ii., p. 346, we have : "He sees at one view the whole thread of my existence ; not only that part of it which I have already passed through, but that which runs forward into all the depths of eternity."

² These trials came before the breach of the Spanish alliance. See last half of sc. 2, Act i., and sc. 1, Act iii.

³ This word "dalliance" is a Baconian word, and we shall later give a quotation from him in which it occurs.

Already have we alluded to the fact that the speeches of the nymphs, in this first section of Act iv. (see Juno's song), shadow forth in part what Bacon claimed would result from wedding Miranda to power. But the blow upon Bacon or Prospero, and so upon Miranda, may be noted in the second of the following speeches by Ceres.

" *Cer.* Hail, many-colour'd messenger, that ne'er
Dost disobey the wife of Jupiter ;
Who with thy saffron¹ wings upon my flowers
Diffusest honey-drops, refreshing showers ;
And with each end of thy blue bow dost crown
My bosky acres, and my unshrub'd down,
Rich scarf to my proud earth ;—why hath thy queen
Summon'd me hither, to this short-grass'd green ?

Iris. A contract of true love to celebrate ;
And some donation freely to estate.
On the bless'd lovers.

Cer. Tell me, heavenly bow,
If Venus, or her son, as thou dost know,
Do now attend the queen ? since they did plot
The means, that dusky Dis my daughter got,
Her and her blind boy's scandal'd company
I have foresworn."

See in this connection Bacon's interpretation of the fable entitled not Prospero, but " Prosperina, or Spirit," and wherein we find the following important words of this play—viz., " Ceres," " Dis," " Juno," " bed-fellow," " badge ;" as " Mark but the badges of these men my lords," and " Misery acquaints us with strange bed-fellows." (Works, vol. i., p. 310.) See p. 61.

Prospero or Prosperina is in this fable represented as the daughter of Ceres. Bacon in several places in his writings speaks of himself as a virgin.² See pp. 47, 223

¹ Please see p. 59 as to the use of this word saffron by Bacon. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 404, we have : " Here also grew camphire, with spikenard and saffron, calamus and cinnamon, with all the trees of frankincense, myrrh, and aloes, and with chief spices."

² In Book 1 of the *De Augmentis* Bacon says : " Inventors, and authors of new arts or discoveries for the service of human life, were ever advanced amongst the gods, as in the case of Ceres, Bacchus, Mercury, Apollo, and others." As to " Ceres" we, from Addison, vol. i., p. 472, quote as follows : " Thus Ceres, the most beneficent and useful of the heathen divinities, has more statues than any other of the gods or goddesses, as several of the Roman emperors took a pleasure to be represented in her dress." This first volume of Addison is replete with the Baconian mythology ; in other words, with his Wisdom of the Ancients.

and 290. Other relations with this fable exist, but, as stated, we are but giving outline features of the play.

In sc. 1, Act v., p. 93, we have :

“ But this rough magic
I here abjure : and, when I have requir'd
Some heavenly music (which even now I do,)
To work mine end upon their senses, that
This airy charm is for, I'll break my staff,
Bury it certain fathoms in the earth,
And, deeper than did ever plummet sound
I'll drown my book.”

Concerning the book, he, at the end of sc. 1, Act iii., says :

“ I'll to my book ;
For yet, ere supper¹ time, must I perform
Much business appertaining.”

But, again, in sc. 1, Act v., p. 98, the Prince and Miranda are represented as engaged in a game of chess, and Miranda would that the aim of the Prince in the game should be “ a score of kingdoms.” She says :

“ *Mira.* Sweet lord, you play me false.
Fer. No, my dearest love,
I would not for the world.

Mira. Yes, for a score of kingdoms you should wrangle,
And I would call it fair play.”

And on the next page Gonzalo says :

“ *Gon.* Was Milan thrust from Milan, that his issue
Should become kings of Naples ? O ! rejoice
Beyond a common joy : and set it down
With gold on lasting pillars : In one voyage
Did Claribel her husband find at Tunis ;
And Ferdinand, her brother, found a wife
Where he himself was lost ; Prospero his dukedom,
In a poor isle ; and all of us ourselves,
When no man was his own.”²

¹ Here, as in the play of Hamlet, the word “supper” probably means not where he eats, but where he is eaten.

² This speech deserves some little study. It should be called into relations with events already recounted. It is a little singular, it is true, that Bacon should have put this speech into Gonzalo's mouth, he representing Gondomar, who was so interested in Spain and its religion. But it must be remembered that Bacon was now trying to interest all Christian powers, of whatever persuasion, through a war against the Turks, to a new deal, so to speak, in christendom. See p. 250. This aim will be most clearly seen in the Serious Reflections of Crusoe, and in which aim he sought to interest or enlist pos-

In earlier pages we have seen that Bacon sought to make Britain in reality what the Spanish monarchy had been in mere name, and in the doing of this his philosophy was to light the way and to open that "brave new world" spoken of by Miranda. At about this time he was engaged in his fragment of the Holy War against the Turks—note that in all of these writings the same views are entertained as to the Turks—and was laboring diligently to stay the then tendencies toward paganism, as well as toward Rome, by uniting the Catholics and all Christian powers against paganism, with the view of wiping it from existence. And this point, as we have seen, Bacon asked the king to have incorporated into the marriage treaty of Prince Charles with the Infanta. Digby went as an ambassador to Spain partly to conduct the marriage treaty, and partly to effect some arrangement to suppress the pirates of Algiers and Tunis, now so troublesome to English vessels. See Tunis in the play, and of which Claribel is represented as queen. Its history begins with the Phœnician colonies. It was the most important part of the province of Africa. And in the early history of Latin Christianity, Africa holds a place even more important than Italy. It, in fact, took origin in Africa.¹ Let the early relations between Tunis and Naples be investigated, as well as relations touching Milan.² Did not Bacon's intention, alluded to in his mentioned prayer, lie in the directions indicated?

But if the reader would correctly interpret this great work, he must carefully possess himself of the thought

terity. Much of the Defoe literature, and particularly the History of the Devil, has this aim in view, and where will be found many phases of the Holy War, as embodied not only in Bacon's fragment, but in the Bunyan work. Concerning Diabolus, the character personating the Devil in the Bunyan work, we from the "History of the Devil," p. 288, quote as follows: "It is said also, and I am apt to believe it, that he [the Devil] was very familiar with that holy father, Pope Sylvester II., and some charge him with personating Pope Hildebrand the infamous, on an extraordinary occasion, and himself sitting in the chair apostolic, in a full congregation; and you may hear more of this hereafter; but as I do not meet with Pope Diabolus among the list, in all father Platina's Lives of the Popes, so I am willing to leave it as I find it."

¹ And, as we have seen in the play, the king is censured for having given his daughter in marriage to an African.

² Observe also in this play, in the Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe, in the Anatomy of Melancholy, and in other portions of this literature the mention of Queen Dido.

already presented that James, 'or the King, stands in a couplet, a double relation, on the one hand toward England, and on the other toward Spain,¹ as also does his great screen, Buckingham, and who is willing to sell out Milan, as will appear, sc. 2, Act i., p. 25, where Prospero, as to Buckingham, or Antonio, says :

“ *Pro.* To have no screen between this part he play'd
And him he play'd it for, he needs will be
Absolute Milan : Me, poor man !—my library
Was dukedom large enough : of temporal royalties
He thinks me now incapable ; confederates
(So dry he was for sway) with the King of Naples,
To give him annual tribute, do him homage,
Subject his coronet to his crown, and bend
The dukedom, yet unbow'd (alas, poor Milan !)
To most ignoble stooping.”

Buckingham at first confederates with the King, who, though standing in his relation to the crown of England, has still become so absorbed in Naples, or Spain, as to be represented as its king, and the real king as his brother. Spain, as we have seen, had now hopes of absorbing England to its purposes. It was this intimacy with Spain that caused Gonzalo in the wrecking scene to say :

“ *Gon.* The King and prince at prayers ! let us assist them,
For our cause is as theirs.”

Prospero's speech prior to that last given is as follows :

“ *Pro.* I pray thee, mark me.
I thus neglecting worldly ends, all dedicated
To closeness, and the bettering of my mind
With that, which, but by being so retir'd,
O'er-priz'd all popular rate, in my false brother
Awak'd an evil nature : and my trust,
Like a good parent,² did beget of him

¹ Promus, 1033. (*Ye shall sing in alternatè verses.* Said of couplets made by two rivals alternately.) See *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act iii., sc. 1. And note the word “goose,” later to be called under review.

² As to these words, “Like a good parent,” we quote from a letter by Bacon to the king in 1617 touching Buckingham, and the already mentioned marriage of his brother to Coke's daughter, thus : “Now, for the manner of my affection to my Lord of Buckingham, for whom I would spend my life, and that which is to me more, the cares of my life ; I must humbly confess, that it was in this a little parent-like, this being no other term, than his lordship hath heretofore vouchsafed to my counsels ; but in truth, and it please your majesty, without any grain of disesteem for his lordship's discre-

A falsehood, in its contrary as great
 As my trust was ; which had, indeed, no limit,
 A confidence sans bound. He being thus lorded,
 Not only with what my revenue yielded,
 But what my power might else exact,—like one,
 Who having, unto truth, by telling of it,
 Made such a sinner of his memory,
 To credit his own lie,—he did believe
 He was indeed the duke ; out o' the substitution,
 And executing the outward face of royalty,
 With all prerogative :—Hence his ambition
 Growing,—Dost thou hear ?”

Keeping, therefore, the two courses and the mentioned dual relations clearly in view, and allowing for poetic license, this hitherto quite inexplicable play will yield to the mind such relations, we think, as must bring the conclusion that Bacon, and not Shakespeare was its author ; and if of it, so of all the plays.

Hudson says : “The *Tempest* was first printed in the folio of 1623, in which edition it stands the first of the series. As this play was undoubtedly written in the later years of the poet's life, the reason of its standing first is not apparent.” He, however, says that a play by this name was performed in the beginning of the year 1613 “before Prince Charles, the Princess Elizabeth, and the Prince Palatine.” This is doubtless true, and done in honor of the then marriage of the princess to the Prince Palatine, Bacon, as we have seen, preparing the papers for the occasion, as already stated, and doubtless also the mask or play which was performed in honor of it. From this *The Tempest* in its present form was, we think, a reconstruction or rewriting to suit it to new relations to be portrayed, Prince Charles being substituted for Frederick the Fifth, the Prince Palatine.

In this way masks or plays were doubtless at times performed, without permitting them to go into print. They could thus at any time be reproduced as a new work, should occasion require or a desire exist to reproduce them in greater perfection.¹

tion. For I know him to be naturally a man, of a sound and staid wit, as I ever said unto your majesty. And, again, I know he hath the best tutor in Europe. But yet I was afraid that the height of his fortune might make him too secure ; and as the proverb is, a looker-on sometimes seeth more than a gamester.” (*Works*, vol. ii., p. 519.)

¹ Hudson's introduction to the play of *Much Ado About Nothing*.

But the strange character known as Caliban in this play remains yet to be considered. What, in nature, is this character intended to represent? It is called a monster.¹

Prospero acknowledges the character as his own production, and calls it a thing of darkness, a demi-devil. We understand it to be a made-up character to represent certain low influences at work to supplant him and his Miranda. An intention to be rid of the king, already considered, springs from out his own party—that is, the one pursuing the first-mentioned course. From the other course, the rabble, aided by this monster, springs a like desire to be rid of Prospero. Those in the first party who would be rid of the king we understand to be the monster in the second course. This was chiefly urged by Antonio, Sebastian regarding it but a wild scheme. In this background sense we understand Buckingham, as the tool of Spain and the Catholic cause, to represent the thing of darkness, the demi-devil. These influences were, we think, the unseen hand in the catch yet to be considered. Buckingham greatly feared Bacon's influence with the Prince, and so ever stood in the way of his pardon, as a careful study of the facts will show. As originally written, we think the monster may have been designed to represent paganism, or the deformed body of the times, at that period. From Weldon's *Court and Character of King James*, p. 43, we quote concerning Buckingham as follows: "And now is *Purbeck* mad, and

ing opens thus: "The earliest notice that has reached us of *Much Ado About Nothing* is an entry in the books of the Stationer's Company, bearing date August 4, 1600, and running thus:

'As You Like It, a book.	} To be stayed.'
'Henry the Fifth, a book.	
'Every Man in his Humour, a book.	
'Much Ado About Nothing, a book.	

Why these plays were thus entered and the publication stayed, cannot be certainly determined; probably it was to protect the authorized publishers and the public against those 'stolen and surreptitious copies' which the editors of the folio allege to have been put forth."

¹ Note that Sycorax, the mother of Caliban, is represented as born at Algiers. (Sc. 2, Act i., p. 34.) Algiers was under the control of the Turkish pirates from 1516 to 1830. Spain, France, and England had alternately tried to subdue them, England sending a fleet in 1620, under the command of Sir Robert Mansell, but which returned without effecting anything.

put from Court, now none great with *Buckingham*, but Bawds and Parasites, and such as humoured him, in his unchaste pleasures; so that since his first being a pretty, harmless, affable Gentleman, he grew insolent, cruel, and a monster not to be endured."

And on the next page it is stated that he was "nothing but a pack of ignorance sawthered together with imprudence to raise him (besides his marriage in the lusty kindred)." Bacon, as we have seen, gave him much good counsel, but, as stated in the play, p. 325, it was "all, all lost," and Bacon for some time had been laboring most diligently, we think, to bring the pinches upon him.

It must, however, be distinctly remembered that this play was written or completed at a time when the Spanish alliance was broken off, and when Bacon supposed himself again above the influences that had been at work against him, and which influences he had already in turn begun to make serve him and his *Miranda*. See *Ariel's* speech to the three men of sin, and whose swords are represented as already powerless, p. 333. The influences combining against Protestantism had been broken. And so *Caliban* and all he is intended to represent, though secretly plotting against, is now at the service of *Prospero* and *Miranda*, and "time goes upright with his carriage."

As in the early part of the play we have traced the two courses, so let their influence be noted in what follows. In sc. 2, Act iii., p. 71, the following speeches occur between *Caliban* and *Stephano*, the King's drunken butler, he and *Trinculo* being tools of the rabble, and to whom *Caliban*, in order to get his ends served, is willing to humble himself, and who finally concedes to *Stephano* the power to rule. He says:

"*Cal.* Thou makest me merry: I am full of pleasure.
Let us be jocund:¹ Will you troll the catch
You taught me but while-ere?

Ste. At thy request, monster, I will do reason,² any reason:

¹ This word "jocund" may be found throughout these writings. Bacon says: "With arts *voluptuary* I couple practices *joculary*; for the deceiving of the senses is one of the pleasures of the senses." (Phil. Works, vol. iii., p. 379.) In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 379, we have: "Now, when Feeblemind and Ready-to-halt saw that it was the head of Giant Despair indeed, they were very jocund and merry."

² Note the distinctive and unusual expression "I will do reason."

Come on, Trinculo, let us sing.

Flout 'em, and skout 'em ; and skout 'em, and flout 'em ;
Thought is free."¹

[Sings.

This we take to have been the feeling of the rabble toward both Bacon and the king. But Caliban says :

"Cal. That's not the tune.

[*Ariel plays the tune on a tabor and pipe.*

Ste. What's this same ?

Trin. This is the tune of our catch, play'd by the picture of Nobody."

Stephano does not appear to recognize the real situation, but Ariel here gives him the cue, and he then says :

"Ste. If thou beest a man, show thyself in thy likeness : if thou beest a devil, take't as thou list.

Trin. O, forgive me my sins !"

This picture of "Nobody," this unseen hand in the catch, though not the occasion, was still, we judge, the subtle background cause in Bacon's overthrow.² In sc. 1, Act ii., p. 45, Prospero is represented as not knowing the true cause of his troubles, and probably Bacon did not at the first. He says : "I thank God I am so far from thinking to retrieve a fortune, as I did not mark where the game fell." The notes from which this quotation is taken were in Greek characters, and concerned the sequestration of his estate, and were made preparatory to an interview with Cranfield in 1622. (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 396.)

Whether or not we be right concerning this strange character, we may at least be permitted to ask the reader to place our outline by the side of what he shall find elsewhere written concerning it.³

Bacon says : "Therefore I pray your Lordship that I may know and be informed from himself what passed touching his consent, and I will do him reason." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vi., p. 292.) He likewise makes use of that strange expression "discourse of reason," and in Hamlet we have :

"O God ! a beast, that wants discourse of reason,
Would have mourn'd longer."

¹ Promus, 653. Thought is free.

² He had said biting things concerning Spain, Rome, and the Catholics, and their opportunity came, and was made easy through the envy of Coke and others.

³ Bacon, sitting as his own critic, says : "Milton's characters, most

In sc. 2, Act ii., p. 59, Stephano says :

"*Ste.* Four legs and two voices ! a most delicate monster. His forward voice now is to speak well of his friends ; his backward voice is to utter foul speeches,¹ and to detract. If all the wine in my bottle will recover him, I will help his ague : Come,—Amen ! I will pour some in thy other mouth."

And as Caliban is represented as having more than one voice, so is he of trying, at once, to go different ways, Stephano saying in his previous speech to him, "Come on your ways."

The robbing of Prospero we have noted at Ariel's second entrance, sc. 1, Act iv., p. 86.² And near the close of the play, p. 101, these characters in their stolen apparel appear before Alonzo, Sebastian, Antonio, and Prospero, when Stephano says :

"*Ste.* Every man shifts for all the rest, and let no man take care for himself ; for all is but fortune :—Coragio, bully-monster, coragio !

Trin. If these be true spies which I wear in my head, here's a goodly sight.

Cal. O Setebos ! these be brave³ spirits, indeed,
How fine my master is ! I am afraid
He will chastise me.

of them, lie out of nature, and were to be formed purely by his own invention. It shows a greater genius in Shakespear to have drawn his Caliban than his Hotspur or Julius Cæsar : the one was to be supplied out of his own imagination, whereas the other might have been formed upon tradition, history, and observation." Note the words "out of." (Addison, vol. iii., p. 186.)

¹ Note the use of the word "speeches" in every phase of this literature and in exclusion of synonymous words.

² Read in this connection chapter 10 of Gulliver's Travels concerning the struldruks. This satire is designed to show the power of avarice. It ends thus : "Otherwise, as avarice is the necessary consequent of old age, those immortals would in time become proprietors of the whole nation and engross the civil power, which, for want of abilities to manage, must end in the ruin of the public."

³ Let the word "brave" as used by Bacon be particularly noted, and so let it be noted throughout. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 80, we have : "May I get out again with my life, you shall possess the brave country alone for me." And on p. 284 we have : "When the Interpreter had shown them this, he had them into the very best room in the house ; a very brave room it was." In his essay entitled "Of Plantations," Bacon says : "If there be iron ore, and streams whereon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth."

Seb. Ha, ha !

What things are these, my lord Antonio ?
Will money buy them ?

Ant. Very like : one of them
Is a plain fish, and, no doubt, marketable.

Pro. Mark but the badges of these men, my lords,
Then say if they be true :—

This misshappen knave,
His mother was a witch ; and one so strong
That could control the moon, make flows and ebbs,
And deal in her command, without her power :¹
These three have robb'd me ; and this demi devil,
(For he is a bastard one,) had plotted with them
To take my life : two of these fellows you
Must know, and own ; this thing of darkness I acknowledge mine.

Cal. I shall be pinch'd to death.

Alon. Is not this Stephano, my drunken butler ?

Seb. He is drunk now : Where had he wine ?

Alon. And Trinculo is reeling ripe : Where should they
Find this grand liquor that hath gilded them ?
How came they in this pickle ?”

Caliban is said to be a bastard character—that is, not a real one, as he was but a product of Bacon's own pen. Under it was couched the background influences that had been at work against him.² And now, with the promised story of his life, the delightful story of Crusoe, and which time shall never cut from memory, does Prospero bring this subtle piece of work to a close in these words :

“ *Pro.* Sir, I invite your highness, and your train,
To my poor cell : where you shall take your rest
For this one night ; which, part of it, I'll waste
With such discourse, as, I not doubt, shall make it

¹ Concerning Buckingham's mother in 1622, and who had financial interest in Bacon's affairs, Mr. Spedding says : “ Towards the end of September the countess was sent away from the court in consequence of an open relapse to Popery, and confined to her house at Dalby in Leicestershire ; but whatever communication Bacon had had with her seems to have been of some use. For we shall shortly see Buckingham stirring himself with more effect than he had done of late : and the next letter addressed to her in her banishment acknowledges Bacon's sense of obligation for what she had done.” (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 392.) Cranfield was likewise concerned. Please see pp. 388-402. On p. 406 we find Bacon himself to say that he had gone to a “ cell,” meaning to Gray's Inn. The letters that a man writes while seeking to prevent the sequestration of his estate should not only be looked at, but looked under.

² Note here the concluding epilogue to this play.

Go quick away : the story of my life,
And the particular accidents gone by,
Since I came to this isle : And in the morn
I'll bring you to your ship, and so to Naples,
Where I have hope to see the nuptial
Of these our dear-beloved solemniz'd ;
And thence retire me to my Milan, where
Every third thought shall be my grave."

THE STORY OF MY LIFE.

IN what Sir Francis Bacon did for the race, he started at home, started in his own soul, and studied it—its emotions, its motives, its passions, as well as its objective activities ; and with it, and with all the impetus which he could gather to it, from both research and imagination, did he paint forth every phase of our human life.¹ With his views one age is but a type of all ages, and one soul but a type of the souls of all. For these reasons we find him largely though covertly self-centred in his work.² He was the radius from which to insinuate all knowledge. He was indeed the Great Monk that retired not his thoughts, nor his body, but who hooded his personality from portions of his work, leaving them thus to time.³ And in the beautiful allegory of Crusoe may be found much concerning his life aims. But as space will not permit us to trace that portion of the work most in harmony with material already introduced, and the story also, we therefore at once proceed to that portion of the work founded upon the story, and known as the “ Serious Reflections.” Its first chapter, with distinctive views upon the subject of solitude, opens thus :

“ I have frequently looked back, you may be sure, and that with different thoughts, upon the notions of a long tedious life of solitude, which I have represented to the

¹ “ He doth in holy abstinence subdue
That in himself which he spurs on his power to qualify in others.”
—M. M., iv., 2.

² Promus, 36. (I am a man. Naught that is man's do I regard as foreign to myself.)

³ Bacon says : “ The only author I like is time.” (Phil. Works, vol. iv., p. 489.) Promus, 449. (Fulness of power is fulness of time or season.) Promus, 341. So give authors their due as you give time his due, which is to discover truth.

world, and of which you must have formed some ideas from the life of a man in an island. Sometimes I have wondered how it could be supported, especially for the first years, when the change was violent and imposed, and nature unacquainted with anything like it. Sometimes I have as much wondered why it should be any grievance or affliction, seeing upon the whole view of the stage of life which we act upon in this world, it seems to me that life in general is, or ought to be, but one universal act of solitude; but I find it is natural to judge of happiness by its suiting or not suiting our own inclinations. Everything revolves in our minds by innumerable circular motions,¹ all centring in ourselves. We judge of prosperity and of affliction, joy and sorrow, poverty, riches, and all the various scenes of life—I say,² we judge of them by ourselves. Thither we bring them home, as meats touch the palate, by which we try them; the gay part³ of the world, or the heavy part; it is all one,⁴ they call it pleasant or unpleasant, as they suit our taste.⁵

“The world, I say, is nothing to us but as it is more or less to our relish. All reflection is carried home,⁶ and

¹ Bacon likens the motions of mind to motions in the heavens. As to circular motion he says: “For circular motion is interminable, and for its own sake. Motion in a straight line is to an end, and for the sake of something, and as it were to obtain rest.” (Phil. Works, vol. v., p. 478.) See note 1, p. 127.

² Bacon’s mode of throwing in the expression “I say” is very noticeable in all these writings.

³ Carefully observe the use of this word “part” throughout. When once Bacon has placed a word, that is the word for that place. See pp. 58 and 71, and note 3, p. 34.

⁴ To this expression we have later called attention. It was common with Bacon. See it in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, p. 220. And in *Henry IV.*, part 1, Act iv., sc. 2, p. 261, we have:

“But that’s all one; they’ll find linen enough on every hedge.”

Promus, 196. All is one. *Contrariorum eadem est ratio* (of contraries the account to be given is the same).

⁵ Promus, 453. (Naught thrives but what is shameless—every one cares for his own pleasure alone.) And Bacon says: “See you not that all men seek themselves. But it is only the lover that finds himself.” (Phil. Works, vol. iv., p. 487.)

⁶ As to the word “home,” Bacon, in a letter to Sir Thomas Bodley, on presenting him with a copy of the *Advancement of Learning* in 1605, says: “For I do confess since I was of any understanding my mind hath in effect been absent, from that I have done; and in absence are many errors which I do willingly acknowledge;

our dear self is, in one respect, the end of living. Hence man may be properly said to be alone in the midst of the crowds and hurry of men of business. All the reflections which he makes are to himself; all that is pleasant he embraces for himself; all that is irksome and grievous is tasted but by his own palate.

“What are the sorrows of other men to us, and what their joys? Something we may be touched indeed with by the power of sympathy, and a secret turn of the affections; but all the solid reflection is directed to ourselves. Our meditations are all solitude in perfection; our passions are all exercised in retirement; we love, we hate, we covet, we enjoy, all in privacy and solitude. All that we communicate of those things to any other, is but for their assistance in the pursuit of our desires; the end is at home; the enjoyment, the contemplation, is all solitude and retirement; it is for ourselves we enjoy, and for ourselves we suffer.

“What, then, is the silence of life?¹ And how is it afflicting while a man has the voice of his soul to speak to

and amongst the rest this great one that led the rest; that knowing myself by inward calling to be fitter to hold a book than to play a part, I have led my life in civil causes; for which I was not very fit by nature, and more unfit by the preoccupation of my mind. Therefore calling myself home, I have now for a time enjoyed myself; whereof likewise I desire to make the world partaker.” (Bacon’s Letters, vol. iii., p. 253.) Promus, 48. *He who is mean at home is mean at Saville (abroad).* Promus, 722. (To make conjectures at home.—Eras. Ad., 335.) In his Essay entitled “Of Discourse,” he says: “Speech of touch towards others should be sparingly used: for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man.” In *Othello*, Act ii., sc. 1, p. 452, we have:

“*Cas.* He speaks home, madam: you may relish him more in the soldier than in the scholar.”

We have many references of this character in the plays, as also of the expression “it is all one.”

¹ Promus, 419. (He who is silent is strong.) Bacon’s article on “The Praise of Knowledge” opens thus: “Silence were the best celebration of that which I mean to commend; for who would not use silence, where silence is not made, and what crier can make silence in such a noise and tumult of vain and popular opinion. My praise shall be dedicated to the mind itself.” And in the Merchant of Venice, Act iii., sc. 5, p. 93, we have:

“*Lor.* How every fool can play upon the word! I think the best grace of wit will shortly turn into silence, and discourse grow commendable in none only but parrots.”

And please see the Addison article on Silence, vol. ii., pp. 96-99.

God and to himself? That man can never want conversation who is company for himself, and he that cannot converse profitably with himself is not fit for any conversation at all. And yet there are many good reasons why a life of solitude, as solitude is now understood by the age, is not at all suited to the life of a Christian or a wise man. Without inquiring, therefore, into the advantages of solitude, and how it is to be managed, I desire to be heard concerning what solitude really is;¹ for I must confess I have different notions about it, far from those which are generally understood in the world, and far from all those notions upon which those people in the primitive times, and since then also, acted; who separated themselves into deserts and unfrequented places, or confined themselves to cells, monasteries, and the like, retired, as they call it, from the world.² All which, I think, have nothing of the thing I call solitude in them, nor do they answer any of the true ends of solitude, much less those ends which are pretended to be sought after by those who have talked most of those retreats from the world.

“As for confinement in an island, if the scene was placed there for this very end, it were not at all amiss.³ I must acknowledge there was confinement from the enjoyments of the world, and restraint from human society.

¹ In his Essay entitled “Of Friendship,” Bacon says: “But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth.” See this essay.

² Read what Bacon says as to the contemplative and monastic life. (Phil. Works, vol. v., pp. 8-11 and pp. 251, 266, 277.) In the youthful treatise the Anatomy of Abuses, Philo, or Philoponus, is the chief character. Let the *Britannica* article on Philo be read, and let it be investigated as to whether any and what relation exists between these two characters. It seems that the expression “Good morrow,” found in Bacon’s Promus Notes, as No. 1189, is not found in English books prior to the issue of the Anatomy of Abuses, which opens by one of the two disputants saying, “God give you good morrow, Master Philoponus.” Promus, 1196. I have not said all my prayers till I have bid you good morrow.” And note the expression throughout the plays. Is it not a little singular if Bacon be not author of the plays, that so many of his Promus Notes are found nowhere in his attributed writings, but are spread everywhere in the plays?

³ As to islands, see Bacon’s private notes. Bacon’s Letters, vol. iv., p. 77, and where we have: “A fayre bridle to y^e Middle great Iland onely, y^e rest by bote.” Do not fail to see in this connection the Addison article on islands, vol. ii., pp. 499-504.

But all that was not solitude ; indeed no part of it was so, except that which, as in my story, I applied to the contemplation of sublime things,¹ and that was but a very little, as my readers well know, compared to what a length of years my forced retreat lasted.

"It is evident then, that, as I see nothing but what is far from being retired in the forced retreat of an island, the thoughts being in no composure suitable to a retired condition—no, not for a great while ; so I can affirm, that I enjoy much more solitude in the middle of the greatest collection of mankind in the world, I mean, at London, while I am writing this, than ever I could say I enjoyed in eight-and-twenty years' confinement to a desolate island."²

On page 8, the chapter opening on p. 7, we have :

"A man under a vow of perpetual silence, if but rigorously observed, would be, even on the Exchange of London, as perfectly retired from the world as a hermit in his cell, or a *solitaire* in the deserts of Arabia ; and if he is able to observe it rigorously may reap all the advantages of those solitudes without the unjustifiable part of such a life, and without the austerities of a life among brutes. For the soul of a man, under a due and regular conduct, is as capable of reserving itself, or separating itself from the rest of human society, in the midst of a throng, as it is when banished into a desolate island.

"The truth is, that all those religious hermit-like solitudes, which men value themselves so much upon, are but an acknowledgment of the defect or imperfection of our resolutions, our incapacity to bind ourselves to needful restraints, or rigorously to observe the limitations we have vowed ourselves to observe.³ Or, take it thus, that the man first resolving that it would be his felicity to be en-

¹ By an adroit use of silence this point, the sublime, is often reached in the drama. See Addison articles upon this point, and particularly vol. ii., pp. 96-99. Bacon says : "Silence gives to words both grace and authority." He says : "Silence is the sleep which nourishes wisdom." He says : "Silence is the ferment of thought." He says : "Silence is the style of wisdom." He says : "Silence aspireth after truth." He says : "Silence is a kind of solitude." (Phil. Works, vol. iv., p. 485.) See p. 298, note 3.

² Promus, 268. (A great city or state is a great solitude.)

³ These limitations Bacon never permitted himself to violate. See p. 298.

tirely given up to conversing only with heaven and heavenly things, to be separated to prayer and good works, but being sensible how ill such a life will agree with flesh and blood, causes his soul to commit a rape upon his body, and to carry it by force, as it were, into a desert, or into a religious retirement, from whence it cannot return, and where it is impossible for it to have any converse with mankind, other than with such as are under the same vows and the same banishment. The folly of this is evident many ways.¹

"I shall bring it home to the case in hand thus : Christians may, without doubt, come to enjoy all the desirable advantages of solitude, by a strict retirement and exact government of their thoughts, without any of these formalities, rigors, and apparent mortifications, which I think I justly call a rape upon human nature, and consequently without the breach of Christian duties, which they necessarily carry with them, such as rejecting Christian communion, sacraments, ordinances, and the like.

"There is no need of a wilderness to wander among wild beasts, no necessity of a cell on the top of a mountain, or a desolate island in the sea ; if the mind be confined, if the soul be truly master of itself, all is safe ; for it is certainly and effectually master of the body, and what signify retreats, especially a forced retreat, as mine was ? The anxiety of my circumstances there, I can assure you, was such for a time, as were very suitable for heavenly meditations, and even when that was got over, the frequent alarms from the savages put the soul sometimes to such extremities of fear and horror, that all manner of temper was lost, and I was no more fit for religious exercises than a sick man is fit for labor.

"Divine contemplations require a composure of soul, uninterrupted by any extraordinary motions or disorders of the passions ;² and this, I say, is much easier to be ob-

¹ This is a distinct Baconian expression, and particularly as to the use of the words "many ways," as is also the earlier expression, "Or take it thus."

² We here have Bacon's distinctive expression "motions of the passions." We likewise find him using the expressions "motions of anger ;" "motions of envy ;" "motions of the imagination ;" "motion of gravity ;" "motion of inflammation ;" "motion of consent ;" etc. And even as to time he says : "The time also of this justice hath had his true motions." (Bacon's Letters, vol. v.,

tained and enjoyed in the ordinary course of life, than in monkish cells and forcible retreats.¹

“The business is to get a retired soul, a frame of mind truly elevated above the world, and then we may be alone whenever we please, in the greatest apparent hurry of business or company. If the thoughts are free, and rightly unengaged, what imports the employment the body is engaged in? Does not the soul act by a differing agency, and is not the body the servant, nay, the slave of the soul?² Has the body hands to act, or feet to walk, or tongue to speak, but by the agency of the understanding and will, which are the two deputies of the soul’s power? Are not all the affections and all the passions, which so universally agitate, direct, and possess the body, are they not all seated in the soul? What have we to do, then, more or less, but to get the soul into a superior direction and elevation? There is no need to prescribe the body to this or that situation; the hands, or feet, or tongue, can no more disturb the retirement of the soul, than a man having money in his pocket can take it out,

p. 303). We now give what we regard as a clinching instance as to the oneness of Bacon and Shakespeare, in that most rare expression “motion of the sense,” and found as follows. In *Measure for Measure*, Act i., sc. 5, p. 36, we have :

“Upon his place,
And with full line of his authority,
Governs lord Angelo ; a man whose blood
Is very snow broth ; one who never feels
The wanton stings and motions of the sense ;
But doth rebate and blunt his natural edge
With profits of the mind, study and fast.”

In the *De Augmentis*, ch. 4, Book 3, Bohn ed., p. 135, we have :
“As for voluntary motion in animals,—the motion in the action of the senses, the motions of the imagination, appetite, and will, the motion of the mind, and the determination, and other intellectual faculties,—they have their own proper doctrines under which we range them, confining the whole of physics to matter and efficient, and assigning over forms and ends to metaphysics.”

¹ And thus our “Great Monk,” our “Mortal Moon,” labored in his own way for the good of men. And his praise, as stated in our introductory sonnet, may yet find room, even in the eyes of all posterity that wears this world out to the ending doom.

² In this connection please see Sonnet 146. As to the “outward walls” of the soul, there mentioned, see Bunyan’s “Holy War” and the allegory of “Parley the Porter,” attached to Penn’s maxims, to which we shall later have occasion to allude.

or pay it, or dispose of it by his hand, without his own knowledge.

“It is the soul’s being entangled by outward objects, that interrupts its contemplation of divine objects, which is the excuse for these solitudes, and makes the removing the body from those outward objects seemingly necessary ; but what is there of religion in all this? For example, a vicious inclination, removed from the object, is still a vicious inclination, and contracts the same guilt as if the object were at hand ; for if, as our Saviour says, ‘He that looketh on a woman to lust after her,’ that is, to desire her unlawfully, has committed the adultery already, so it will be no inverting our Saviour’s meaning to say that he that thinketh of a woman to desire her unlawfully, has committed adultery with her already, though he has not looked on her, or has not seen her at that time. And how shall this thinking of her be removed by transporting the body? It must be removed by the change in the soul, by bringing the mind to be above the power or reach of the allurements, and to an absolute mastership over the wicked desire ; otherwise the vicious desire remains as the force remains in the gunpowder, and will exert itself whenever touched with the fire.

“All motions to good¹ or evil are in the soul. Outward objects are but second causes ;² and though it is true, separating the man from the object is the way to make any act impossible to be committed, yet where the guilt does not lie in the act only, but in the intention or desire to commit it, that separation is nothing at all, and effects nothing at all. There may be as much adultery committed in a monastery, where a woman never comes, as in any

¹ We here again have Bacon’s distinctive use of the word “motions.” And from *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, p. 222, we quote : “Then directing his speech to Ignorance, he said, Come, how do you do? How stands it between God and your soul, now?”

Ignor. I hope, well ; for I am always full of good motions, that come into my mind to comfort me as I walk.

Chr. What good motions? Pray, tell us.”

² These are Bacon’s views, and as to second causes he says : “For certain it is that God worketh nothing in nature but by second causes ; and if they would have it otherwise believed, it is mere imposture, as it were in favor towards God ; and nothing else but to offer to the author of truth the unclean sacrifice of a lie.” (*Phil. Works*, vol. iii., p. 267.)

other place, and perhaps is so. The abstaining from evil, therefore, depends not only and wholly upon limiting or confining the man's actions, but upon the man's limiting and confining his desires; seeing to desire to sin, is to sin; and the fact which we would commit if we had opportunity, is really committed, and must be answered for as such. What, then, is there of religion, I say, in forced retirements from the world, and vows of silence or solitude? They are all nothing; 'tis a retired soul that alone is fit for contemplation, and it is the conquest of our desires to sin that is the only human preservative against sin."¹

Having claimed in earlier pages that one of Bacon's designs in the plays was to furnish patterns to the mind, we here quote him thus: "For Plato said elegantly (though it has now grown into a commonplace), 'that virtue, if she could be seen, would move great love and affection;' and it is the business of rhetoric to make pictures of virtue and goodness, so that they may be seen. For since they cannot be showed to the sense in corporeal shape, the next degree is to show them to the imagination in as lively representation as possible, by ornament of words. For the method of the Stoics, who thought to thrust virtue upon men by concise and sharp maxims and conclusions, which have little sympathy with the imagination and will of man, has been justly ridiculed by Cicero.

"Again, if the affections themselves were brought to order, and pliant and obedient to reason, it is true there would be no great use of persuasions and insinuations to give access to the mind, but naked and simple propositions and proofs would be enough. But the affections do on the contrary make such secessions and raise such mutinies and seditions (according to the saying, *Video meliora proboque, Deteriora sequor*) that reason would become captive and servile, if eloquence of persuasion did not win the imagination from the affections' part, and contract a confederacy between the reason and imagination against them. For it must be observed that the affections themselves carry over an appetite to apparent good, and have this in common with reason; but the difference is that affection holds principally the good which is pres-

¹ Bacon thought this conquest best obtained by working to the view what is in man. See pp. 31-39.

ent ; reason looks beyond and beholds likewise the future and sum of all. And therefore the present filling the imagination more, reason is commonly vanquished and overcome. But after eloquence and force of persuasion have made things future and remote appear as present, then upon the revolt of imagination to reason, reason prevails." (Phil. Works, vol. iv., p. 456. See our quotation at p. 194, and read ch. 3 of Book 7 of the *De Augmentis*, and the range of purpose in the plays will appear. In this connection please see *The Pilgrim's Progress as to Passion and Patience*, pp. 97-100.)

But we return to Crusoe, p. 11, where we have :

"To pay every man his own is the common law of honesty, but to do good to all mankind, as far as you are able, is the chancery law of honesty ;¹ and though, in common law or justice, as I call it, mankind can have no claim upon us, if we do but just pay our debts, yet in heaven's chancery they will have relief against us, for they have a demand in equity of all the good to be done them that it is in our power to do,² and this chancery court, or court of equity, is held in every man's breast—'tis a true court of conscience, and every man's conscience is a lord chancellor to him ; if he has not performed, if he has not paid this debt, conscience will decree him to pay it, or the penalty of declaring him a dishonest man, even in his own opinion ; and if he still refuses to comply, will proceed by all the legal steps of a court of conscience process, till at last it will issue out a writ of rebellion against him, and proclaim him a rebel to nature and his own conscience."

And on p. 13 we have :

"This put me upon inquiring and debating with myself what this subtle and imperceptible thing called honesty is, and how it might be described, setting down my thoughts at several times, as objects presented, that posterity, if they think them worth while, may find them both useful and diverting."

¹ Bacon says : "For certainly the Court of Heaven (I take it) is as well a Chancery to save and debar forfeitures, as a court of Common Law to decide rights ; and there would be work enough in Germany, Italy, and other parts, if imperial forfeitures should go for good titles." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 473.) See this use of the word chancellor at p. 56, note 1.

² Promus, 388. Proud when I can do men good.

After stating how he purposes to handle the subject, he continues :

“ If any man from his private ill-nature, takes exceptions at me, poor, wild, wicked Robinson Crusoe, for prating of such subjects as this is, and shall call either my sins or misfortunes to remembrance, in prejudice of what he reads, supposing me thereby unqualified to defend so noble a subject as this of honesty, or, at least, to handle it honestly, I take the freedom to tell such, that those very wild wicked doings and mistakes of mine render me the properest man alive¹ to give warning to others, as the man that has been sick is half a physician. Besides, the confession which I all along make of my early errors, and which Providence, you see, found me leisure enough to repent of, and, I hope, gave me assistance to do it effectually, assists to qualify me for the present undertaking, as well to recommend that rectitude of soul which I call honesty to others, as to warn those who are subject to mistake it, either in themselves or others. Heaven itself receives those who sincerely repent into the same state of

¹ In the Taming of the Shrew, Act ii., sc. 1, p. 435, we have :

“ *Bian.* Believe me, sister, of all the men alive,
I never yet beheld that special face
Which I could fancy more than any other.”

In Twelfth Night, Act i., sc. 5, p. 371, we have :

“ Lady, you are the cruellest she alive,
If you will lead these graces to the grave,
And leave the world no copy.”

The word “ alive ” was often thus used by Bacon. And in Sub. 352 of his Natural History he says : “ No wood hath been yet tried to shine, that was cut down alive, but such as was rotten both in stock and root while it grew.” In this subdivision he applies the word wood to men. In the play of The Tempest it was “ wood ” that Caliban was bringing home. Promus, 522. (*Any man can gather wood when the tree is down.*) Promus, 545. A Mercury cannot be made of every wood (but Priapus may). In Love’s Labour’s Lost, Act iv., sc. 3, p. 425, we have :

“ *Bir.* Is ebony like her ? O wood divine !
A wife of such wood were felicity.”

And Bacon, in a letter to Lord Keeper Puckering in 1594, says : “ But if your Lordship consider my nature, my course, my friends, my opinion with her Majesty (if this eclipse of her favor were past), I hope you will think I am no unlikely piece of wood to shape you a true servant of.” (Bacon’s Letters, vol. i., p. 293.)

acceptance as if they had not sinned at all, and so should we also.

“ They who repent, and their ill lives amend,
Stand next to those who never did offend.

“ Nor do I think a man ought to be afraid or ashamed to own and acknowledge his follies and mistakes, but rather to think it a debt which honesty obliges him to pay ; besides, our infirmities and errors, to which all men are equally subject, when recovered from, leave such impressions behind them on those who sincerely repent of them, that they are always the forwardest to accuse and reproach themselves. No man need advise them or lead them ; and this gives the greatest discovery of the honesty of the man’s heart, and sincerity of principles. Some people tell us they think they need not make an open acknowledgment of their follies, and ’tis a cruelty to exact it of them—that they could rather die than submit to it—that their spirits are too great for it—that they are more afraid to come to such public confessions and recognitions than they would be to meet a cannon bullet, or to face an enemy. But this is a poor mistaken piece of false bravery ; all shame is cowardice, as an eminent poet tells us, that all courage is fear, the bravest spirit is the best qualified for a penitent.”

And on p. 15 we have :

“ Honesty is a little tender¹ plant, not known to all who have skill in simples,² thick sowed, as they say, and thin come up ; ’tis nice of growth, it seldom thrives in a very fat³ soil, and yet a very poor ground, too, is apt to starve

¹ Promus, 392. (The stuff of which honor is made is rather tender.)

² “ The best simples for the stomach are rosemary, elecampane, mastich, wormwood, sage, and mint.” (Bacon’s Natural History, Sub. 10.) In Addison, vol. iv., p. 325, we have : “ He was acquainted with all the powers of simples, understood all the influences of the stars, knew the secrets that were engraved on the seal of Solomon the son of David.” In Hamlet, Act iv., sc. 7, p. 343 :

“ Where it draws blood no cataplasm so rare,
Collected from all simples that have virtue
Under the moon, can save the thing from death,” etc.

This is the Baconian word throughout.

³ In The Pilgrim’s Progress, p. 327, we have : “ But we will come again to this Valley of Humiliation. It is the best and most fruitful

it, unless it has taken very good root ; when it once takes to a piece of ground it will never be quite destroyed ; it may be choked with the weeds of prosperity, and sometimes 'tis so scorched up with the droughts of poverty and necessity, that it seems as if it were quite dead and gone ; but it always revives upon the least mild weather, and if some showers of plenty fall, it makes full reparation for the loss the gardener had in his crop.

“ There is an ugly weed, called cunning,¹ which is very pernicious to it, and which particularly injures it, by hiding it from our discovery, and making it hard to find. This is so like honesty, that many a man has been deceived with it, and has taken one for t'other in the market ; nay, I have heard of some who have planted this wild² honesty, as we may call it, in their own ground, have made use of it in their friendships and dealings, and thought it had been the true plant, but they always lost credit by it. And that was not the worst neither, for they had the loss who dealt with them,³ and who chaffered for a counterfeit commodity ; and we find many deceived so still, which is the occasion there is such an outcry about false friends, and about sharpening and tricking in men's ordinary dealings in the world.”

And on pp. 16 and 17 we have :

“ I am of the opinion that I could state a circumstance in which there is not one man in the world would be honest. Necessity is above the power of human nature, and for Providence to suffer a man to fall into that necessity

piece of ground in all these parts. It is fat ground, and, as you see, consisteth much in meadows ; and if a man was to come here in the summer-time, as we do now, if he knew not anything before thereof, and if he also delighted himself in the sight of his eyes, he might see that which would be delightful to him.” Bacon in his *Natural History* speaks of “ fat ground.” He also says the cabbage has “ a fat leaf.”

¹ See Bacon's Essay entitled “ Of Cunning.”

² We not only find Bacon using the foregoing expression thick “ sowed,” but also this use of the word “ wild,” and his Essay entitled “ Of Revenge” opens thus : “ Revenge is a kind of wild justice ; which the more man's nature runs to, the more ought law to weed it out.” And in Addison, vol. iii., p. 130, we have the expression “ wild logic,” and on p. 192 “ the metaphors are not thick-sown.”

³ He here alludes to those that had dealt unjustly by him, as later we shall see.

is to suffer him to sin, because nature is not furnished with power to defend itself, nor is grace itself able to fortify the mind against it.

“What shall we say to five men in a boat at sea, without provision, calling a council together, and resolving to kill one of themselves for the others to feed on, and eat him? With what face could the four look up and crave a blessing on that meat? With what heart give thanks after it? And yet this has been done by honest men, and I believe the most honest man in the world might be forced to it; yet here is no manner of pretence but necessity, to palliate the crime. If it be argued it was the loss of one man to save the four, it is answered, but what authority to make him die to save their lives? How came the man to owe them such a debt? It was robbery and murder; it was robbing him of this life, which was his property, to preserve mine; it is murder, by taking away the life of an innocent man; and at best it was doing evil that good may come, which is expressly forbidden.”

Again :

“That we may see now whether this man’s honesty lies any deeper than his neighbor’s, turn the scales of his fortune a little. His father left him a good estate; but here come some relations, and they trump up a title to his lands, and serve ejectments upon his tenants, and so the man gets into trouble, hurry of business, and the law; the extravagant charges of the law sink him of all his ready money, and, his rents being stopped, the first breach he makes upon his honesty (that is, by his former rules), he goes to a friend to borrow money, tells him this matter will be over, he hopes, quickly, and he shall have his rents to receive, and then he will pay him again; and really he intends to do so, but here comes a disappointment; the trial comes on, and he is cast,¹ and his title to the estate

¹ As to this use of the word “cast,” Bacon in a letter to Buckingham, January 23d, 1623, says: “I am almost at last cast for means, and yet it grieveth me most, that at such a time as this I should not be rather serviceable to your Grace than troublesome.” (Bacon’s Letters, vol. vii., p. 452.) He also says: “Lastly, I did cast with myself, that if your Lordship’s deputies had come in by Sir Edward Coke who was tied to Somerset,” etc. (Bacon’s Letters, vol. vi., p. 117.) And in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, p. 125, we have: “Then did Christian begin to be afraid, and cast in his mind whether to go back or to stand his ground.”

proves defective ; his father was cheated, and he not only loses the estate, but is called upon for the arrears of the rent he has received ; and, in short, the man is undone,¹ and has not a penny to buy bread or to help himself, and, besides this, cannot pay the money he borrowed."

And on p. 18 we have :

"But when we are considering human nature subjected, by the consequences of Adam's transgression, to frailty and infirmity, and regarding things from man to man, the exigencies and extremities of straitened circumstances seem to me to be most prevailing arguments why the denomination of a man's general character ought not by his fellow-mortals (subject to the same infirmities) to be gathered from his mistakes, his errors, or failings ; no, not from his being guilty of any extraordinary sin, but from the manner and method of his behavior. Does he go on to commit frauds, and make a practice of his sin ? Is it a distress ? Is it a storm of affliction and poverty has driven him upon the lee-shore of temptation ?² Or is the sin the port he steered for ? A ship may by stress of weather be driven upon sands and dangerous places, and the skill of the pilot not be blamable ; but he that runs against the wind, and without any necessity, upon a shelve which he sees before him, must do it on purpose to destroy the vessel, and ruin the voyage.

"In short, if no man can be called honest but he who is never overcome to fall into any breach of this rectitude of life, none but he who is sufficiently fortified against all possibility of being tempted by prospects, or driven by distress, to make any trespass upon his integrity ; woe be unto me that write, and to most that read ! where shall we find the honest man ?"

And on p. 22 we have :

"There are men, indeed, who will be exceeding punctual to their words and promises, who yet cannot be called honest men, because they have other vices and excursions³

¹ To Bacon's *Promus* Note touching this word "undone" we have already called attention. See p. 93, note 2.

² Already have we given intimation of an undisclosed financial element connected with Bacon's overthrow. This we purpose later to call under review in connection with a secret scheme for revenue mentioned in earlier pages.

³ This use of the word "excursion" is distinctly Baconian, and used not merely in his philosophy, but generally throughout these

that render them otherwise wicked. These give their testimony to the beauty of honesty, by choosing it as the best mark to put a gloss upon their actions and conceal the other deformities of their lives ; and so honesty, like religion, is made use of to disguise the hypocrite and raise a reputation upon the shadow, by the advantage it takes of the real esteem the world has of the substance. I say of this counterfeit honesty, as I said of religion in like cases. If honesty was not the most excellent attainment, it would not be made use of as the most specious pretence ; nor is there a more exquisite way for a man to play the hypocrite than to pretend an extraordinary zeal to the performance of his promises ; because, when the opinion of a man's honesty that way has spread in the thoughts of men, there is nothing so great but they will trust him with, nor is hard but they will do it for him.

“ All men reverence an honest man : the knaves stand in awe of him, fools adore him and wise men love him ; and thus is virtue its own reward.¹

“ Honest men are in more danger from this one hypocrite than from twenty open knaves ;² for these have a mark placed upon them by their general character, as a buoy upon a rock to warn strangers from venturing upon it. But the hypocrites are like a pit covered over, like shoals under water, and danger concealed which cannot be seen. I must confess I have found these the most dangerous, and have too deeply suffered by throwing myself

writings. He says : “ As nature, therefore, governs all things by means (1) of her general course ; (2) her excursion ; and (3) by means of human assistance ; these three parts must be received into natural history as in some measure they are by Pliny.” (De Augmentis, Bohn ed., p. 80, and see pp. 131, 142, and 229.) In Addison, vol. iv., p. 81, we have : “ As a monosyllable is my delight, I have made few excursions, in the conversations which I have related, beyond a yes or a no.” Observe Bacon's expression “ gloss upon their actions,” and “ deformity of their lives.” He also says : “ I do not love to set the gloss before the text.” (Bacon's Letters, vol. v., p. 220.) He says : “ In the mean time it is proper to read the disagreeing philosophies, as so many glosses of nature.” (De Augmentis, ch. 3, Book 4, Bohn ed., p. 137.)

¹ This thought is distinctly Baconian, and nearly in Bacon's own words in another place.

² This word “ knave ” was Bacon's word for this place, and it is spread everywhere, not only in the plays, but generally in this literature. Promus, S33a. (*A practical knave.*)

on their protestations of honesty.¹ The esteem I always entertained of the most beautiful gift God has bestowed, or man could receive, has made me the easier to be deceived with the resemblance of it.

“So much as I, or any one else, by the viciousness of our own nature, or the prevailing force of accidents, snares, and temptations, have deviated from this shining principle, so far as we have been foolish as well as wicked, so much we have to repent of towards our Maker, and be ashamed of towards our neighbor.

“For my part, I am never backward to own, let who will be the reader of these sheets, that to the dishonor of my Maker, and the just scandal of my own honesty, I have not paid that due regard to the rectitude of this principle which my own knowledge has owned to be its due; let those who have been juster to themselves, and to the giver of it, rejoice in the happiness, rather than triumph over the infirmity.

“But let them be sure they have been juster on their own parts; let them be positive that their own integrity is untainted, and would abide all the trials and racks that a ruined fortune, strong temptations, and deep distresses, could bring it into; let them not boast till these dangers are past, and they put their armour off; and if they can do it, then I will freely acknowledge they have less need of repentance than I.

“Not that I pretend, as I noted before, and shall often repeat, that these circumstances render my failing, or any man’s else, the less a sin, but they make the reason why we that have fallen should rather be pitied² than reproached by those who think they stand, because, when the same assaults are made upon the chastity of their honor, it may be every jot as likely to be prostrated as their neighbor’s.

“And such is the folly of scandal, as well as the blindness of malice, that it seldom fixes reproach upon the right foot. I have seen so much of it, with respect to other people, as well as to myself, that it gives me a very

¹ The methods of both king and Buckingham with Bacon have already been called under review, and found as well without as within the sonnets. Promus, 1083. (Trust [confidence] nowhere safe.) Did space permit, many points which we leave untouched might be made concerning these Serious Reflections.

² See Sonnet 114.

scoundrel opinion of all those people whom I find forward to load their neighbors with reproach. Nothing is more frequent in this case than to run away with a piece of a man's character, in which they err, and do him wrong and leave that part of him untouched which is really black, and would bear it; this makes me sometimes, when with the humblest and most abasing thoughts of myself, I look up, and betwixt God and my own soul, cry out, 'What a wretch am I!' at the same time smile at the hair-brained enemy, whose tongue tipped with malice, runs ahead of his understanding, and missing the crimes for which I deserve more than he can afflict, reproaches me with those I never committed. Methinks I am ready to call him back, like the huntsman, when the dogs run upon the foil, and say, 'Hold, hold, you are wrong; take him here, and you have him.'

"I question not but 'tis the same with other people; for when malice is in the heart, reproach generally goes a mile before consideration, and where is the honesty of the man all this while? This is trampling upon my pride, *sed majori fastu*, but with greater pride; 'tis exposing my dishonesty, but with the greatest knavery; 'tis a method no honest man will take, and when taken, no honest man regards;' wherefore, let none of these sons of slander take satisfaction in the frequent acknowledgments I am always ready to make of my own failing, for that humility with which I always find cause to look into my own heart, where I see others worse, and more guilty of crimes than they can lay to my charge, yet makes me look back upon their weakness with the last contempt, who fix their important charges where there is no room to take hold, and run away with the air and shadow of crimes never committed."

We will here pass chapter 3, which is devoted to the subject of the reformation of manners,² and give place to

¹ Later, in the newly discovered writings of Defoe, we may find short, terse articles upon these points. We shall likewise find how likely he was to have been author of the works attributed to him.

² Let it be borne in mind that these Serious Reflections were the line or thread along and upon which was woven a considerable portion of the Defoe literature. Bacon says: "But knowledge that is delivered to others as a thread to be spun on ought to be insinuated (if it were possible), in the same method wherein it was originally invented." (De Augmentis, ch. 2, Book 6.)

some thoughts from chapter 4, which is devoted to the subject of the then state of religion in the world, and which bears directly upon Bacon's aims presented in 1622, touching a holy war against the Turks. Near the opening of the chapter, and from p. 36, we quote as follows :

"You may now suppose me to be arrived, after a long course of infinite variety on the stage of the world, to the scene of life we call old age, and that I am writing these sheets in a season of my time when (if ever) a man may be supposed capable of making just reflections upon things past, a true judgment of things present, and tolerable conclusions of things to come.

"In the beginning of this life of composure (for now, and not till now, I may say, that I began to live, that is to say, a sedate and composed life), I inquired of myself very seriously one day what was the proper business of old age. The answer was very natural, and indeed returned very quick upon me, namely, that two things were my present work, as above :

"1. Reflection upon things past.

"2. Serious application to things future.

"Having resolved the business of life into these heads, I began immediately with the first ; and, as sometimes I took my pen and ink to disburden my thoughts when the subject crowded in fast upon me, so I have here communicated some of my observations for the benefit of those that come after me."

Here follows a dialogue wherein a new idea seems to have sprung up in Crusoe's mind on having the subject of supplication contrasted with that of adoration, and which may, we think, have given origin to *The Pilgrim's Progress*. The dialogue concluded, Crusoe continues thus :

"I thought this serious old lady would have entertained a further discourse with me on so fruitful a subject, but she declined it, and left me to my own meditation, which, indeed, she had raised to an unusual pitch ; and the first thing that occurred to me, was to put me upon inquiring after that nice thing I ought to call religion in the world, seeing really I found reason to think that there was much

¹ This use of the word "put" was not uncommon with Bacon, and a little later, in our quotation from the *New Atlantis*, we shall find him using the expression "which did put us into some hope."

more devotion than religion in the world ; in a word, much more adoration than supplication ; and I doubt, as I come nearer home, it will appear that there is much more hypocrisy than sincerity,—of which I may speak by itself.¹

“ In my first inquiries, I looked back upon my own travels, and it afforded me but a melancholy reflection, that in all the voyages and travels which I have employed two volumes in giving a relation of, I never set my foot in a Christian country,—no, not in circling three parts of the globe ; for excepting the Brazils, where the Portuguese indeed profess the Roman Catholic principles, which, however, in distinction from paganism, I will call the Christian religion,—I say, except the Brazils, where also I made little stay, I could not be said to set foot in a Christian country, or a country inhabited by Christians, from the Bay of La'rache, and the port of Sallee, by the Strait's mouth, where I escaped from slavery, through the Atlantic Ocean, the coasts of Africa on one side, and of Caribbea on the American shore, on the other side ; from thence to Madagascar, Malabar, and the bay and city of Bengali, the coast of Sumatra, Malacca, Siam, Cambodia, Cochin China, the empire and coast of China, the deserts of Karakathay, the Mogul Tartars, the Siberian, the Sam-oiede barbarians, and till I came within four or five days of Archangel in the Black Russia.²

“ It is, I say, a melancholy reflection to think how all

¹ This is done further on in the chapter, under the head of Negative Religion and Negative Virtue. He says : “ Negative virtue sets out like the Pharisee with God, I thank thee ; it is a piece of religious pageantry, a jointed baby dressed up gay, but, stripped of its gew-gaws, it appears a naked lump fit only to please children and deceive fools. It is the hope of the hypocrite, it is a cheat upon the neighborhood, a dress for without doors, for it is of no use within ; it is a mask put on for a character, and as generally it is used to cheat others, it is so ignorantly embraced that we cheat even ourselves with it.” Let the expression “ jointed baby ” be particularly noted for future reference. And in this connection read in *The Pilgrim's Progress* the dialogue between Faithful and Talkative, pp. 146–58. In his preface to the *De Augmentis Bacon* says : “ And as to the point of usefulness, the philosophy we principally received from the Greeks must be acknowledged puerile, or rather talkative than generative—as being fruitful in controversies, but barren in effects.” Bacon in many places thus makes use of this word “ talkative.”

² Were not these voyages framed in part to show this then state of the Christian world ?

these parts of the world, and with infinite numbers of millions of people, furnished with the powers of reason and gifts of nature, and many ways, if not every way, as capable of the reception of sublime things as we are, are yet abandoned to the grossest ignorance and depravity ; and that not in religion only, but even in all the desirable parts¹ of human knowledge, and especially science and acquired knowledge.”

And on p. 39 we have :

“ Nay, further, I must observe also, that as the Christian religion has worn out, or been removed from any country, and they have returned to heathenism and idolatry, so the barbarisms have returned, the customs of the heathen nations have been again restored, the very nature and temper of the people have been again lost, all their generous principles have forsaken them, the softness and goodness of their dispositions have worn out, and they have returned to cruelty, inhumanity, rapine, and blood.”

And again, same page :

“ Nor will it be denied if I should carry this yet further, and observe, that even among Christians, those who are reformed, and further and further Christianized, are still in proportion rendered more human, more soft and tender ; and we do² find, without being partial to ourselves, that even the Protestant countries are much distinguished in the humanity and softness of their tempers ; the meek, merciful disposition extends more among Protestants than among the Papists, as I could very particularly demonstrate from history and experience.

“ But to return back to the Moors, where I left off ;³—they are an instance of that cruelty of disposition which

¹ To Bacon’s use of this word “ part ” we have already called attention.

² To a kind of distinctive use of the word “ do ” by Bacon, and seemingly for emphasis, we have already called attention. It will be found everywhere in the plays. See p. 26. In *Cæsar*, Act i., sc. 2, p. 336, we have :

“ *Cas.* I know that virtue to be in you, Brutus,
As well as I do know your outward favor.”

Nor should we lose sight of the fact that one hundred years intervenes between the literary period of Bacon and that of Defoe.

³ Did space permit, the play of *Othello*, the Moor of Venice, might be here properly called into relation.

was anciently in their nature, and now in a country abandoned of the true Christian religion, after it has been first planted and professed among them, the return of heathenism or Mahomedanism has brought back with it all the barbarisms of a nation void of religion and good nature.

"I saw enough of these dreadful people to think them at this time the worst of all the nations of the world ; a nation where no such thing as a generous spirit, or a temper with any compassion mixed with it, is to be found ; among whom nature appears stripped of all the additional glories which it derives from religion, and yet whereon a Christian flourishing church had stood several hundred years."

And on p. 40 we have :

"China is famous for wisdom, that is to say, that they, having such a boundless conceit of their own wisdom, we are obliged to allow them more than they have ; the truth is, they are justly said to be a wise nation among the foolish ones, and may as justly be called a nation of fools among the wise ones.

"As to their religion, it is all summed up in Confucius's Maxims, whose theology I take to be a rhapsody of moral conclusions ; a foundation, or what we may call elements of polity, morality, and superstition, huddled together in a rhapsody of words,¹ without consistency, and, indeed, with very little reasoning in it ; then it is really not so much as a refined paganism, for there are, in my opinion, much more regular doings among some of the Indians that are pagans, in America, than there are in China ; and if I may believe the account given of the government of Montezuma in Mexico, and of the Uncas of Cusco in Peru, their worship and religion, such as it was, was carried on with more regularity than those in China.² As to the human ingenuity, as they call it, of the Chinese, I shall

¹ "Rhapsody of words" is a Baconian expression.

² In the play of *The Tempest* it may be seen that Cetebo, a god worshipped in some of these localities, was the god of Sycorax, who was from Algiers. See Hudson's note to the play upon this point. In his Essay entitled "Of Atheism," Bacon says : "The Indians of the west have names for their particular gods, though they have no name for God ; as if the heathens should have had the name of Jupiter, Apollo, Mars, etc., but not the word *Deus* ; which shows that even those barbarous people have the notion, though they have not the latitude and extent of it."

account for it by itself. The utmost discoveries of it to me appeared in the mechanics, and even in them infinitely short of what is found among the European nations.

“But let us take these people to pieces a little, and examine into the great pretension they are so famed for; first of all, their knowledge has not led them that length¹ in religious matters which the common notions of philosophy would have done, and to which they did lead the wise heathens of old among the Grecian and Roman empires; for they, having not the knowledge of the true God, preserved notwithstanding, the notion of a God to be something immortal, omnipotent, sublime; exalted above in place as well as authority, and therefore made heaven to be the seat of their gods, and the images by which they represented their gods and goddesses had always some perfections that were really to be admired as the attendants of their gods, as Jupiter was called the ‘Thunderer for his power; father of gods and men, for his seniority; Venus, adored for her beauty; Mercury for swiftness; Apollo for wit, poetry, music; Mars for terror and gallantry in arms, and the like. But when we come to these polite nations of China, which yet we cry up for sense and greatness of genius, we see them grovelling in the very sink and filth of idolatry; their idols are the most frightful monstrous shapes, not the form of any real creature, much less the images of virtue, of chastity, of literature, but horrid shapes, of their priests’ invention; neither hellish nor human monsters, composed of invented forms, with neither face nor figure, but with the utmost distortions, formed neither to walk, stand, fly, or go, neither to hear, see, or speak, but merely to instil horrible ideas of something nauseous and abominable into the minds of men that adored them.

“If I may be allowed to give my notions of worship, I mean as it relates to the objects of natural homage, where the name and nature of God is not revealed, as in the Christian religion, I must acknowledge the sun, the moon, the stars, the elements, as in the pagan and heathen nations of old; and above all these, the representations of superior virtues and excellences among men, such as valor, fortitude, chastity, patience, beauty, strength, love, learn-

¹ “Led them that length” is a Baconian expression.

ing, wisdom, and the like ; the objects of worship in the Grecian and Roman times¹ were far more eligible and more rational objects of divine rites than the idols of China and Japan,² where, with all the economy of their state maxims and rules of civil government, which we insist so much on as tests of their wisdom, their grand capacities and understandings, their worship is the most brutish, and the objects of their worship, the coarsest, the most unmanly, inconsistent with reason or the nature of religion of any the world can show ; bowing down to a mere hobgoblin, and doing their reverence not to the work of man's hands only, by the ugliest, basest, frightfullest things that man could make ; images so far from being lovely and amiable, as in the nature of worship is implied, that they are the most detestable and nauseous, even to nature."

And on p. 41 we have :

" But let me come to their mechanics, in which their ingenuity is so much cried up ; I affirm there is little or nothing sufficient to build the mighty opinion we have of them upon but what is founded upon the comparisons which we make between them and other pagan nations, or proceeds from the wonder which we make that they should have any knowledge of mechanic arts, because we find the remote inhabitants of Africa and America so grossly ignorant and so entirely destitute in such things ; whereas we do not consider that the Chinese inhabit the continent of Asia, and though they are separated by deserts and wildernesses, yet they are a continuous continent of land with the parts of the world once inhabited by the politer Medes, Persians, and Grecians ; that the first ideas of mechanic arts were probably received from them from the Persians, Assyrians, and the banished transplanted Israelites, who are said to be carried into the regions of Parthia and the borders of Karacathay, from whence they are also said to have communicated arts, and especially handicraft in which the Israelites excelled, to the inhabitants of all those countries, and, consequently, in time to those beyond them."

We shall later call the foregoing thoughts somewhat

¹ See the many Addison articles upon these points.

² Bacon's voyage of the New Atlantis opens, let it be remembered, with its vessel headed for China and Japan.

into relation with Bacon's New Atlantis. As seen in our Introduction, chapter 5 of these Serious Reflections is devoted to the subject of the Divine Providence ; while chapter 6, to which we next turn, is devoted to a comparison between the Christian and pagan world.¹ Bacon's desire to see a union of all Christian princes to wipe out paganism has already been alluded to in connection with his fragment touching a holy war against the Turks. In connection with this thought, we from chapter 6, p. 68, quote as follows :

" But this is all a digression ; I come to my calculation. It is true that the Spaniards, whom I allow to be Christians, have possessed the empires of Mexico and Peru ; but after all the havoc they made, and the millions of souls they dismissed out of life there, yet the natives are infinitely the majority of the inhabitants ; and though many of them are Christianized, they are little more than subjected ; and take all the Spaniards, Christians, and all of the Portuguese in the Brazils, all the English and French in the North, and in a word, all the Christians in America, and put them together, they will not balance one part of the pagans or Mahomedans in Europe ; for example, take the Crim Tartars of Europe, who inhabit the banks of the Euxine Sea,² they are more in number than all the Christians in America ; so that setting one nation against the other, and you may reckon that there is not one Christian, or as if there were not one Christian, in those three parts of the world, Asia, Africa, and America, except the Greeks of Asia.

" This is a just but a very sad account of the extent of Christian knowledge in the world ; and were it considered as it ought, would put the most powerful princes of Europe upon thinking of some methods, at least, to open a way for the spreading of Christian knowledge. I am not much of the opinion, indeed, that religion should be planted by the sword ; but as the Christian princes of Europe, however few in number, are yet so superior to all the rest of the world in martial experience and the art of war, nothing

¹ This chapter should be read in connection with the different subdivisions of the last chapter of the Anatomy of Melancholy, and we will be made to realize that they are by one and the same author.

² See Euxine Sea mentioned in our quotation from the Anatomy of Melancholy, p. 21.

is more certain than that, if they would unite their interest, they are able to beat paganism out of the world. Nothing is more certain than this, that would the Christian princes unite their powers and act in concert, they might destroy the Turkish Empire and the Persian Kingdom, and beat the very name of Mahomet out of the world.'

"It is no boast to say, that, were there no intestine broils among us, the Christian soldiery is so evidently superior to the Turkish at this time, that had they all joined after the late battle at Belgrade to have sent 80,000 veteran soldiers to have joined Prince Eugene,² and supplied him with money and provisions by the ports of the Adriatic Gulf and the Archipelago, that prince would in two or three campaigns have driven the Mahomedans out of Europe, taken Constantinople, and have overturned the Turkish Empire.

"After such a conquest, whither might not the Christian religion have spread? The King of Spain with the same ease would reduce the Moors of Barbary, and dispossess those sons of hell, the Algerines, Tripolines, Tunizans, and all the Mahomedan pirates of that coast, and plant again the ancient churches of Africa³—the sees of Tertullian, St. Cyprian, etc.

"Nay, even the Czar of Muscovy, an enterprising and glorious prince, well assisted and supported by his neighbors, the northern powers, who together are masters of the best soldiery in the world, would not find it impossible to march an army of 36,000 foot and 16,000 horse, in spite of waste and inhospitable deserts, even to attack the Chinese Empire, who, notwithstanding their infinite num-

¹ This is distinctly what Bacon sought, as may be seen in his fragment entitled "An Advertisement Touching a Holy War." And please see, at p. 250, what he would have had inserted in the marriage treaty of Prince Charles. And was not this that to which he alludes as principle in his intention in his already quoted prayer at p. 279?

² There are but few interpolations in this work, and they exist only where necessary to conform it to the times. Here is, we think, one of them. The statement as to Prince Eugene is doubtless a substitute for what was originally written, and which may have concerned the Prince Palatine, Frederick the Fifth, who, as we have seen, became in 1615 the head of the Protestant union of German princes.

³ It will be remembered that in the play of *The Tempest* the king's daughter is said to have been wedded to an African. See also the allusion as to Tunis and Algiers.

bers, pretended policy, and great skill in war, would sink in the operation ; and such an army of disciplined European soldiers would beat all the forces of that vast empire with the same or greater ease as Alexander with 30,000 Macedonians destroyed the army of Darius, which consisted of 680,000 men."

And on p. 69 we have :

"Why, then, should not the Christian princes think it a deed of compassion to the souls of men, as well as an humble agency to the work of Providence, and to the fulfilling the promises of their Saviour, by a moderate and as far as in them lies, a bloodless conquest, to reduce the whole world to the government of Christian power, and so plant the name and knowledge of Christ Jesus among the heathens and Mahomedans? I am not supposing that they can plant real religion in this manner ; the business of power is to open the way to the Gospel of peace ; the servants of the king of the earth are to fight, that the servants of the King of heaven may preach."

"Let but an open door be made for the preaching of the Word of God, and the ministers of Christ be admitted, if they do not spread Christian knowledge over the face of the earth the fault will be theirs. Let but the military power reduce the pagan world, and banish the devil and Mahomet from the face of the earth, the knowledge of God be diligently spread, the Word of God duly preached, and the people meekly and faithfully instructed in the Christian religion, the world would soon receive the truth, and the knowledge of divine things would be the study and delight of mankind."

And same page we have :

"I distinguish between forcing religion upon people, or forcing them to entertain this or that opinion of re-

¹ And the king in the play of Henry V., Act v., sc. 2, p. 583, is made to say : "Shall not thou and I, between St. Dennis and St. George, compound a boy, half French, half English, that shall go to Constantinople, and take the Turk by the beard ? shall we not ? what say'st thou, my fair flower-de-luce ?" The use of "high nonsense" in the plays and elsewhere in this literature in the attainment of ends will be later touched upon. As to the flower-de-luce, see p. 61. Bacon reports one as saying that "the flower-de-luces of France cannot descend neither to distaff nor spade : that is, not to a woman nor to a peasant." (Literary Works, vol. ii., p. 151.) He also mentions it in his Natural History and again in connection with beautifying of his grounds. As to the play of Henry V., see p. 341.

ligion—I say, I distinguish between that and opening the door for religion to come among them. The former is a violence, indeed, inconsistent with the nature of religion itself, whose energy prevails and forces its way into the minds of men by another sort of power ; whereas the latter is removing a force unjustly put already upon the minds of men, by the artifice of the devil, to keep the Christian religion out of the world ;¹ so that, indeed, I propose a war not with men, but with the devil—a war to depose Satan’s infernal tyranny in the world and set open the doors to religion, that it may enter if men will receive it ; if they will not receive it, be that to themselves.

“ In a word, to unchain the wills of men, set their inclinations free, that their reason may be at liberty to influence their understandings, and that they may have the faith of Christ preached to them, whether they will hear or forbear, I say, as above, is no part of the question ; let the Christian doctrine and its spiritual enemies alone to struggle about that. I am for dealing with the temporalities of the devil,² and deposing that human power which is armed in the behalf of the obstinate ignorance, and resolute to keep out the light of religion from the mind.³

“ I think this is a lawful and just war, and, in the end, kind both to them and their posterity : let me bring the case home to ourselves.

“ Suppose neither Julius Cæsar nor any of the Roman

¹ In the Defoe “ History of the Devil ” this is the ruling idea as to the devil’s work.

² See in this connection Defoe’s History of the Devil, Bohn ed., beginning at p. 288. Here we find the “ Diabolus ” of Bunyan’s Holy War mentioned. As to the castle of the soul and its defence by the faculties of the mind as a garrison, see pp. 443, 548, and 568. Bacon’s Promus, 1137. The eye is the gate of the affection, but the ear of the understanding. And in the Bunyan work we have : “ The names of the Gates were these, Ear-gate, Eye-gate, Mouth-gate, Nose-gate, and Feel-gate.” In the plays we have “ the gates of love,” “ the gates and alleys of the body,” etc. In All’s Well that Ends Well, Act iv., sc. 5, p. 367, we have : “ I am for the house with the narrow gate, which I take too little for pomp to enter : some that humble themselves may ; but many will be too chill and tender, and they’ll be for the flowery way, that leads to the broad gate and the great fire.” As to the word “ gates,” see Addison, vol. ii., p. 133, and vol. iii., p. 233, and The Pilgrim’s Progress, pp. 77 and 82.

³ See pp. 22 and 23 the ends sought to be attained by means of the New Atlantis.

generals or emperors had cast their eyes toward Britain for some ages, or till the Christian religion had spread over the whole Roman empire,—'tis true the Britons might at last have received the Christian faith in common with the rest of the northern world, but they had yet lain above three hundred years longer in ignorance and paganism than they did ; and some hundred thousands of people who proved zealous Christians, nay, even martyrs for the Christian doctrine, would have died in the professed paganism of the Britons.

“ Now 'tis evident the invasion of the Romans was an unjust, bloody, tyrannical assault upon the poor Britons, against all right and property, against justice and neighborhood, and merely carried on for conquest and dominion. Nor indeed had the Romans any just pretence of war ; yet God was pleased to make this violence be¹ the kindest thing that could have befallen the British nation, since it brought in the knowledge of God among the Britons, and was the means of reducing a heathen and barbarous nation to the faith of Christ, and to embrace the Messias.

“ Thus heaven serves itself of men's worst designs, and the avarice, ambition, and rage of men have been made use of to bring to pass the glorious ends of Providence, without the least knowledge or design of the actors. Why, then, may not the great undertakings of the princes of Europe, if they could be brought to act in concert, with a good design to bring all the world to open their doors to the Christian religion, and by consequence their ears,—I say, why may not such an attempt be blessed from heaven with so much success, at least as to make way for bringing in nominal Christianity among the nations? For as to obliging the people to be of this or that opinion afterward, that is another case.”²

And on p. 71 we have :

“ I have lived to see men of the best light be mistaken, as well in party as in principle, as well in politics as in religion, and find not only occasion, but even a necessity to change hands or sides in both ; I have seen them some-

¹ This use of the word “ be ” is Baconian. Promus, 957. We be, but where we were. And see p. 223

² To the use of the word “ case ” throughout these writings, and in exclusion of synonymous words, we have already called attention.

times run into contrary extremes, beyond their first intention, and even without design ; nay, in those unhappy changes I have seen them driven into lengths they never designed, by the fiery resentment of those whom they seemed to have left, and whom they differed from. I have lived to see those men acknowledge, even publicly and openly, they were wrong and mistaken, and express their regret for being misled very sincerely ; but I cannot say I have lived to see the people they have desired to return to forgive or receive them. Perhaps the age I have lived in has not been a proper season for charity ; I hope futurity will be furnished with better Christians, or perhaps 'tis appointed so to illustrate the Divine mercy, and let mankind see that they are the only creatures that never forgive. I have seen a man in the case I speak of, offer the most sincere acknowledgments of his having been mistaken, and this not in matters essential either to the person's morals or Christianity, but only in matters of party, and with the most moving expressions desire his old friends to forgive what has been passed ; and have seen their return, be mocking him with what they called a baseness of spirit, and a mean submission ; I have seen him expostulate with them, why they should not act upon the same terms with a penitent,¹ as God himself not only prescribed, but yields to ; and have seen them in return, tell him God might forgive him if he pleased, but they would never, and then expose all those offers to the first-comer in banter and ridicule : but take me right too, I have seen at the same time, that to wiser men it has been always thought to be an exposing themselves, and an honor to the person.

“ I speak this too feelingly, and therefore say no more ; there is a way by patience, to conquer even the universal contempt of mankind ; and though two drams of that drug be a vomit² for a dog, it is in my experience the only

¹ We have already noted this word “ penitent ” as Bacon's word for this place, and it will be found throughout these writings. See p. 20.

² Bacon ever used the words vomit and purge, and they, in exclusion of other words, will be found throughout these writings. In Sub. 36 of Bacon's Natural History we have : “ The first is, that whatsoever cannot be overcome and digested by the stomach, is by the stomach either put up by vomit, or put down by the guts ; and by that motion of expulsion in the stomach and guts, other parts of

method—there is a secret peace in it, and in time the rage of men will abate, a constant, steady adhering to virtue and honesty, and showing the world that whatever mistakes he might be led into, supposing them to be mistakes, that yet the main intention and design of his life was sincere and upright :¹ he that governs the actions of men by an unbiassed hand, will never suffer such a man to sink under the weight of universal prejudice and clamour.

“I, Robinson Crusoe, grown old in affliction, borne down by calumny and reproach, but supported from within, boldly prescribe this remedy against universal clamours and contempt of mankind,—patience, a steady life of virtue and sobriety, and a comforting dependence on the justice of Providence, will first or last restore the patient to the opinion of his friends, and justify him in the face of his enemies ; and in the mean time, will support him comfortably in despising those who want manners and charity, and leave them to be cursed from heaven with their own passions and rage.”²

Leaving now for the reader's reflection the question as to whether Bacon's troubles and life aims are somewhat reflected in these quotations, we turn to the *New Atlantis*, the language framework of which, and especially in its

the body (as the orifices of the veins, and the like) are moved to expel by consent.”

¹ See Sonnet 70.

² The preface to Penn's *Maxims*, entitled “Fruits of Solitude, in Reflections and Maxims Relating to the Conduct of Human Life,” opens in these words : “Reader,—This manual I present thee with is the fruit of solitude, a school few care to learn in, though none instruct us better. Some parts of it are the result of serious reflections ; others, the flashings of lucid intervals ; written for private satisfaction, and now published for a help to human conduct.” See p. 368, the allusion to Confucius's *Maxims*. It was Bacon's labor to show that as much could come out of Christian as out of heathen pens. See p. 258. Penn's *Maxims* should be read in connection with the *Serious Reflections*, and with Bacon's *Essays*, for later we may wish the reader to ask himself the question, Who was their author ? The word “fruit” as here used is Baconian. Bacon, in speaking of the Roman emperors following Domitian, says : “Thus in the succession of these six princes, we may witness the happy fruits of learning in sovereignty painted in the great table of the world.” (*De Augmentis*, Book 1, Bohn ed., p. 61.) We also find him using such expressions as “fruit of conference,” “fruit of speech,” “some fruit of my private life,” etc. In the plays we have “the fruits of my advice,” “fruits of duty,” etc.

early pages, is so at one with the story itself of Crusoe, as to be in all things identical, though it is the only piece of like writing with which Lord Bacon's name has become associated. Concerning it Mr. Spedding, in Bacon's Philosophical Works, vol. iii., p. 122, says : " Perhaps there is no single work of his which has so much of himself in it."

He also says :

" The description of Solomon's House is the description of the vision in which he lived,—the vision not of an ideal world released from the natural conditions of which ours is subject, but of our own world as it might be made if we did our duty by it ; of a state of things which he believed would one day be actually seen upon this earth, such as it is, by men such as we are ; and the coming of which he believed that his own labors were sensibly hastening. The account of the manners and customs of the people of Bensalem is an account of his own taste in humanity ; for a man's ideal, though not necessarily a description of what he is, is almost always an indication of what he would be ; and in the sober piety, the serious cheerfulness, the tender and gracious courtesy, the open-handed hospitality, the fidelity in public and chastity in private life, the grave and graceful manners,¹ the order, decency, and earnest industry, which prevailed among these people, we recognize an image of himself made perfect,—of that condition of the human soul which he loved in others and aspired towards in himself. Even the dresses,

¹ It is said that prior to 1594, at which time Bacon's Promus Notes began, forms of morning and evening salutation were not used in England. In those notes and spread throughout the plays we have not only the following, but others. Promus, 1195. Good-day to me and good-morrow to you. Promus, 1193. Good betimes, *bonum mane*. Promus, 1192. Good matens. (From Bon matin.)

" The glow-worm shows the matin to be near,
And 'gins to pale his uneffectual fire :
Adieu, adieu ! Hamlet, remember me."

—Hamlet, Act i., sc. 5, p. 234.

Promus, 1189. Good-morrow.

" Young son, it argues a distempered head
So soon to bid good-morrow to thy bed."

—Rome and Juliet, Act ii. sc. 3.

And so may we again call into relation our Head-light : " For I have taken all knowledge to be my providence."

the household arrangements, the order of their feasts and solemnities, their very gestures of welcome and salutation, have an interest and significance independent of the fiction, as so many records of Bacon's personal taste in such matters. Nor ought the stories which the Governor of the House of Strangers tells about the state of navigation and population in the early post-diluvian ages, to be regarded merely as romances invented to vary and enrich the narrative, but rather as belonging to a class of serious speculations to which Bacon's mind was prone. As in his visions of the future, embodied in the achievements of Solomon's House, there is nothing which he did not conceive to be really practicable by the means which he supposes to be used ; so in his speculations concerning the past, embodied in the traditions of Bensalem, I doubt whether there be any (setting aside, of course, the particular history of the fabulous island) which he did not believe to be historically probable."

The scene in the New Atlantis, as well as in *Crusoe* and *The Tempest*, is located, let it be noted, first in a boat at sea and then upon an island ; and which works we have undertaken to show as products of one and the same mind, as stated in our Introduction to this work.

The New Atlantis is supposed to have been written in 1624, and Mr. Spedding thinks still earlier. Bacon designed it to follow his *Sylva Sylvarum* ; or, *Natural History*, and it was in this order first published by Dr. Rawley in 1627, the year following Bacon's supposed death. It is a kind of voyage to that end, of which the *Natural History* was the beginning. The selected particulars of knowledge as set out in it constitute the nucleus for the framing of his tables.¹ By its methods only can the sense properly inform the understanding, as he thought. When thus pursued as a system, he says : " And then shall we be no longer kept dancing within little rings, like persons bewitched, but our range and circuit will be as wide as the compass of the world." This growing *Natural History* carried forward under his methods, by those that should come after him, it serving but as a pattern or be-

¹ And these tables he applied as well to mental as to material change, as we have seen. As with his views "putrefaction is the bastard brother of vivication," so note the bastard brothers of the plays.

ginning, was to be the widening influence in human ideation.¹ Was there fault in the method? or did the weakness lie in the race to follow it? But Mr. Spedding says that the same may be accomplished by easier processes. Much, indeed, may be so accomplished, but not, we think, the same. These processes would bring influences permanently widening.

Mr. Spedding, however, says: "He delivered a set of cautions as to the use of the human understanding, applicable to the pursuit of truth in all departments, which have scarcely been added to or improved upon since his time."

It should be understood that Bacon did not expect the race, as such, to follow his methods. He, in fact, says that the masses have neither the opportunity nor the ability to follow these subtleties. The New Atlantis is indeed a most comprehensive scheme, to form an organization or society, whose dealt-out influences upon the race should be permanent in growth, its attained knowledge ending not with the life of its members—a society for overcoming errors and difficulties, both physical and influential; or, in other words, both physical and political.

But Bacon's political influence having been ruined, by the ruin of his name, he turned more for fruit, so far as now appears, to the line of philosophy, though what he did politically will, if our views be correct, be seen further on. He, indeed, opens ch. 3 of Book 8 of the *De Augmentis*, issued in 1623, in these words: "We come now to the art of empire, or the doctrine of governing a state, which includes economics, as a city includes a family. But here, according to my former resolution, I impose silence upon myself; how well qualified soever I might seem to treat the subject, from the constant course of life, studies, employs, and the public posts I have, for a long series of years, sustained, even to the highest in the kingdom, which, through his majesty's favor, and no merit of my own, I held for four years. And this I speak to pos-

¹ Of it he says: "For I want this primary history to be composed with a most religious care, as if every particular were stated upon oath; seeing that it is the book of God's works, and (so far as the majesty of heavenly may be compared with the humbleness of earthly things) a kind of second Scripture." (*Phil. Works*, vol. iv., p. 261. And see note 1, p. 41.)

terity, not out of ostentation ; but because I judge it may somewhat impart the dignity of learning, to have a man born for letters rather than anything else, who should, by a certain fatality, and against the bent of his genius, be compelled into active life, and yet be raised by a prudent king, to the greatest posts¹ of honor, trust, and civil employ. And if I should hereafter have leisure to write upon government, the work will probably either be posthumous or abortive.”²

Hazlitt, in his preface to the works of Defoe, among other things says : “ Defoe was a giant in literature : there is no English author who has written so variously, and few who have written so well. It is difficult to imagine a subject which has not been illustrated by his graceful and powerful pen. There is no class of readers to whom he does not successfully address himself. Though known, until of very late years, almost entirely as a writer of fiction, which will probably constitute the basis of his fame in succeeding times, it was for politics chiefly that he acquired distinction with his contemporaries, who bore witness to the influence of his writings.”

He also says “ that no man who sits down to study the history of his country with minute exactness, can hope for satisfaction upon a variety of points, without a previous acquaintance with the writings of Defoe.”

The New Atlantis is divided into twelve heads and one concealed, and its employments were as follows :³

“ For the several employments and offices of our fellows ;⁴ we have twelve that sail into foreign countries, under the names of other nations (for our own we conceal) ; who bring us the books, and abstracts, and pat-

¹ As to the posts of honor and the pilgrimage of life, see Addison, vol. iii., pp. 98-102. Promus, 508. As far goeth the pilgrim as the post.

² This last sentence shows a distinct intention of reserving the publication of any papers upon political issues until after his death.

³ Note in the New Atlantis the mention of the Upper, Middle, and Lower regions, called under review in earlier pages.

⁴ Let the word “ fellows” as used in the New Atlantis, in Shakespeare, in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, and, in fact, in all of the works under review be called into distinct relation. In *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, at p. 186, we have : “ So Hopeful, being persuaded by his fellow, went after him over the stile.” Promus, 681. You would be over the stile before you come at it.

terns of experiments of all other parts. These we call Merchants of Light.

"We have three that collect the experiments which are in all books. These we call Depredators.

"We have three that collect the experiments of all mechanical arts; and also of liberal sciences; and also of practices which are not brought into arts. These we call Mystery-men.

"We have three that try new experiments, such as themselves think good.¹ These we call Pioneers or Miners.

"We have three that draw the experiments of the former four into titles and tables, to give the better light for the drawing of observations and axioms out of them. These we call Compilers.

"We have three that bend² themselves, looking into the experiments of their fellows, and cast about how to draw out of them things of use and practice for men's lives, and knowledge as well for works as for plain demonstration of causes, means of natural divinations,³ and the easy and clear discovery of the virtues and parts of bodies. These we call Dowry-men or Benefactors.

"Then after diverse meetings and consults of our whole number, to consider of the former labors and collections, we have three that take care, out of them, to direct new experiments, of a higher light, more penetrating into nature than the former. These we call Lamps.

"We have three others that do execute the experiments so directed, and report them. These we call Inoculators.

"Lastly, we have three that raise the former discoveries by experiments into greater observations, axioms, and aphorisms. These we call Interpreters⁴ of Nature.

¹ Note throughout these writings this unusual expression "think good." See p. 156, note 1.

² As to this use of this word bend, we from Hamlet, Act i., sc. 2, p. 210, quote as follows:

"And, we beseech you, bend you to remain
Here, in the cheer and comfort of our eye,
Our chiefest courtier, cousin, and our son."

³ Note the subject of natural divination as treated in portions of the Defoe literature.

⁴ Note in *The Pilgrim's Progress* that it is always the Interpreter that presents the penitent with types or patterns for thought.

“ We have also, as you must think, novices and apprentices, that the succession of the former employed men do not fail ; besides a great number of servants and attendants, men and women. And this we do also : we have consultations, which of the inventions and experiments which we have discovered shall be published, and which not : and take all an oath of secrecy, for the concealing of those which we think fit to keep secret ; though some of those we do reveal sometimes to the state, and some not.”

Here follows a statement concerning the formation of statues to inventor, after which we have : “ Lastly, we have circuits or visits of diverse principal cities of the kingdom ; where as it cometh to pass, we do publish such new profitable inventions as we think good. And we do also declare natural divinations of diseases, plagues,¹ swarms of hurtful creatures, scarcity, tempests, earthquakes, great inundations, comets, temperature of the year, and diverse other things ; and we give counsel thereupon what the people shall do for the prevention and remedy of them.”

And at the end of the work we have : “ God bless thee, my son, and God bless this relation which I have made. I give thee leave to publish it for the good of other nations ; for we here are in God’s bosom, a land unknown.”²

Let it be now noted that this work seems as if a remnant, or as if broken off, from some other piece of composition. It opens in these words :

“ We sailed from Peru (where we had continued for the space of one whole year), for China and Japan, by the South Sea ; taking with us victuals for twelve months ; and had good winds from the east, though soft and weak, for five months’ space and more. But then the winds came about, and settled in the west for many days, so as we could make little or no way, and were sometimes in purpose to turn back. But then again there arose strong and great winds from the south, with a point east : which carried us up (for all that we could do) toward the north : by which time our victuals failed us, though we had made good spare of them. So that finding ourselves in the

¹ See Defoe’s History of the Plague in London.

² Is there any indication here of secret methods ?

midst of the greatest wilderness of waters in the world, without victuals, we gave ourselves for lost men, and prepared for death. Yet we did lift up our hearts and voices to God above, who *showeth his wonders in the deep*; beseeching him of his mercy, that as in the beginning he discovered the face of the deep, and brought forth dry land, so he would now discover land to us, that we might not perish. And it came to pass that the next day about evening, we saw within a kenning before us, towards the north, as it were thick clouds which did put us in some hope of land; knowing how that part of the South Sea was utterly unknown; and might have islands or continents, that hitherto were not come to light.¹ Wherefore we bent our course thither, where we saw the appearance of land, all that night; and in the dawning of the next day, we might plainly discern that it was a land; flat to our sight, and full of boscase; which made it show the more dark."

Already have we alluded to Bacon's secret project for revenue, and which Mr. Spedding says has never come to light. Later we shall claim to the reader that the great South Sea scheme for revenue of the Defoe period was but an attempt by Harley to re-enact a thwarted Baconian scheme. South Sea discoveries, even in the plays, are made the subject of comment. In *As You Like It*,² Act iii., sc. 2, p. 201, we have:

"*Ros.* Good my complexion! dost thou think, though I am caparison'd like a man, I have a doublet and hose in my disposition? One inch of delay more is a South-sea of discovery. I pr'ythee, tell me, who is it? quickly, and speak apace:³ I would thou couldst stammer, that thou might'st pour this conceal'd man

¹ In the mentioned private notes made by Bacon in 1608 we have: "Ordinary discours of plus ultra in Sciences, as well the intellectuall globe as the materiall illustrated by discovery in o'r Age." (Bacon's Letters, vol. iv., p. 64.)

² Hudson says: "Finally, we have to confess that, upon the whole, *As You Like It* is our favorite of Shakespeare's comedies." He further says: "The play was never printed, so far as we know, till in the folio of 1623." See p. 340, note 1.

³ The word "apace" is a distinctive Baconian word, and it will be found in every phase of these writings. Bacon in Sub. 374 of his *Natural History* says: "We see that if wind bloweth upon a candle it wasteth apace." Note the use of the word in *The Pilgrim's Progress* at pp. 107, 110, 228, 278. And on p. 332 we have: "The lion came on apace and Mr. Greatheart addressed himself to give him battle." In Addison, vol. iii., p. 434, we have: "From this

out of thy mouth, as wine comes out of a narrow-mouth'd bottle ; either too much at once, or none at all. I pr'ythee, take the cork out of thy mouth, that I may drink¹ thy tidings."

Let it be investigated as to whether the voyage to the South Sea described in Defoe's "New Voyage Round the World," and evidently written to induce colonization and mining, was founded upon facts gathered from some of the voyages of Sir Walter Raleigh, the last having been made in 1617.² In the Bohn edition of the work the story at p. 324 is said there to be broken off and from that point begun anew.³ Let its style in composition be here brought into relation with the New Atlantis. And note the following from p. 331 :

"I cannot help being of the opinion, let the map makers place them where they will,⁴ that those islands where we so successfully fished for oysters, or rather for pearl, are the same which the ancient geographers have called Solomon's Islands ; and though they are so far south, the riches of them may not be the less, nor are they more out of the way. On the contrary, they lie directly in the track which our navigators would take, if they thought fit, either to go or come between Europe and the East Indies, seeing they that come about Cape Horn seldom go less south than the latitude of 63 or 64° ; and these islands, as I have said, lie in the latitude of 40 to 48° south, and extend themselves near one hundred and sixty leagues in breadth from north to south.

time the armies being checkered with both sexes, they polished apace."

¹ In his Essay entitled "Of Youth and Age" Bacon says : "And certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth : and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues of the will and affections." And see p. 203, note 1.

² But also see in this connection, in the *Britannica* article on geography, Drake's voyage round the world and the discoveries generally of this period.

³ Before the breaking off of the story it is on p. 323 said : "And here taking an observation, I found we were in latitude of 50° 30', and that our meridian distance from the Ladrões west was 87°, being almost one semi-diameter of the globe, so that we could not be far from the coast of America, which was my next design, and indeed the chief design of the whole voyage." Beginning at p. 313, note what is said as to the subject of trade. The second part of the voyage was directed to Chili and Peru.

⁴ Note in all these writings the expression "where they will."

"Without doubt these islands would make a very noble¹ settlement, in order to victual² and relieve the European merchants in so long a run as they have to make ; and when this trade came to be more frequented, the calling of these ships there would enrich the islands, as the English at St. Helena are enriched by the refreshing which the East India ships find that meet there."³

Note in the perusal of this story that the voyage of the New Atlantis opens by a departure from Peru.

Bacon looked upon Raleigh as one who might lend aid in the Great Instauration, as we have seen. While still a prisoner of the Tower, he claimed to have knowledge concerning a mine of gold and silver, one of great wealth, and for purposes of revenue he is said to have made certain proposals touching the same, first to the Lord Treasurer, Salisbury, in 1607, to Lord Haddington in 1610, and to the Lords of the Council in 1611. With his offer in 1610 he says : "I am content to be committed to others ; and setting down the course and project in writing, if at any time I persuade the contrary, let them cast me into the sea. Secondly, when God shall permit us to arrive, if I bring them not to a mountain (near a navigable river) covered with gold and silver ore, let the commander have commission to cut off my head there. If this be not sufficient, I will presume to nominate unto his M. such commanders as he shall like of, who will be bound, body for body, to return me alive or dead. And if I have mistaken myself and may be yet of more price, his M. shall have forty thousand pounds bounty to boot."⁴ See these facts, Bacon's Letters, vol. vi., p. 343.

¹ We here again have what may be called Lord Bacon's most marked word. See p. 54, note 4.

² Note this word "victual" in the New Atlantis, and it is the word for this place found in all of the works under review, and to the exclusion of synonymous words. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 395, we have : "Nor was there, on all this ground, so much as an inn or victualling house wherein to refresh the feebler sort."

³ And on p. 355 it is said : "So that, in short, I was as well pleased without fighting as they could be ; besides, I had other projects now in my head, and those of no less consequence than of planting a new world, and settling new kingdoms, to the honor and advantage of my country," etc. And see the subject of mining beginning at p. 361 ; also p. 288.

⁴ This, it will be remembered, was the amount of the fine imposed upon Bacon by the Parliament in which he met his overthrow.

After Salisbury's death another offer was made to Secretary of State Winwood, and receiving the favor of Buckingham, was finally entered into with the consent of the king. And on August 26th, 1616, Raleigh's commission was signed, and on June 12th, 1617, he sailed from Plymouth. Men of wealth were deeply concerned in the enterprise, and the adventurers were to have all advantages, save that one-fifth part was to be reserved to the crown. The enterprise was a financial failure,¹ and Raleigh having violated his commission by committing depredations upon the Spanish dominions in burning the town of St. Thomas, though claimed as done in self-defence, was upon his return and upon the demands of Spain executed October 29th, 1618. Much uncertainty hangs about this matter, as will appear from Mr. Spedding's presentation.

As to those who placed their fortunes at hazard, Bacon, in his declaration concerning Raleigh, says: "In execution therefore of these his designs, Sir Walter Raleigh, carrying the reputation of an active, witty and valiant gentleman and especially a great commander at sea, by the enticement of this golden bait² of the mine, and the estimation of his own name, drew unto him many brave captains and other knights and gentlemen of great blood and worth to hazard and adventure their lives, and the whole or a great part of their estates and fortunes in this his voyage: whose ruins and decays following remain as sad and grievous relics and monuments of his unfortunate journey and unfaithful proceedings." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vi., p. 392.)

As to the thwarting of this enterprise and the final results upon Bacon, we may learn more when we come to the Defoe literature.³

¹ Later we shall call this enterprise into relation with the South Sea scheme of the Defoe period.

² Look in the plays for "golden bait," "golden care," "golden world," "golden fire," "golden words," "golden cadence," "golden sleep," etc. Promus, 1207. Golden sleep.

"But where unbruised youth, with unstuff'd brain,
Doth couch his limbs, there golden sleep doth reign."

—Romeo and Juliet, Act ii. sc. 3.

³ See if there is any relation here with the bill Lucre and the silver mine of The Pilgrim's Progress, beginning at pp. 180 and 375.

BACONIAN FRAMEWORK IN CRUSOE.

WE here set out, from the story itself of Crusoe, some distinctive Baconian expressions and sentence formation.

In this we have made use of the Bohn edition of that work. The figures following the expressions indicate the pages from which they are taken.

"He told me it was men of desperate fortunes, on one hand, or of superior fortunes, on the other, who went abroad upon adventures, aspiring to rise by enterprise, and make themselves famous in undertakings of a nature out of the common road ;¹ that these things were all either too far above me, or too far below me ; that mine was the middle state,² or what might be called the upper station of low life, which he had found, by long experience, was the best state in the world, the most suited to human happiness ; not exposed to the miseries and hardships, the labor and sufferings, of the mechanic part of mankind, and not embarrassed with the pride, luxury, ambition, and envy of the upper part of mankind : he told me, I might judge of the happiness of this state by one thing, viz., that this was the state of life which all other people envied ; that kings have frequently lamented the miserable consequences of being born to great things, and

¹ The expression "common road" is Baconian. Bacon says : "For the *magnalia* of nature generally lie out of the common roads and beaten paths, so that the very absurdity of the thing may sometimes prove of service." (De Augmentis, ch. 2, Book 5.) See p. 82.

² Already have we called attention to Bacon's use of the expressions "middle state," "middle place," "middle region," and which spring from his interpretation of the fable "Scylla and Icarus, or the Middle Way." And note the use of the word "part" later in this sentence.

wished they had been placed in the middle of two extremes, between the mean and the great; that the wise man gave his testimony to this as the just standard of true felicity, when he prayed to have 'neither poverty nor riches.' " p. 2—which was not yet come to the pitch of hardness,¹ 5—shall be all undone, 7—I thought that the bitterness of death had been past, 7—the terror of the storm, put me into such a condition, that I can by no words describe it, 8—I saw what is not often seen, the master, the boatswain, and some others, more sensible than the rest, at their prayers,² 8—they rather put me into the boat, than that I might be said to go in, 9—loud calls from my reason, 10—of my most retired thoughts, 10—a plain and visible token, 10—with a strange kind of passion, 10—'This indeed was, as I said, but an excursion³ of my spirits, 10—shame opposed the best motions that offered to my thoughts, 11—the little motion I had in my desires,⁴ 11—money in my pocket, 11—in the habit of a gentleman, 11—I first fell acquainted with the master of a ship, who had been on the coast of Guinea, 11—such toys and trifles, 12—this melancholy part of our story, 14—I was undone, 14—we made him very merry, 14—in a stark calm,⁵ 15—which he innocently came into also, 16—blow which way it would, 16—if you will not stroke your face to be true to me,⁶ 17—towards the strait's

¹ This use of the word "pitch" is distinctly Baconian. In his letter of advice to Villiers, in 1616, he makes use of the expression "had brought you to this high pitch of honor." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vi., p. 13.) In Aph. 14, Book 2 of the *Novum Organum* he says: "The heat of the heavenly bodies, even in the warmest climates and seasons, never reaches such a pitch as to light or burn the driest wood or straw, or even tinder without the aid of burning-glasses." In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 173, we have the expression "and is arrived to such a pitch of breeding." In Addison, vol. iii., p. 199, we have: "In the second, the chief actor in the poem falls from some eminent pitch of honor and prosperity, into misery and disgrace."

² See first scene in the play of *The Tempest*.

³ See the distinctive use of this word by Bacon at p. 361, note 1. We regret that space will not permit us to do as much as we had intended upon this part of the work.

⁴ Note the Baconian use of the word "motion" as applied to desires.

⁵ In Sub. 400 of Bacon's *Natural History* we have the expression "stark dead." And in the *Taming of the Shrew*, Act i., sc. 1, p. 416, we have the expression "stark mad."

⁶ *Promus*, 594. (*Hold your friend tightly by the face.*) See p. 35 and 268.

mouth, 17—bending my course, 17—I knew very ill how to do it, 21—to make them amends, 22—the wound which was his mortal hurt, 22—they fell to work, 23—I could not well tell what I had best to do, 23—I let him know,¹ 28—all of these miscarriages, 28—gulf of human misery, 29—such toys, 30—took us quite out of our knowledge, 31—I could not deliver myself from the waves,² 33—I held my hold till the wave abated, 34—and then I fetched³ another run, 34—to express to the life, 34—to let him blood,⁴ 34—two shoes that were not fellows,⁵ 34—with the comfortable part of my condition, 35—I soon found my comforts abate, 35—I resolved to fall to work with these, 37—the least cap-full of wind, 38—overset all my navigation, 38—there was some indraft of the water, 38—As I imagined, so it was, 38—I saw not which way to supply

¹ To this distinctive Baconian expression we have already called attention. Bacon says: "But if any one be reminded here of chiro-mancy, let him know that it is a vain imposture, and not worthy to be so much as mentioned in discourses of this nature." (Phil. Works, vol. iv., p. 376.)

² Promus, 743. (In the arms of the waves. Said of those who are tossed about in a sea of troubles.)

³ To this most unusual use of the word "fetch," please see p. 138 and 204.

⁴ Note this most unusual combination of words. Yet Bacon, in Sub. 657 of his Natural History, says: "The sap of trees when they are let blood, is of differing natures." In *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act ii., sc. 1, p. 391, we have:

Ros. Is the fool sick?

Bir. Sick at heart.

Ros. Alack! let it blood."

⁵ Here we find a most singular use of the word "fellows," and yet we shall find that singularity to have been Bacon's. In Sub. 294 of his Natural History he says: "Time and heat are fellows in many effects." And in Sub. 441 he says: "Therefore amongst strawberries sow here and there some borage-seed, and you shall find the strawberries under those leaves far more large than their fellows." Again: "The state of his Majesty's treasure maketh me sad, and I am sorry I was not at Tiballs to report it, or that it was not done by my fellows." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 116. In Addison, vol. ii., p. 215, we have the expression "it was very visible that the features of his face were not fellows." And on p. 400 we have: "There is a double praise due to virtue, when it is lodged in a body that seems to have been prepared for the reception of vice; in many such cases the soul and body do not seem to be fellows."

myself, 40—with infinite labour, 42—I smiled to myself at the sight of this money ; O drug ! I exclaimed, what art thou good for ? 43—descended irregularly every way down into the low ground,¹ 44—The entrance to this place I made to be not by a door, but by a short ladder, 44—which I gave suck to,² 46—all evils are to be considered with the good that is in them, 47—after my strength should decay,³ 48—it came into my thoughts, 49—to deliver my thoughts from daily pouring upon them and afflicting my mind, 50—that as reason is the substance and original of the mathematics, so by stating and squaring everything by reason and by making the most rational judgment of everything every man may be in time master of every mechanic art, 52—that I might come at them, 52—I went out into the island, 55—though not to my liking, 56—and with much ado,⁴ 56—so I gave it over,⁵

¹ Note here the use of the word “into,” and later we have the expression “went out into the island.” Many of the distinctive expressions here found have been already touched upon.

² This is a Baconian expression, and found in *Macbeth* and in many places in this literature. See *Gulliver's Travels*, p. 138. Bacon in his *Essay* entitled “Of Travel” says : “As for the acquaintance which is to be sought in travel ; that which is most of all profitable, is acquaintance with the secretaries and employed men of ambassadors ; for so in travelling in one country he shall suck the experience of many.”

³ The word “decay” was ever Bacon's word for this place, applying it as well to mind as to matter and to the exclusion of synonyms. He says : “I am much fallen in love with a private life ; and yet I shall so spend my time, as shall not decay my abilities for use.” (*Bacon's Letters*, vol. vii., p. 298.) *Promus*, 547. Anger of all passions beareth the age best. (*Ira omnium tardissime senescit.*—*Eras. Ad.*, 231—*i.e.*, It is last to decay.) Note the use of the word in *The Pilgrim's Progress*. And on p. 359 we have : “Besides, I have observed that old men have blessed themselves with this mistake ; namely, taking the decays of nature for a gracious conquest over corruptions ; and so have been apt to beguile themselves.”

⁴ This word “ado” and the word “undone” are found throughout, and in the *New Atlantis*, p. 147, we have the expression “with much ado we refrained them.” In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 274, we have : “I had much ado to forbear crying out, undone !”

⁵ Bacon says : “But (my Lords) this is a sea of matter : and therefore I must give it over, and conclude,” etc. (*Bacon's Letters*, vol. v., p. 144. And see our quotations at pp. 26, 210, note 1, p. 247.) In the *Merry Wives of Windsor*, Act iv., sc. 6, p. 313, we have :

“*Host.* Master Fenton, talk not to me : my mind is heavy ; I will give over all.”

57—For if I had been under it I had never wanted a grave-digger, 59—I knocked up nails on the post,¹ 58—the leg grew well, 58—but I went abroad early and late, 58—and hard to come at,² 58—so I gave that over also, 59—in the middle of all my labours, 59—and being willing to have the bag for some other use, 60—confusion of my thoughts, 60—without so much as inquiring into the end of Providence, 60—it occurred to my thoughts, 60—so strange and unforeseen a Providence, 60—as I shall show afterwards in its order,³ 61—of which in its place, 61—with all speed, 63—it had taken water, 64—I was obliged to give over for that time, 65—I would feign have stewed it, 67—it ended where it began⁴ in a mere common flight of joy, 68—raised vapours in my head, 69—the return of my distemper, 71—as if I were resolved that it should hit one way or other, 73—I missed the fit for good and all,⁵ 74—as long as my thoughts should engage me, 74—but what they were I knew not, 77—to anticipate my bondage, 78—I had but newly finished my fence and began to enjoy myself, 79—I cast up the notches on my post, 79—finishing the day as I began it, 80—I bought all my experience before I had it, 80—which I had no way to furnish myself with, 82—I found them to my purpose, 83—I employed a world of time about it, 83—after some pause,⁶

¹ I do not remember to have noticed in Bacon's attributed writings any occasion for the use of this word "knock," but in the play of *The Tempest*, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 69, we have :

Cal. Yea, yea, my lord : I'll yield him thee asleep,
Where thou mayst knock a nail into his head."

² This expression, and this use of the word "at," was common with Bacon. He also used it thus : "This may be done, if you put them in a pot or vessel well covered, that the moisture of the earth come not at them ; or else by putting them in a conservatory of snow." (Sub. 379 of Bacon's *Natural History*.)

³ This and the next expression are common forms with which to postpone subjects of thought in all these writings. Let them be noted. Another of these forms may be seen in Addison, vol. iv., p. 82, where we have : "But of this more hereafter."

⁴ See p. 127.

⁵ As to the expression "for good and all" we, from another of these voyagers, soon to be introduced, quote as follows : "But let not this encourage either the present age or posterity to trust their noses into the keeping of their eyes, which may prove the fairest way of losing them for good and all." (Swift's *Works*, p. 143.)

⁶ Bacon says : "For I thought it good to make some pause upon that which is received ; that thereby the old may be more easily

84—will be very diverting in its place, 84—I could not see which was my way by any direction but that of the sun, 85—it was so tame with being hungry, 87—and now I changed both my sorrows and my joys; my very desires altered, my affections changed their gusts, and my delights were properly new from what they were at my first coming, 87—locked up with the eternal bars and bolts of the ocean, 87—this would brake out upon me like a storm, 87—and my grief being exhausted would abate, 88—it began to be ripe apace, 89—this work took me up full three months, 92—which was the thing I was upon, 93—Here I was at a full stop,¹ 94—and thus I made shift² for many years, 95—and now I began to give myself over for lost, 107—Thus we never see the true state of our condition till it is illustrated to us by its contraries, 107—I made things round and shapable,³ 111—deep baskets were the receivers of my corn, 111—but I could not by

made perfect and the new more easily approached.” (Phil. Works, vol. iv., p. 22.) And in the *New Atlantis*, p. 153, we have the expression “Upon his pause of speech.” In *Hamlet*, Act iii., sc. 3, p. 301, we have :

“ And, like a man to double business bound,
I stand in pause where I shall first begin,
And both neglect.”

¹ See this use of the word “stop” at pp. 293 and 324 of Bacon’s *Letters*, vol. vi. And in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, p. 400, we have : “Then I continued to give thanks for this my great deliverance; for I verily believe she intended no good, but rather sought to make a stop of me in my journey.”

² The words “shift” and “drift” are fixed words of this literature, and we find Bacon using the expression “better at shift than at drift.” Note these words throughout the plays. In *Romeo and Juliet*, Act ii., sc. 3, p. 76, we have :

“ *Fri.* Be plain, good son, and homely in thy drift :
Riddling confession finds but riddling shift.”

In *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, p. 202, we have : “Now, after a while Littlefaith came to himself, and getting up, made shift to scramble on his way.”

³ This alludes to the making of his clay pots. *Promus*, 728. (An earthen pot in the threshold. Said of what is contemptible and not worth carrying off.—*Eras. Ad.*, 376.) *Promus*, 727. An earthenware god. Some of the minor deities were made of wood or clay, like pots (*ollæ*.)

“Men are but gilded loam or painted clay.”

—Richard II., Act i., sc. 2.

any means bring it to pass, 111—to study some art to trap and snare the goats, 112—to go about¹ to bring him away, 112—I could have killed him, but that was not my business nor would it answer my end, 113—It was a good while before they would feed, 113—breeding some up tame, 113—I pitched upon a place very proper for all these, 113—Nor was the madness² of it so great as to the compass, 113—This was acting with some prudence, 114—I inclosed five several pieces of ground, 114—after a great many essays and miscarriages, 114—There was my majesty, the prince and lord of the whole island; I had the lives of all my subjects at my absolute command; I could hang, draw, give liberty, and take it away; and no rebels among all my subjects,³ 114—and had found no species to multiply his kind upon, 114—I had such a terror upon my spirits, 116—but it was all one,⁴ 119—terrified to the last degree, 119—that as I could not guess what the ends of divine wisdom might be in all this, so I was not to dispute his sovereignty who, as I was his creature, had an undoubted right, by creating, to govern and dispose of me absolutely as he thought fit, 121—these thoughts took me up many hours and gave me the vapours to the highest degree, 123—and my head was full of vapours as above, 123—this confusion of my thoughts, 123

¹ Bacon in his Essay on "Sedition and Troubles" says: "For the despising of them many times checks them best; and the going about to stop them doth but make a wonder long-lived." And see p. 32, note 1.

² Note the word "madness" throughout and particularly in the plays. Promus, 919. (Madness makes them go; shame makes them stay.)

³ Already have we seen in connection with the New Atlantis Bacon's broken-off intention to give a system of laws for his model government. He, however, in this work Crusoe, at p. 186, touches the nucleus, we think, upon which it was to be founded.

⁴ Bacon says: "And yet that had been all one to the sharpness of the angle." (Phil. Works, vol. iii., p. 647.) And in the New Atlantis, p. 135, we have the expression "for to us it is all one." This expression was common with Bacon. It may be seen in The Pilgrim's Progress, p. 220, and is found in many place in the plays. In the play of Henry V., Act iv., sc. 7, p. 560, we have: "There is a river in Macedon, and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth: it is call'd Wye at Monmouth, but it is out of my prains, what is the name of the other river: but 'tis all one; 'tis like as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both." See if this subtlety has any relation to Monmouth, later to be alluded to. See p. 348.

—holes about as big as I might put my arm out at, 124—Thus I took all the measures that human prudence¹ could suggest, 125—while this was doing, 125—to live in the constant snare of the fear of men, 126—upon the religious part of my thoughts, 126—of which hereafter,² 127—in this frame of thoughtfulness, 128—which I had no manner of occasion to do, 128—it was by traps and snares, 129—it put me upon reflecting,³ 129—had taken off the edge of my intention, 129—But my invention ran quite another way, 130—These considerations put me to a pause and to a kind of full stop,⁴ 133—for certain it is, 134—I resolved it all at last into thankfulness, 135—a secret hint shall direct us this way when we intended to go that way, 135—these secret hints and pressings of mind, 135—nor would any man else, 136—a weed like nettles, 138—where none could come at them, 138—and as it was tide of ebb, 141—all the time of the tide of flood, 141—As I expected, so it proved, 141—and with all the speed I was able to make, 141—the perturbation of mind during this, 142—they must needs see it, 143—Had they seen the island, as I must necessarily suppose they did not, 144—as might be the case many ways, 144—I cannot explain by any possible energy of words, 144—those same secret springs in the affections, 145—and the same evening about an hour within night⁵ I reached the island, 148—cost what it would, 153—wear off the edge of my desire, 154—It came now very warmly upon my thoughts, 156—He fell to

¹ In ch. 3, Book 8 of the *De Augmentis* we have: "The narrowness of human prudence cannot foresee all cases that time may produce."

² Bacon says: "And I am not now speaking of the sources of particular winds (of which hereafter), but of the places in which winds in general are bred." (*Phil. Works*, vol. v., p. 159.) And on p. 318 he says: "In the mean time the mind also has its periods, though they cannot be described by years; as a failing memory and the like, of which hereafter." Often by this distinctive expression did Bacon suspend examination upon a subject. See p. 392, note 3.

³ In the *New Atlantis*, p. 129, we have the expression "which did put us in some hope of land."

⁴ This use of the words "pause" and "stop" by Bacon we have sufficiently noted. As circumstances have limited our time, we have not been able to do for this part of our subject what was originally designed. But we trust the reader will here lend aid in searching out these relations.

⁵ See this expression, "within night," in the *New Atlantis*, p. 137.

work,¹ 158—He was a comely,² handsome fellow, perfectly well made, with straight strong limbs, not too large, tall and well shaped, 158—And first I let him know his name should be Friday, 159—I called him so for the memory of the time, 159—but I discovered so much abhorrence, at the very thought of it, 160—for never man had a more faithful, loving, sincere servant, 161—his very affections were tied to me, 161—the many testimonies he gave me of this put it out of doubt, 161—but I shut it up, and checked my thoughts, 162—as we are all the clay in the hand of the potter, 162—to bring Friday off from his horrid way of feeding, 163—but I could easily see the meaning was, to pray me not to kill him, 163—which was indeed a parrot, though I thought it had been a hawk, 164—The poor creature did not understand me at all, but thought I had asked who was his father; but I took it up by another handle,³ and asked him who made the sea, 167—but he returned upon me repeating my words, 169—when I had examined further into it,⁴ 172—to see if he would discover any of the new thoughts which I suspected were in him,⁵ 174—what kind of wood was fittest for it,

¹ In the *New Atlantis*, p. 151, we have the expression “that done they fell to music and dancing.” In *Hamlet*, Act ii, sc. 2, p. 244, we have:

“He falls to such perusal of my face,
As he would draw it.”

In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 212, we have: “Then Atheist fell into a very great laughter.” While on p. 110 we have the expression “he fell from running to going;” on p. 214, “let us fall into good discourse;” on p. 259, “the boys fell into tears;” on p. 260, “she fell to sleeping again;” on p. 263, “she fell a weeping,” etc.

² This word “comely” was ever Bacon’s word for this place. In his *Essay* entitled “Of Beauty,” he says: “Virtue is like a rich stone, best plain set; and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features: and that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect.”

³ We here again have that distinctively used Baconian word “handle,” considered in earlier pages. And in the *Promus* Notes we have: *Promus*, 856. (To look for a handle.) See p. 110.

⁴ This expression is distinctly Baconian. The use of the word “discover” in the next expression is a distinct earmark in these writings. Observe its use in *Addison*.

⁵ In *Bacon's Letters*, vol. i., p. 64, we have the expression “which I know to be in you.” Bacon’s critical and definite use of these two words “in” and “into” may be seen in the play of *Julius Cæsar* thus:

176—I brought it to pass, 177—when he saw me work my boat to and again in the sea, 177—for I had been so good a husband¹ of my rum, 175—I began to abate my resolution, 179—but did not immediately know which way to run, 181—to victual our vessel, 190—His caution was so seasonable,² 190—and caused them to do the like, 190—but it fell out to my mind another way,³ 194—What is your case?—Our case,⁴ said he, sir, is too long to tell you, 169—Look you, sir, said I, 197—and so put it wholly upon God's Providence to direct the shot, 197—if any escaped we should be undone, 198—necessity legitimates my advice, 198—they gave him all the protestations of their sincerity that could be desired, 198—I told him this was my castle and my residence, but that I had a seat in the country, as most princes have, whither I could retire upon occasion, 199—telling one another they were got into an enchanted island, 204—but I was willing to take them at some advantage, 204—which fell out just as we desired, 205—I kept myself and one more out of sight for reasons of state, 206—and would go with him all over the world, 207—a chain of wonders, 210—but that Providence

“*Cas.* I know that virtue to be in you, Brutus,
As well as I do know your outward favor.”

And again :

“*Bru.* Into what dangers would you lead me, Cassius,
That you would have me seek into myself
For that which is not in me ?”

—Act i., sc. 2, pp. 335, 336.

¹ Note this use of the word “husband” by Bacon in Sub. 596 and 599 of his Natural History. And in another sense in his Essay entitled “Of Honor and Reputation” we have : “A man is an ill husband of his honor, that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying it through can honor him.”

² Note this use of the word “seasonable” by Bacon, in the plays, and throughout. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 183, we have :

“*Chr.* Ah my brother, this is a seasonable sight :” etc.

³ These words “fell out” were distinctly Baconian. *Promus*, 770. He casts another man's chance. (*Aliena jacit.*—*Eras. Ad.*, 169. When things fall out otherwise than has been hoped.)

⁴ As already stated, there is throughout these writings a permanent and kind of distinctive use of this word “case.” Bacon says : “But after I had given him that thought, I turned it upon this, that I left his state and business in good case, whereof I gave him a particular account.” (*Bacon's Letters*, vol. vi., p. 163.) See p. 92, note 2.

had ensnared them in their own ways, 211—I believe the sudden surprise of joy had overset nature and I had died upon the spot, 219—he ordered me to be let blood,¹ 219—after which I had relief and grew well, 219—and indeed was the original² of the whole journey,” 222.

There seems as if some hitch or change of purpose here in the story, though continued by the same hand.

“We all mended our pace, 225—and will have satisfaction in point of honor, 225—put us out of doubt,³ 227—he had the heels of them, 230—but the creature resolved us soon, 230—some timber trees,⁴ 230—out of all government of themselves, 246—which had blown them quite out of their knowledge, 250—and presently knew the very countenance of the place, 255—we went on shore upon the tide of flood, 257—to see how his passion run out another way, 257—he threw his arms abroad,⁵ 258—their behaviour was to the last degree obliging and courteous, 259—the captain gave them good words, 261—and beating

¹ We have seen that this distinctive expression, “to be let blood,” is Baconian. See p. 390, note 4.

² To this use of the word “original” we have already called attention.

³ We find Bacon not only using this distinctive expression, “out of doubt,” but the expressions “out of levity,” “out of question,” “out of countenance,” “out of zeal,” “out of hope,” etc. He says: “I myself am out of doubt, that you have been miserably abused,” etc. (Works, vol. iii., p. 21.) In the Comedy of Errors, Act iv., sc. 3, p. 196, we have:

“*Cour.* Now, out of doubt, Antipholus is mad,
Else would he never so demean himself.”

In a *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act iv., sc. 2, p. 335, we have:

“*Star.* He cannot be heard of. Out of doubt, he is transported.”

And in the plays we have “Out of his knowledge,” “out of countenance,” “out of Christian burial,” “out of sleep,” “out of my promise,” “out of my purpose,” “out of question,” “out of hope,” etc.

⁴ Bacon was ever definite in speaking of trees, mentioning them as fruit, shade, or timber trees. See Sub. 472 and 593 of his *Natural History*. And in his Essay on “Sedition and Troubles” he says: “As for nobility in particular persons, it is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle or building not in decay; or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect.” This distinction is observed throughout these writings.

⁵ In the *New Atlantis*, p. 135, we have: “At his coming in he did bend to us a little, and put his arms abroad.” See also p. 133.

their brains' in considering their present circumstances, 271—as they expected it fell out, 272—he was as true to me as the very flesh upon my bones, 274—they grew apace,² 275—their hair-brained courage, 277—unless narrowly³ searched for, 278—and could make nothing of it, 278—but my meaning is, 286—there was the very face of industry and success upon all they did, 287—but was an exceeding good fence, as well against heat, as against all sorts of vermin,⁴ 303—had we poor Spaniards been in your case, we should never have got half these things but of the ship,⁵ 307—I desired him to abate his compliment, 307—which they were bred to, 310—but let them see how nature made artificers at first, 312—what was afterwards done in this matter I will speak of by itself,⁶ 319—Will Atkins for his own particular⁷ added, 324—and bade him

¹ Bacon says: “I am now beating my brains (among many cases of his Majesty’s business) touching the redeeming the time in this business of cloth.” (Bacon’s Letters, vol. vi., p. 73.)

² Bacon says: “The materials of that kingdom, which is trade and wealth, grew on apace.” (Bacon’s Letters, vol. vi., p. 310.)

³ There will be found a kind of individualism in the use of this word “narrow” throughout. It is generally associated with some search into, and the expression commonly is “look narrowly into.” And see this identical use in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, p. 217. And in Addison, vol. i., p. 480, we have: “I searched narrowly into it, especially among those additions of sculpture made in the emperor’s own age, to see if I could find any marks of the apparition that is said to have preceded the very victory which gave occasion to the triumphal arch.”

⁴ See Bacon’s use of this word “fence” at p. 34. It is applied here as well against an influence as against distinctive bodies. And Bacon says: “So here is the case of Princes, that fear of law and punishment, which be the ordinance of God as a fence about their thrones, is thrown down and trampled under foot.” (Bacon’s Letters, vol. v., p. 164.) In Addison, vol. ii., p. 195, we have: “The crew of each vessel made themselves a cabin of turf and wood, at some distance from each other, to fence themselves against the inclemencies of the weather, which was severe beyond imagination.”

⁵ This use of the word “case” we have already called under review. And in the *New Atlantis*, p. 130, we have the expression “For our sick there were many, and in very ill case.”

⁶ In the *New Atlantis*, p. 144, we have the expression “I shall now give you an account by itself.”

⁷ Note this distinctive expression “for his own particular.” Bacon says: “But for my particular I do assure you I can hardly imagine a matter wherein you shall more effectually tie me unto you than in this.” (Bacon’s Letters, vol. i., p. 265.) And on p. 383 we have: “To conclude, let him be true to himself, and avoid all tedious reaches of state that are not merely pertinent to his particular.”

consider of it,¹ 324—I was a little backward to it, 325—be his own opinion what it would, 327—I take this man to be a true penitent, 328—and let us more narrowly and fully observe what was before us, 330—instead of my going about to teach and instruct him, 334—and make her rather condemn religion than receive it, 339—I thought he had all the zeal, all the knowledge, all the sincerity of a Christian without the errors of a Roman Catholic; and that I took him to be such a clergyman as the Roman bishops were, before the Church of Rome assumed spiritual sovereignty over the consciences of men,² 339—let the value be what it would, 341—his discourse was very prettily delivered, 341—I liked it the worse,³ 350—just as a hunting horn forms a tune with an open throat, 353—about a stone's cast, 359—being very ill wounded, 360—we told thirty-two bodies, 362—they gave me good words,⁴ 363—yet to give them their due, 363—he told me that he found that I brought that affair continually upon the stage,⁵ 370—that I made unjust reflections upon it, 370—that was a heavy piece of news, 372—there are no drones in the world but men, 374—we shall see so much further into it, 375—provided he could, as he called it, find his account in it, 376—in bringing me to come into it, 376—but fear, that blind useless passion, worked another way

While on p. 365 we have the expression “since it is mixed with my particular.” Already have we mentioned the fact that a person by the name of Will Atkins was one of the witnesses to Lord Bacon's last will.

¹ Bacon says: “Simonides being asked by Hiero; *What he thought of God?* asked a seven-night's time to consider of it.” (Bacon's Literary Works, vol. ii., p. 158.)

² To restore the Church to this ancient foundation, we take to have been Bacon's aim in religious matters.

³ In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 287, we have: “I had thought they lived upon crumbs of bread, or upon other such harmless matter: I like him worse than I did.” This expression may be found used by Bacon, but I have mislaid my reference.

⁴ We find Bacon using the expressions “good words,” “good ends,” “good hours,” “good dreams,” “good hope,” “good leave,” etc. And in *Measure for Measure*, Act iii., sc. 1, p. 76, we have:

“*Isab.* I have heard of the lady, and good words went with her name.”

⁵ Bacon says: “For as his Majesty hath good experience that when his business comes upon the stage I carry it with strength and resolution, so in the proceedings I love to be wary and considerate.” (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 47.)

and threw me into the vapours, 393—they would not give themselves leave, 393—but let that be how it will, 393—being a mixture of pomp and poverty, 403—I took this time to think what pains men's pride put them to, 408—as if we admired his pomp though we really pitied and contemned him, 404—of which he had abundance to make us merry with, 405—as this is one of the singularities of China, so they may be allowed to excel in it, 408—O Senhor Inglese says he, you speak in colours.¹ In colours ! said I ; what do you mean by that?—Why you speak what looks white this way and black that way : gay one way and dull another. You tell him it is a good wall to keep out Tartars ; you tell me by that it is good for nothing but to keep out Tartars, 409—and like true sheep keep together when they fly, 410—we supposed this was to call their friends about them, and so it was, 410—nor showing the face of any order at all, 410—an ugly, ill-favored weapon, 412—to give him his due, 413—only if need were, 414—a face of the Christian worship, 416—winter began to come on apace, 428—if the door of your liberty were opened, 431—to go back to the pomp of a court, 432—so that objection is out of doors, 432—the liberty of my reason, 435.”

¹ Let this subject of speaking in colors be called into relation with Bacon's sophisms and his article on the “ Colors of Good and Evil.”

HARLEY AND DEFOE.

LESS space has been devoted to this title and to the historic period following the reign of James the First than was at first intended, and for two reasons : first, because more of the space set in which to compass the work has been devoted to other subjects than was originally designed ; and second, because it seems less necessary than at first in setting forth our claims. And we may add, we but ring the bell that shall call better wits to the work.

Charles the First came to the English throne upon the death of his father, March 27th, 1625, and met his own fate at the block, January 30th, 1649, as we have seen. Upon his death the Rump Parliament declared it high treason to proclaim another king, and the House of Lords, having been declared useless and dangerous, was abolished. England thus became a republic, its executive authority being now vested in a commission of forty-one persons, of whom Bradshaw was President, and John Milton, the poet, at the age of forty-one, was Foreign Secretary. Charles a few months after his father's death became wedded to the Catholic princess, Henrietta Maria, a daughter of Henry the Fourth of France. He left surviving him six children, two of whom, Charles and James, came to the throne, though their claims were suspended during the reign of The Commonwealth, and until May 8th, 1660, when Charles was proclaimed King as Charles the Second, and thus was the monarchy restored. Upon his death, February 6th, 1685, he openly avowed his belief in the Catholic faith, and was immediately succeeded by his brother James, under the title of James the Second, who, openly espousing the Catholic faith in the face of literary methods now begun, brought on the Revolution of 1688, whereupon he was compelled to abdicate his throne.

Earlier, and on December 5th, 1661, in the second year of the restoration of the monarchy, was born at London Robert Harley, our noted manuscript collector. And Defoe is said to have been born during the same year. Harley became the founder of what is known as the Harleian Manuscripts, the Harleian Miscellany, and the Harleian Library, and ultimately became first Earl of Oxford. We have said a collector of manuscript, we think it would have been truer, in the main, to have said that he was a discloser or bringer to light of manuscripts.

He was the eldest son of Sir Robert Harley, a wealthy landowner in Herefordshire. In religion he was a Non-conformist, in politics, in early life, a Whig. The Whigs were the party known as advocates of popular rights. The word "Whig" is said to have taken its origin from the initial letters of the club's motto from which the party sprung, it being "We hope in God."¹

The opposite party—the Tories—were earnest supporters of royal and ecclesiastic authority, and the word first appears in English history in the year 1679, during the Parliamentary struggle to exclude James the Second, then Duke of York, from the line of succession.

Those who opposed the bill were designated as Tories, while those who were its advocates were called Whigs. The mentioned religious and political opinions were by Harley's family connections early instilled into his mind. At the Revolution or abdication of James, in 1688, he and his father raised a troop of horse in support of the cause of William the Third, a son of William, Prince of Orange, by Mary, eldest daughter of Charles the First, and who had further connected himself with the Stuart line by wedding Mary, a daughter of James the Second. The Harleys took possession of the city of Worcester in William's interest, and who with Mary, his wife, became now entitled to the crown by what is known as the Act of Settlement, passed January 22d, 1689. This interest in the new King brought Robert Harley to public notice, and in April, 1689, he was elected to Parliament. Later he became Chancellor of the Exchequer, and from which, in 1711, he was raised to the peerage.

¹ Had those connected with this club a relation to the Defoe literature and to the scheme yet to be unfolded? Let this thought be at least taken with us as we go.

He became early noted for his knowledge of Parliamentary proceedings, by devoting much attention and care to the subject, and from 1701 to 1705 he was Speaker of the House. Upon King William's death, February 21st, 1702, Anna, a second daughter of James the Second, came to the throne.

At about this time Harley began to manifest much uncertainty as to party affiliations, and later his actions are said to have been enigmatic. He was now, as we shall claim, studiously and cautiously playing his part in the great scheme later to be unfolded, and which the mentioned change had in a measure made necessary. By some he was even thought treacherous to the nation, and on February 11th, 1708, he was dismissed from his office as Secretary of State, which had, in 1704, been added to his position as Speaker of the House. During this time he had been the secret adviser of the Queen, who, by the now opposition awakened against him, was forced to accept his resignation. He is said to have possessed great aptitude for intrigue, and now, and without scruple, to have used all his arts to hasten the downfall of his enemies. The danger to the national Church and the cost of the war with France are said to have been the weapons which he used to influence the popular mind. Through his cousin, Mrs. Masham, he had still the ear of the queen, and in May, 1711, he was restored to power as Baron Harley of Wigmore and Earl of Oxford and Mortimer; and before the month had ended he was created Lord Treasurer and in the following year he became Knight of the Garter. This sudden rise is said to have been due to a popular furor awakened in his interest by his having been, a month previous, and during poor health, stabbed in the breast with a penknife by a French refugee, then under examination in the Privy Council.

Concerning Harley and this elevation, Lee, Defoe's most comprehensive biographer, vol. i., p. 178, says: "The high station to which Harley had raised himself,—the intrigues attributed to him,—the profession of Whig principles, while seeking alliance in office with high Tories,—the moderation of his measures, and the evident efforts to restrain his colleagues,—the secrecy he effected in all transactions of a public nature, so as to set conjecture at defiance,—all these constituted him a political enigma."

And on p. 180, and which we would have the reader carefully note, Lee says : " We admire the discernment and tact of the Minister who could engage, in support of his policy, the pens of such men as Addison, Swift, Defoe, Steel, Arbuthnot, Prior, and Davenant ; though some of them were opposed to each other, personally and politically."

With Baconian manuscripts and with these aids to present the occasions for use did Harley play the gigantic game of chess which we are to unfold.

By degrees, however, the confidence of the Queen was removed from Harley to Bolingbroke, and on July 27th, 1714, Harley, after a violent altercation with the Queen, and which was thought to have hastened her death, surrendered his staff as Lord Treasurer ; and on August 1st, 1714, the Stuart line of kings was by the death of the Queen brought to a close.

In the beginning of her reign Anne had outwardly, at least, sided with the dominant party, the Whigs, to which her predecessor, King William, belonged. But in her heart she is said to have hated them, thinking them republicans and enemies to the Church of England, to which she professed to be devotedly attached. Circumstances thus so arose with Harley as to induce him to act one way, while much of the Defoe literature lay quite in another ; and hence the need of aid in handling at least portions of it, and which was for a time, as we shall see, fathered upon no one.

The Tory party, knowing the Queen's sympathies, took courage, and clergymen began to preach violent sermons against toleration and Dissenters or Nonconformists. The Queen was now by petition asked to support the more intolerant party, and to rid herself of her Whig advisers. This coinciding with her feelings, she dismissed them all, her great general, Marlborough, excepted, whose wife had much influence with her. But Marlborough was charged with peculation and with using his position to amass a private fortune ; and as the Tories in the Parliament which met in 1710 had the majority, the Queen was prevailed upon to deprive him of his office, whereupon the Whig influence at the court was at an end, and Lady Marlborough's place was transferred in the Queen's regard to Harley's cousin, Mrs. Masham, before mentioned.

The first important measure of Anne's reign went in the line of King William's policy, and was a declaration of war against France, the chief reason assigned being the necessity of restraining the power of France as dangerous to the safety of Europe. War against France was also declared by the Dutch and Germans. In 1702 the contest began, and was carried forward for some ten years and until 1713, when the new Tory ministry resolved to bring it to a close, which was done in the noted treaty of Utrecht.

The question of the union of the two countries of England and Scotland, which since the reign of James the First had been united but in their crowns, was early in this reign brought prominently before the people. The agitation of the question had indeed begun in the previous reign. Now, as under the reign of James the First, it met with stout opposition from Scotland. But Anne favored the act, and it was finally passed in 1707, and as of May 1st. Scotland kept, however, her own laws and her own Presbyterian Church.

Issues permitting the use of Baconian manuscripts by slight modifications may be here noted.

The latter portion of this reign was filled with Jacobite intrigues to secure the throne to the son of the Catholic prince, the abdicated James the Second, called the Pretender, and hence a struggle to continue the Stuart line. To his claims Anne was favorable, though she had early abandoned the cause of her father. See *Britannica* article as to Anne. Her character is said to have been weak though amiable, and her conduct to have been unduly influenced by female friends and favorites.

Upon Anne's death the Whig party was at once restored to power under George the First, who succeeded her, and who was the first of the Hanoverian line. Upon the Queen's death Harley retired to Herefordshire, but in a few months his impeachment was decided upon, and in July, 1715, he was committed to the Tower, where he was often visited by Defoe, and where he has been said to have composed *Crusoe*, or at least its first volume. See Lee, vol. i., p. 294. After nearly two years' imprisonment and on July 1st, 1717, he was discharged by the House of Lords, and allowed to resume his place among the peers, but he thereafter took little part in public affairs, and died, it is said, almost unnoticed, May 21st, 1724. The

noted manuscripts under his control gave him, we think, his chief notoriety.

Macaulay in his *History of England*, vol. iv., pp. 368-72, says :

“The space which Robert Harley fills in the history of three reigns, his elevation, his fall, the influence which, at a great crisis, he exercised on the politics of all Europe, the close intimacy in which he lived with some of the greatest wits and poets of his time, and the frequent recurrence of his name in the works of Swift, Pope, Arbuthnot, and Prior, must always make him an object of interest. Yet the man himself was of all men the least interesting. There is indeed a whimsical contrast between the very ordinary qualities of his mind and the very extraordinary vicissitudes of his fortune.

“He was the heir of a Puritan family. His father, Sir Edward Harley, had been conspicuous among patriots of the Long Parliament, had commanded a regiment under Essex, had after the Restoration been an active opponent of the Court, had supported the Exclusion Bill, had harbored dissenting preachers, had frequented meeting houses, and had made himself so obnoxious to the ruling powers that, at the time of the Western Insurrection, he had been placed under arrest, and his house had been searched for arms. When the Dutch army were marching from Torbay towards London, he and his eldest son Robert declared for the Prince of Orange and a free Parliament, raised a large body of horse, took possession of Worcester, and evinced their zeal against Popery by publicly breaking to pieces, in the High Street of that city, a piece of sculpture which to rigid precisions seemed idolatrous. Soon after the Convention became a Parliament Robert Harley was sent up to Westminster as member for a Cornish borough. His conduct was such as might have been expected from his birth and education. He was a Whig, and indeed an intolerant and vindictive Whig. Nothing could satisfy him but a general proscription of the Tories. His name appears in the list of those members who voted for the Sacheverell clause ; and, at the general election which took place in the spring of 1690, the party which he had persecuted made great exertions to keep him out of the House of Commons. A cry was raised that the Harleys were mortal enemies of the Church ; and this cry

produced so much effect that it was with difficulty that any of them could obtain a seat. Such was the commencement of the public life of a man whose name, a quarter of a century later, was inseparably coupled with the High Church in the acclamations of Jacobite mobs.

“ Soon, however, it began to be observed that in every division Harley was in the company of those gentlemen who held his political opinions in abhorrence : nor was this strange : for he affected the character of a Whig of the old pattern ; and before the Revolution it had always been supposed that a Whig was a person who watched with jealousy every exertion of the prerogative, who was slow to loose the strings of the public purse, and who was extreme to mark the fault of the ministers of the Crown. Such a Whig Harley still professed to be. He did not admit that the recent change of dynasty had made any change in the duties of a representative of the people. The new government ought to be observed as suspiciously, checked as severely, and supplied as sparingly as the old one. Acting on these principles, he necessarily found himself acting with men whose principles were diametrically opposed to his. He liked to thwart the King : they liked to thwart the usurper : the consequence was that, whenever there was an opportunity for thwarting William, the Roundheads stayed in the House or went into the lobby in company with the whole crowd of Cavaliers.

“ So on Harley acquired the authority of a leader among those with whom, notwithstanding wide differences of opinion, he ordinarily voted. His influence in Parliament was indeed altogether out of proportion to his abilities. His intellect was both small and slow. He was unable to take a large view of any subject. He never acquired the art of expressing himself in public with fluency and perspicuity. To the end of his life he remained a tedious, hesitating and confused speaker. He had none of the external grace of an orator. His countenance was heavy ; his figure mean and somewhat deformed, and his gestures uncouth. Yet he was heard with respect. For, such as his mind was, it had been assiduously cultivated. His youth had been studious ; and to the last he continued to love books and the society of men of genius and learning. Indeed he aspired to the character of a wit and a poet, and occasionally employed

hours which should have been very differently spent in composing verses more execrable than the bellman's. His time, however, was not always so absurdly wasted. He had that sort of industry and that sort of exactness which would have made him a respectable antiquary or King of Arms. His taste led him to plod among old records ; and in that age it was only by plodding among old records that any man could obtain any accurate and extensive knowledge of the law of Parliament. Having few rivals in this laborious and unattractive pursuit, he soon began to be regarded as an oracle on questions of form and privilege. His moral character added not a little to his influence. He had indeed great vices ; but they were not of a scandalous kind. He was not to be corrupted by money. His private life was regular. No illicit amour was imputed to him even by satirists. Gambling he held in aversion ; and it was said that he never passed White's, then the favorite haunt of noble sharpers and dupes, without an exclamation of anger. His practice of flustering himself daily with claret was hardly considered as a fault by his contemporaries. His knowledge, his gravity and his independent position gained for him the ear of the House ; and even his bad speaking was, in some sense, an advantage to him. For people are very loath to admit that the same man can unite very different kinds of excellence. It is soothing to envy to believe that what is splendid cannot be solid, that what is clear cannot be profound. Very slowly was the public brought to acknowledge that Mansfield was a great jurist, and that Burke was a great master of political science. Montague was a brilliant rhetorician, and, therefore, though he had ten times Harley's capacity for the driest parts of business, was represented by detractors as a superficial, prating pretender. But from the absence of show in Harley's discourses many people inferred that there must be much substance ; and he was pronounced to be a deep-read, deep-thinking gentleman, not a fine talker, but fitter to direct affairs of state than all fine talkers in the world. This character he long supported with that cunning which is frequently found in company with ambitious and unquiet mediocrity. He constantly had, even with his best friends, an air of mystery and reserve which seemed to indicate that he knew some monstrous secret, and that

his mind was laboring with some vast design. In this way he got and long kept a high reputation for wisdom. It was not till that reputation had made him an Earl, a Knight of the Garter, Lord High Treasurer of England, and master of the fate of Europe, that his admirers began to find out that he was really a dull puzzle-headed man.

“Soon after the general election of 1690, Harley, generally voting with the Tories, began to turn Tory. The change was so gradual as to be almost imperceptible, but was not the less real. He early began to hold the Tory doctrine that England ought to confine herself to a maritime war. He early felt the true Tory antipathy to Dutchmen and to moneyed men. The antipathy to Dissenters, which was necessary to the completeness of the character, came much later. At length the transformation was complete; and the old hunter of conventicles became an intolerable High Churchman. Yet to the last the traces of his early breeding would now and then show themselves; and, while he acted after the fashion of Laud, he sometimes wrote in the style of Praise God Barebones.”

This description Macaulay follows with this foot-note: “In a letter dated Sept. 12, 1709, a short time before he was brought into power on the shoulders of the High Church mob, he says: ‘My soul has been among lions, even the sons of men, whose teeth are spears and arrows, and their tongues sharp swords. But I learn how good it is to wait on the Lord, and to possess one’s soul in peace.’ The letter was to Carstairs. I doubt whether Harley would have canted thus if he had been writing to Atterbury.”

It was not until after Harley’s death that many important Baconian manuscripts came to light. “Bacon’s Notes on the State of Europe” did not appear until 1734, and they were first published in the supplement to Stephens’ collection, concerning which Mr. Spedding says that Stephens, having died before its publication, he does not feel satisfied to ascribe it to Bacon. He in justice, however, gives what Stephens says in the preface to the work, and from which we quote: “I laid aside all thoughts of troubling myself or others in the same kind until the Right Honorable the Earl of Oxford was pleased to put into my hands some neglected manuscripts and loose papers, to see whether any of the Lord Bacon’s

compositions lay concealed there, that were fit to be published. Upon the perusal I found some of them written and others amended by his lordship's own hand, and believed that all of them had been in possession of Dr. Rawley, his lordship's chaplain and faithful editor of many of his works. I found that several of the treatises had been published by him, and that others, certainly genuine, which had not, were fit to be transcribed and so preserved, if not divulged." (Bacon's Letters, vol. i., p. 16.) Note also that Bacon's mentioned letter to Queen Elizabeth, in 1599, concerning his Tub did not come to light until after Harley's death, nor until 1729.

Our position, then, is that at the opening of the Defoe period Baconian manuscripts, wherein was wrapped the most gigantic enterprise of modern times, had never as yet seen the light, and of which fact Harley was absolutely certain. Bacon, in fact, made his life but as the seed-bed in which to plant vast designs.

The actor Defoe was twenty-six years of age when appeared the first published article with which his name has become associated.¹ This paper was issued in 1687, the year prior to the mentioned abdication by James the Second; and it is said to have had a tendency to set the Nonconformists or Dissenters at war with the English Church. It consisted of a double-columned quarto sheet, without date, title-page, signature, name of printer, or place of publication. James had at this time issued a declaration of religious tolerance, and with the view, it is said, of more easily overcoming Protestant resistance to Papal encroachments. The Pilgrim's Progress, said to be the work of a Nonconformist, appeared some earlier, though it is also said that it is not definitely known in what year it first appeared.² The Puritan influences under which Lord Bacon was born and reared have already been recounted, as have his intentions to bring forth covertly

¹ But in the *Britannica* article on Defoe it is said that in the older catalogues of his works two pamphlets are attributed to him before the accession of James the Second, the first entitled "*Speculum Crapegonorum*" (a satire on the clergy) and the other "A Treatise against the Turks."

² As early as 1667 William Penn, the Friend, the Quaker, had begun to put forth important papers in this direction, and he finally became the great equitable lawgiver to Pennsylvania and other of the American colonies.

certain portions of his writings. While during his life he outwardly conformed to the Established Church and was its great harmoniser—which otherwise he could not have been—he still ever sought to bend or shape its course. After his fall he undertook, as we shall claim, subtle methods in which to bring forth thwarted ends, and as well in religious as in political matters, and with the particular aim of beating back Papal and Pagan influences, which he ever so much feared. These manuscripts may and unquestionably did consist of many composed before as well as subsequent to his fall, and the commingling of them in the handling helped the better to break relations.

James the Second, a grandson of James the First, was the first Catholic prince that had ruled England since the days of Mary Tudor.¹ His brother Charles, whom he succeeded, had manifested strong tendencies in this direction during his reign, and this greatly increased the discontents of the kingdom, and upon his death-bed he openly avowed his belief in that faith.

James began his reign by going openly and in royal state to mass, and from the first showed his intention to restore the ancient or Roman faith. Finding the Parliament an obstacle, he at once dismissed it, and never called another. He then promoted Papists to the highest offices in the State, sent an ambassador to Rome, and filled the official stations of Oxford and Cambridge with those of his

¹ Did Bacon make a guess as to James' issue by the means expressed by Warwick in the play of Henry IV., part 2, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 313, where we have :

"War. There is a history in all men's lives,
Figuring the nature of the times deceas'd ;
The which observ'd, a man may prophesy,
With a near aim, of the main chance of things
As yet not come to life : which in their seeds,
And weak beginnings, lie intreaured.
Such things become the hatch and brood of time ;
And, by the necessary form of this,
King Richard might create a perfect guess,
That great Northumberland, then false to him,
Would, of that seed, grow to a greater falseness ;
Which should not find a ground to root upon,
Unless on you."

As to the word "hatch" here used, Bacon, in his History of Henry the Seventh, says : "In her withdrawing-chamber the conspiracy against King Richard the Third had been hatched."

own faith. These acts called more sharply forth the Foe or Defoe literature, and which was designed to awaken the Nonconformists or stanch Protestant element into activity.¹

From the publication of the mentioned article, in 1687, until Defoe's arrest, in 1703, this literature, and large in amount, was fathered upon no one. Having upon his arrest, and in order to regain his liberty, confessed himself the author of a most subtle and adroitly written pamphlet, entitled "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters," and aimed quite in reverse of its title, his relations to the intermediate writings soon became fixed. By the establishment in the public mind of a few of these articles as his, denial was indeed useless, as they all possess that oneness as to style, vocabulary, sentence framework, and range of knowledge as to leave little room for cavil. And we may thus see how, occasionally, circumstances may so arrange themselves as to render a false position impregnable, or impossible to controvert or correct, as what is once formed in the popular mind is hard, even next to impossible to eradicate, as is well known: and hence thereafter but slight cloaking was necessary. And so Defoe, after his arrest and interview with Harley, soon to be considered, and which was doubtless his first connection with these writings, fell in and swam with the current, and doubtless found it largely for his interest to do so. From this moment he was a tool of Robert Harley, and so became one of the actors in the great scheme.

In an article said to have been published by Defoe at the age of fifty-four, at which time his political career was thought to have ended, and entitled "An Appeal to Honor and Justice," (was it his own composition?) and designed, it has been said, to aid Harley in his defence in 1715, at which time it appeared, he says, or is made to say:

"I will make no reflections upon the treatment I met with from the people I suffered for, or how I was aban-

¹ Earlier Penn had put forth anonymously important papers touching the Church. As we have no hesitancy in saying that the "Maxims" attributed to him are a product of Bacon's pen, we would therefore have it investigated—our time not having as yet permitted us to do so—as to whether he was also an actor in the great scheme.

doned even in my sufferings at the same time that they acknowledged the service I had been to their cause ; but I must mention it to let you know that while I lay friendless and distressed in the prison of Newgate, my family ruined, and myself without hope of deliverance, a message was brought me from a person of Honour, who, till that time, I had never had the least acquaintance with, or knowledge of, other than by fame, or by sight, as we know men of quality by seeing them on public occasions. I gave no present answer to the person who brought it, having not duly weighed the import of the message. The message was by word of mouth thus : ‘ Pray, ask that gentleman what I can do for him ? ’ But in return to this kind and generous message, I immediately took my pen and ink, and wrote the story of the blind man in the Gospel, who followed our Saviour, and to whom our blessed Lord put the question, ‘ What wilt thou that I should do unto thee ? ’ Who, as if he had made it strange that such a question should be asked, or as if he had said that I am blind, and yet ask me what thou shalt do for me ? My answer is plain in my misery, ‘ Lord, that I may receive my sight.’

“ I need not make the application. And from this time, although I lay four months in prison after this, and heard no more of it, yet from this time, as I learned afterwards, this noble person made it his business to have my case presented to her majesty and methods taken for my deliverance.

“ I mention this point because I am no more to forget the obligation upon me to the Queen, than to my first benefactor.

“ When her majesty came to have the truth of the case laid before her, I soon felt the effects of her royal goodness and compassion. And first, her majesty declared, that she left all that matter to a certain person, and did not think he could have used me in such a manner. Probably these words may seem imaginary to some, and the speaking of them to me of no value, and so they would have been had they not been followed with further and more convincing proof of what they imported, which were these, that her majesty was pleased particularly to inquire into my circumstances and family, and by Lord Treasurer Godolphin to send a considerable supply to my wife and

family, and to send to me the prison money to pay my fine and the expenses of my discharge. Whether this be a just foundation let my enemies judge. Here is the foundation on which I built my first sense of duty to her majesty's person, and the indelible bond of gratitude to my first benefactor.

"Gratitude and fidelity are inseparable from an honest man. But to be thus obliged by a stranger, by a man of quality and honor, and after that by the sovereign under whose administration I was suffering, let any one put himself in my stead, and examine upon what principles I could ever act against either such a Queen, or such a benefactor; and what must my own heart reproach me with, what blushes must have covered my face when I had looked in, and called myself ungrateful to him that saved me thus from distresses, or her that fetched me out of the dungeon, and gave my family relief? Let any man who knows what principles are, what engagements of honor and gratitude are, make this case his own, and say what I should have done more or less than I have done.

"I must go on a little with the detail of the obligation, and then I shall descend to relate what I have done and what I have not done in the case.

"Being delivered from the distresses I was in, her majesty, who was not satisfied to do me good by a single act of her bounty, had the goodness to think of taking me into her service, and I had the honor to be engaged in several honorable though secret services, by the interposition of my first benefactor who then appeared as a member in the public administration.

"I had the happiness to discharge myself in all these trusts so much to the satisfaction of those who employed me, though oftentimes with difficulty and danger, that my Lord Treasurer Godolphin, whose memory I have always honored, was pleased to continue his favor to me, and to do me all good offices with her majesty, even after an unhappy breach had separated him from my first benefactor, the particulars of which may not be improper to relate; and as it is not an injustice to any, so I hope it may not be offensive.

"When upon that fatal breach, the Secretary of State was dismissed from the service, I looked upon myself as lost; it being a general rule in such cases, when a great

official falls, that all who came in by his interest fall with him ; and resolving never to abandon the fortunes of the man to whom I owed so much of my own, I quitted the usual applications which I had made to my Lord Treasurer."

Here follows a statement showing that after his first benefactor, Harley—that is, the Earl of Oxford—had been removed from his office as Secretary of State, and which was in 1708, as we have seen, he still requested Defoe to continue his relations with the Lord Treasurer Godolphin, who thereafter a second time introduced him to the Queen, whereupon he was sent upon a secret employment into Scotland, and after showing his obligations in this he continues :

"And this brings me to the affirmative, and inquire what the matters of fact are ; what I have done, or have not done, on account of these obligations which I am under.

"It is a general suggestion, and is affirmed with such assurance, that they tell me it is in vain to contradict it, that I have been employed by the Earl of Oxford, late Lord Treasurer, in the late disputes about public affairs, to write for him, or, to put it into their own particulars, have written by his directions, taken the materials from him, been dictated to or instructed by him, or by other persons for him, by his order, and the like ; and that I have received a pension or salary, or payment from his Lordship for such services as these. It was impossible, since these things have been so confidently affirmed, but that, if I could put it into words that would more fully express the meaning of these people, I profess I would do it. One would think that some evidence might be produced, some facts might appear, some one or other might be found that could speak of certain knowledge. To say things have been carried too closely to be discovered, is saying nothing, for then they must own that it is not discovered ; and how then can they affirm it as they do, with such an assurance as nothing ought to be affirmed by honest men, unless they were able to prove it ?

"To speak then to the fact. Were the reproach upon me only in this particular, I would not mention it. I should not think it a reproach to be directed by a man to whom the Queen had at that time entrusted the adminis-

tration of the government. But, as it is a reproach upon his Lordship, justice requires that I do right in this case. The thing is true or false. I would recommend it to those who would be called honest men, to consider but one thing, viz., what if it should not be true? Can they justify the injury done to that person, or to any person concerned? If it cannot be proved, if no vestiges appear to ground it upon, how can they charge men upon rumors and reports, and join to run down men's characters by the stream clamor." (Defoe's Works, Talboy ed., vol. xx., pp. 11-18, of the mentioned article.)

Here follow certain denials as to his having written for Harley, and which indeed he could truthfully make, as the writings, if our claims be true, were in fact not his, and though possibly, yet not probably, in any way under his control. This apology was probably prepared by Harley himself and from material to which we shall soon have occasion to allude, and either prior to or soon after he was sent to the Tower.

This appeal ends abruptly by the following notice from the publisher: "While this was at the press, and the copy thus far published, the author was seized with a violent fit of apoplexy, whereby he was disabled finishing what he designed in his further defence; and continuing now for above six weeks in a weak and languishing condition, neither able to go on nor likely to recover, at least in any short time, his friends thought it not fit to delay the publication of this any longer. If he recovers he may be able to finish what he begun; if not, it is the opinion of most that know him that the treatment which he here complains of, and some others that he would have spoken of, have been the apparent cause of his disaster."

It was never completed, and the far-off echo answers, Why? All of Defoe's biographers unite in saying that this paper contains our chief source of information touching the man Defoe. Outside of its statements very, very little is known of him. And yet Lee, vol. i., p. 236, says: "The biographers of Defoe, not knowing at what time in 1715 this book was published, have experienced great difficulty in explaining some of its contents consistently with the period at which other works by him were evidently composed between the death of the Queen and the publication of this 'Appeal.'"

Either to explain away this difficulty or otherwise, it is stated that Defoe disclaimed its authorship. (See Lee, vol. i., pp. 239-42.

As we would say a word touching certain pamphlets mentioned in it, we from pp. 22-25 further quote :

“ While I speak of these things in this manner, I have infinite reproaches from clamorous pens, of being in the French interest, being hired and bribed to defend a bad peace, and the like, and most of this was upon the supposition of my writing, or being the author of, abundance of pamphlets which came out every day, and which I had no hand in. And indeed, as I shall observe again by and by, this was one of the greatest pieces of injustice that could be done me, and which I labor still under without any redress ; that whenever any piece came out which is not liked, I am immediately charged with being the author ; and very often the first knowledge I have had of a book being published has been from seeing myself abused for being the author of it, in some other pamphlet published in answer to it.

“ Feeling myself treated in this manner I declined writing at all, and for a great part of a year never set pen to paper except in the public paper called the *Review*. After this I was long absent in the north of England ; and observing the insolency of the Jacobite party, and how they insinuated fine things into the heads of the common people, of the right and claim of the Pretender, and of the great things he would do for us if he were to come in ; of his being to turn a Protestant, of his being resolved to maintain our liberties, support our friends, give liberty to dissenters, and the like ; and finding that the people began to be deluded, and that the Jacobites gained ground among them by these insinuations, I thought it the best service I could do the Protestant interest, and the best way to open people’s eyes to the Protestant succession, if I took some course effectually to alarm the people with what they really ought to expect, if the Pretender should come to be King. And this made me set pen to paper again.

“ And this brings me to the affirmative part, or to what really I have done ; and in this, I am sorry to say, I have one of the foulest, most unjust, and unchristian clamors to complain of, that any man has suffered, I believe, since

the days of the tyranny of King James the Second. The fact is thus :

“ In order to detect the influence of Jacobite emissaries, as above, the first thing I wrote was a small tract, called ‘ A Seasonable Caution ; ’ a book sincerely written to open the eyes of the poor, ignorant country people, and to warn them against the subtle insinuations of the emissaries of the Pretender ; and that it might be effectual to that purpose, I prevailed with several of my friends to give them away among the poor people, all over England, especially in the north ; and several thousands were actually given away, the price being reduced so low, that the bare expense of paper and press was only preserved, that every one might be convinced that nothing of gain was designed, but a sincere endeavor to do a public good, and assist to keep the people entirely in the interest of the Protestant succession.

“ Next to this, and with the same sincere design, I wrote two pamphlets, one entitled, ‘ What if the Pretender Should Come ? ’ the other, ‘ Reasons against the Succession of the House of Hanover.’

“ Nothing can be more plain than that the titles of these books were amusements, in order to put the books into the hands of those people whom the Jacobites had deluded, and to bring them to be read by them.¹

“ Previous to what I shall further say of these books, I must observe that all these books met with so general a reception and approbation among those who were most sincere for the Protestant succession, that they sent them all over the kingdom, and recommended them to the people as excellent and useful pieces ; insomuch that about seven editions of them were printed, and they were printed in other places. And I do protest, had his present majesty, then elector of Hanover, given me a thousand pounds to have written for the interest of his succession, and to expose and render the interest of the Pretender odious and ridiculous, I could have done nothing more effectual to these purposes than these books were.

“ And that I may make my worst enemies, to whom this is a fair appeal, judges of this, I must take leave, by and by, to repeat some of the expressions in these books,

¹ The procurement of instruction by means of device, in these writings, has already been touched upon. And see p. 68.

which were direct and need no explanation, which I think no man that was in the interest of the Pretender, nay, which no man but one who was entirely in the interest of the Hanover succession could write.

“Nothing can be severer in the fate of a man than to act so between two parties, that both sides shall be provoked against him. It is certain, that Jacobites cursed those tracts and the author, and when they came to read them, being deceived by their titles according to the design, they threw them by with the greatest indignation imaginable. Had the Pretender ever come to the throne, I could have expected nothing but death, and all the ignominy and reproach that the most inveterate enemy of his person and claim could be supposed to suffer.”

The pamphlets here mentioned were issued near the close of the reign of Queen Anne. Her half brother, the son of the abdicated James the Second, by the name of James the Third, was then the Pretender to the English throne. Defoe for the last of the mentioned articles is said to have been again arrested in 1713. The first of these articles was issued in 1712, together with another entitled “Hannibal at the Gates ; or, The Progress of Jacobitism with the Present Danger of the Pretender.” The other article, a sharp satire, likewise appeared in 1713, as did another article mentioned in this Appeal entitled “What if the Queen Should Die?”

The articles mentioned in the Appeal we have somewhat examined, and regard them as Baconian pieces, though garbled. The one last mentioned we would call into relation with two short fragments in Bacon’s attributed writings, entitled “The First Copy of My Discourse Touching the Safety of the Queen’s Person” and “The Fragment of a Discourse Touching Intelligence and the Safety of the Queen’s Person.” (Works, vol. ii., p. 214.) These articles bear a relation to the already quoted sonnets beginning at p. 150, touching the subject of a successor to the English throne. The article entitled “What if the Queen Should Die?” bears earmarks of having been written concerning the days of Elizabeth, we think. The Queen of Scots was at that time the Pretender. The article entitled “Hannibal at the Gates” we have not seen. This may have been written in furtherance of Bacon’s later design, already alluded to. Portions of this literature was truly

a Foe to Papal encroachments. Some parts of the mentioned Appeal, though not much of that quoted, seem as if chopped and made up from material penned by Lord Bacon during his troubles. These manuscripts were doubtless at times so chopped—that is, portions of different manuscripts and different portions of the same manuscript interlaced. In closing the *Review*, in 1712, with a preface, we have more, we think, of the material of this Appeal in these words :

“First, I look in, and upon the narrowest Search I can make of my thoughts, desires, and designs, I find a clear untainted Principle, and consequently, an entire calm¹ of Conscience, founded upon the satisfying Sense, that I neither am touched with Bribes,” etc.

“Next, I look up, and without examining into His Ways, the Sovereignty of whose Providence I adore, I submit with an entire Resignation to whatever happens to me, as being by the immediate direction of that Goodness, and for such wise and glorious Ends as, however I may not yet see through, will at last issue in good, even to me ; fully depending, that I shall yet be delivered from the power of Slander and Reproach, and the Sincerity of my Conduct be yet cleared up to the World : and if not, *Te Deum Laudamus*.” (Lee, vol. i., p. 201.)

To the singular capitalization of words here used we shall later have occasion to refer. To those familiar with Bacon’s language during his troubles these words will seem familiar. Note the Baconian expressions, “ narrowest search,” “ calm of conscience,” “ satisfying sense,” “ direction of that goodness,” etc. Before his already mentioned interview with the King he was known to have been preparing vigorously for his defence, and later to have struggled to clear his record. By erasing slightly here, and adding there, a manuscript may, with little trouble and without serious alteration of style, be made to tell a tale other than as originally designed, as is well known ; and especially if there be chopping, and more especially if done by one who studies that style with a view to such change.

As to how far Harley was faithful to his own, and how far to Bacon’s ends, is a matter to be considered by itself.

¹ Promus, 1435. A bonance. (A caulme.)

We now call the foregoing expression, *Te Deum Laudamus*, into direct relation with the same expression by Bacon upon the opening page of his History of Henry the Seventh, and which was the first product of his pen subsequent to his fall. He says: "The King immediately after the victory, as one that had been bred under a devout mother, and was in his nature a great observer of religious forms, caused *Te deum laudamus* to be solemnly sung in the presence of the whole army upon the place, and was himself with general applause and great cries of joy, in a kind of militar election or recognition, saluted King."¹ (Bacon's Literary Works, vol. i., p. 27.)

In the Serious Reflections of Crusoe, p. 48, we have: "When I came there it was my fate to be placed between the seats where the man of God performed the service of his praise, and sang out the anthems and the *Te Deum*, which celebrated the religious triumph of the day."

Having premised thus much concerning the man Daniel Foe, or Defoe, as in literature he has come to be called, we next introduce him to the reader by the only extant description of his person, and which is in the words of the notice issued for his apprehension, January 10th, 1703, in consequence of being the alleged author of the already mentioned pamphlet entitled "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters," and which is in these words:

"He is a middle-sized spare man, about forty years old, of a brown complexion and dark brown colored hair, but wears a wig; a hooked nose, a sharp chin, gray eyes, and a large mole near his mouth: was born in London, and for many years was a hose-factor, in Freeman's Yard in Cornhill; and now is owner of the brick and pantile works, near Tilbury Fort, in Essex." See vol. i., p. 67.

Daniel Foe is said to have been born at London, in the parish of St. Giles, Cripplegate, in 1661, but upon what particular date his biographers have not been able to make certain, nor is the precise location of his place of birth more certain than as stated. The circumstances of his

¹ In Henry V., Act iv., sc. 8, p. 570, we have:

"*King.* Do we all holy rites:
Let there be sung *Non nobis*, and *Te Deum*.
The dead with charity inclos'd in clay,
We'll then to Calais; and to England then;
Where ne'er from France arriv'd more happy men."

death are likewise involved in uncertainty, as indeed are most of those of his life, except so far as they are inferentially derived from the writings of which he is claimed to be the author. His most extensive biographer, Lee, in his work entitled "Life and Newly Discovered Writings of Daniel Defoe," vol. i., p. 4, says of him :

"So far as celebrity is concerned, he may be considered the first and last of his family. He had so much to tell the world in order to make men wiser and better, that he did not even take time to write down anything as to the genealogy of his excellent mother ; whether he ever had a sister or brother ; or, to tell us whose daughters himself successively married. In a letter to Lord Halifax, dated 1705, he speaks of a brother, without mentioning his name ; but as such brother was stated to be incapable of carrying a message, he was, perhaps, only a brother-in-law."

While our investigation must necessarily detract from the laurels of Defoe, it will still be pursued with no vindictive spirit, and he shall receive at our hands as fair a presentation as to the accredited facts of his history as he has commonly received from his biographers ; and it will be for the reader to say what degree of reliance is to be placed upon them, or how far they are independent of the writings themselves. Such opinion, however, must of necessity come largely by independent perusal of the works themselves.

His name, except in the sense that it was assumed, was not his own. In the Chamberlain's Book it is entered as Daniel Foe. When about forty years of age, in other words, from the time of his mentioned arrest, he is found changing his name from Foe into Defoe, though Lee later finds him subscribing himself as D. Foe, D. F., D. D. F., and D. Foe in alternation with Daniel Defoe, and which last has become his accepted literary name.

Concerning his surname, Lee, vol. i., p. 5, says : "He was called De Foe several years before the death of his venerable father, who never used any other name but that of Foe. The son was not a man to be ashamed of the surname of his living parent ; nor the True-born Englishman likely to have been actuated by the vanity of assuming a Norman prefix. His practice disproves the assertion, and shows rather that the form of his signature was a

matter of personal indifference, which continued to the end of his life. It is true that he used the surname of De Foe, but I am inclined to think it began accidentally, or was adopted for convenience, about the year 1703, to distinguish him from his father. The latter, from his age and experience, and the former from his commanding ability, were both then influential members of the Dissenting interest in the city. They would respectively be spoken of and addressed, orally, as Mr. Foe and Mr. D. Foe. The name as spoken, would in writing become Mr. De Foe, and thus what originated in accident, might be used for convenience, and become more or less fixed and settled by time. This simple explanation is favored by the following proofs of Defoe's indifference in the matter. His initials and name appear in various forms in his works, subscribed to dedications, prefaces, etc., and this may be presumed to have been done by himself. Before 1703 I find only D. F. In this year Mr. De Foe and Daniel De Foe. In the following year D. D. F.; De Foe, and Daniel de Foe. In 1705 D. F. and three autograph letters, all addressed within a few months to the Earl of Halifax, are successively signed D. Foe, De Foe, and Daniel De Foe. In 1706 D. F.; D. Foe; De Foe; Daniel De Foe. In 1709 D. F.; De Foe; and Daniel Defoe. In 1710 a letter to Dyer is signed De Foe. Two autograph signatures by him, in 1723 and 1727, and two of the same dates by his daughter Hannah, are Daniel De Foe, and Hannah De Foe. Yet in 1729 a letter to his printer is signed De Foe; and one to his son-in-law, in 1730, D. F."

Unless there be method in this madness, what kind of business is this, please, for talent able to produce the body of the Defoe literature? But this is not the only instance of like methods falling within the scope of our inquiry.

Hudson, as to Shakespeare, vol. xi., p. 171, says: "Much discussion has been had of late as to the right way of spelling the Poet's name. The few autographs of his that are extant do not enable us to decide precisely how he wrote his name, or rather they show that he had no one constant way of writing it. But the *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* were unquestionably published by his authority and under his superintendence, and in the dedication of both these poems the name is printed 'Shakespeare.' The same is the case in all the

quarto issues of his plays, where the author's name is given, with the single exception of *Love's Labour's Lost*, which has it 'Shakespere;' and also in the original folio. And in much the greater number of these instances the name is printed with a hyphen, thus, 'Shake-speare,'¹ as if on purpose that there might be no mistaking it. All which, surely, is, or ought to be, decisive as to how the poet willed his name to be spelled in print. And so we have uniformly printed it throughout this edition, except where we made a point to quote with literal exactness."

But why these flimsy and sophistic attempts to do for an author that which he has not manifested the slightest concern to do for himself, unless, indeed, these be subtle hints whereby to arrest attention? Can like instances be found in the history of literature? But these covers to conceal authorship cannot longer be thus made to befog the world, nor should they. The foregoing efforts to explain but furnish forth to careful thought active material for discredit.

Let the reader himself think for a moment of thus writing his own name through a series of years, or of thus bungling a hyphen between portions of his name for clearness' sake, and he is in a true mental frame for digesting these sophistic explanations.

As the substance itself of the Divine Records must give them credence, so, inquiry initiated, substance must and will determine the true authorship of these writings.

James Foe, the father of Daniel, is said to have resided at London and to have been engaged in business as a butcher. Being a Dissenter, he sent Daniel, at the age of fourteen, to an academy at Stoke Newington, where many of the Nonconformists of his times are said to have been educated. We next, at the age of nineteen, find him settled in the office of a hose factor. How much learning he possessed at this time is not, of course, known, though it is said he was in later years much taunted for want of it.

In 1683 fears were again seriously entertained in England touching the security of the Reformed faith, and so

¹ This is in full accord with our claim. Bacon in these writings shook a spear at the ruling foibles of men. This mark was but the laying of a straw to differentiate the word, and as we have done in our preface to this work. *Promus*, 108. Best to lay a straw here.

an insurrection arose in which Defoe is said to have been interested, and which favored the claims to the crown of the Duke of Monmouth, a natural son of Charles the Second, in preference to those of his brother, James the Second, and this by reason of James' Catholic and Monmouth's Protestant views. When Monmouth landed, in 1685, Defoe is said to have joined his forces. The project failed, and he escaped unrecognized to London, where, in Freeman's Court, in Cornhill, he set up in business as a wholesale hosier. But at the time of the abdication, in 1688, at the age of twenty-seven, we find him engaged in the business of a liveryman in London. Concerning this and his already mentioned anonymous article put forth in 1687, Lee, vol. i., p. 21, says :

"After the danger Defoe had incurred in writing and publishing his Tract against the King's Declaration, he must have felt chagrined that his efforts to serve the Dissenters had only given great offence to many of his friends. He appears, upon this, to have turned his attention more fully to his commercial duties ; and thinking it expedient to unite himself closely with his fellow-citizens, was admitted a liveryman of the City of London, on the 26th of Jan., 1688, having claimed his freedom by birth. In the Chamberlain's Book his name was written Daniel Foe."

In the *Britannica* article on Defoe it is said : "His business operations at this period appear to have been extensive and various. He would seem both now and later to have been a sort of commission merchant, especially in Spanish and Portuguese goods, and at some time or other he visited Spain on business. Later we hear him spoken of as 'a civet-cat merchant,' but as he can hardly have kept a menagerie of these animals, it is odd that no one has supposed that the civet-cat was the sign of his place of business (it was a very usual one) rather than the staple of his trade."

Yet see in the following quotations what Lee says of his attainments.

In vol. i., p. 10, he says : "As to the scholastic attainments of Defoe we are not left in ignorance. He was able to read the Greek classics, and had not only mastered the most difficult Latin authors, but himself produced Latin compositions for the press ; he translated and spoke Spanish, Italian, and French, the latter fluently, and had some

knowledge of Dutch. Probably no man ever better understood how to use a plain, racy, thorough English style of language. His writings evince his great logical proficiency. Under the direction of his tutors, he went through a complete course of theology, in which he acquired a proficiency that enabled him to cope with the most acute writers of that disputatious age. He had sufficient knowledge of mathematics for the acquirement of astronomy; and as to geography he appears to have been acquainted with every known spot of the earth, its physical character, natural and artificial productions, and the whole trade and commerce of the world. History, ancient and modern, ecclesiastical and civil, appears to have been at his fingers' ends. No man of his time better understood the constitution of his country, and he was very far in advance of his age in many branches of political and social science. So wide a range of learning has probably been attained by few, under the disadvantages he has himself pointed out; but it must be remembered that Defoe was no ordinary student."

On p. 22 of his introduction Lee says: "I am bound to go further, and state, that from first to last Defoe was a sincere, consistent upholder of the Church of England, its Establishment and its Doctrines though a Dissenter from its form of worship. Declarations of his moderate principles in this respect are neither few, nor far between; they extend over the whole of his literary life. One of his favorite positions, for which he was always ready to contend, was, 'The Church of England, as by law established, is the Great Bulwark of the Protestant faith;' and to the question, What is your religion? his answer is 'A catholic Christian.' If the numerous passages in support of the Church of England were unjustly isolated from his general works, the world might conclude that he was a Churchman, and no Dissenter.¹

Mr. Wilson has quoted extensively from Defoe's works, but the large-hearted Catholicity of his religious character and principles is not made apparent; and I regret to add that the systematic suppression of Defoe's real opinions on such topics, is even more to be regretted than the active efforts to make him appear a Sectarian bigot."

¹ Please see Addison, vol. iii., pp. 295-99 on the Church of England.

On p. 438 he says: "His mind seems to grasp, and apply to his purpose, all parts of the globe, and especially those least generally known in his time. In suggesting new openings for the manufacturers of his own country, he speaks with the authority of an intimate personal acquaintance, as to the geography of remote nations; the people, their condition, the productions they could supply us with, and the nature of the exports that would supply the wants and promote the happiness of each other; and at the same time add to the industry, the wealth, and the influence of England.¹ The English Merchant was a character upon whom Defoe delighted to dwell²—he gloried in the national wealth, and in those whose enterprise brought that wealth, in converging streams from distant lands. He rose in dignity when the names of successful merchants were enrolled among the ancient nobility; and he shared the pride of a people whose trade placed them in a condition superior to that of all other nations."

Note that in 1623 Bacon said that if he should thereafter write upon political issues the work would probably be posthumous or abortive.

On p. 214, as to trade, Lee says: "Our author was nearly a century and a half in advance of general public opinion on these topics. He believed that international reduction and abolition of duties, would increase trade, cheapen commodities, promote national and individual prosperity, and become the most powerful guarantee of a

¹ At the end of Book 1 of the *De Augmentis* Bacon says: "If, therefore, the invention of a ship was thought so noble, which carries commodities from place to place and consociateth the remotest regions in participation of their fruits, how much more are letters to be valued, which, like ships, pass through the vast ocean of time, and convey knowledge and inventions to the remotest ages."

² In his essay entitled "Of Empire," Bacon, as to the merchants of a prince, says: "For their merchants; they are *vena porte*; and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and flourish little." And he opens a speech in 1601 in these words: "I am, Mr. Speaker, to tender to this House the fruit of the Committee's labor, which tends to the comfort of the stomach of this realm; I mean the merchant; which if it quail or fall into a consumption, the State cannot choose but shortly be sick of that disease." (Bacon's Letters, vol. i., p. 34.) And in vol. iii. he says they are "Neptune's almsmen, and fortune's adventurers." Did it not too much cumber our work we would call Bacon into direct relation upon all of these points. His views upon colonization we have already called under review.

lasting peace. To use the modern phrase, Defoe was the first and foremost advocate of 'Free Trade.' "

On p. 314 he says: "Readers of Defoe's imaginary voyages and travels have wondered how he obtained his great knowledge of geography; and no less, how he became so intimately acquainted with the peculiarities and habits of sailors, and all the technicalities of a sea-faring life. When personating a sailor, and describing the working of a ship, in any part of the world, he appears as much in his proper element, as when discoursing on internal trade, or discussing the home politics of the day. No material inaccuracy, in these respects, has ever been detected in his writings. He confessed to having all the world at his fingers' ends, but how he became so learned is left to conjecture."¹

On p. 415 he says: "Although Defoe had contributed so much to the literature of his country, and would, as a biblical student, feel interested in any inquiry into the early history of letters, we should scarcely have expected him to take the subject into his own hands. As if to show, however, that the whole range of human knowledge was within his grasp, he did so, in a work to which he had already alluded, in the last noticed pamphlet. The title is, 'An Essay upon Literature; or, an Enquiry into the Antiquity and Original of Letters; Proving, That the two Tables, written by the Finger of God in Mount Sinai, was the first Writing in the World; and that all other Alphabets derive from the Hebrew.'² With a Short View of the

¹ Again we would call attention to the fact that there is a kind of nautical basis to all of Bacon's attributed writings.

² See this view, taken in ch. 1 of Book 6 of the *De Augmentis*, and which concerns the "Handing on of the Lamp, or Method of Delivery to Posterity," and where Plato's views upon the subject are called in question. Note also what is said touching a philosophic grammar, and which is set down as wanting. Bacon here also says: "And is it not a fact worthy of observation (though it may be a little shock to the spirits of us moderns) that the ancient languages were full of declensions, cases, conjugations, tenses, and the like, while the modern are nearly stripped of them, and perform most of their work lazily by prepositions and verbs auxiliary? Surely a man may easily conjecture (how well soever we think of ourselves) that the wits of the early ages were much acuter and subtler than our own. There are numberless observations of this kind, enough to fill a good volume." And see our quotation at p. 73. As to Hebrew idioms, see Addison, vol. iii., pp. 382-85. Promus, 516. Tragedies and comedies are made of one alphabet.

Methods made use of by the Ancients, to supply the want of Letters before, and improve the use of them, after they were known.' The subject was one little known to the general public, and a great curiosity to the learned. It involved important consequences; and, as there then existed few books on the subject, and scarcely any in the English language, much research and deep thought were required. Our author succeeded in producing a work, original in its plan,—excellent in its keeping the leading idea, through the successive parts, before the minds of his readers; and containing much instruction within a narrow compass. The book exhibits the learning of our author in the dead languages, yet his peculiar talent has made it as entertaining as it is instructive. Succeeding writers have more amply discussed the subject, but this little volume is well worthy of being reprinted. It is now among the rarest of his works."

And yet we are asked to believe these to be the attainments of one immersed in civil affairs, as a hose-factor, a liveryman, a civet-cat merchant, and other employments, as we shall see.

Lee in the introduction to vol. ii. of his work, p. 7, as to certain language characteristics of Defoe, says: "These Essays cannot be read without observation of the Author's large acquaintance with Holy Scripture. His general style, but especially his grave colloquial compositions, owe much of their charm to this. I have to notice, however, that modern refinement has consigned to the class of the indelicate certain words in common use when the Bible was translated; and which still continued to be used, without exciting coarse or impure ideas, when Defoe wrote. If such words be occasionally found in this collection, let me deprecate any offence, for the reason I have stated; also from a consideration of the purity of the Author's life and character, the sincerity of his good intentions, and the true morality inculcated."

On p. 338, vol. i., he says: "I have now to explain briefly an important point, that has hitherto perplexed not only all biographers of Defoe, but also many of his readers; namely, the motives and circumstances that induced him, at sixty years of age, to commence writing a series of volumes professedly recording the lives of notorious criminals, whose many offences and immoralities had

subjected them to the penalties of the laws they had broken. His personal honesty and integrity, the purity of his life, nay even his high religious character, has never been called in question by any well-informed writer, and is attested by the excellence of his numerous moral works ;—composed, not only previously, but interposed between, and continued after, the publication of those which are felt to be offensive to modern notions of delicacy. It has also excited inquiry how he became acquainted with the class of persons from whom alone he could have obtained such an intimate knowledge of their habits, manners, and associations ; not only at home,—but in the Plantations to which they were transported,—as was requisite for the production of these works. As to the latter of these inquiries, the only answer has been based on the horrible manner in which prisoners were confined together in Newgate, almost without discrimination of offence, or sex.”

The providing for this class of persons lay at the very basis of Bacon’s “Solomon’s House,” as will appear in his already quoted speech at p. 18, touching Drowned Mineral Works. And again are we reminded of our Head-light, “For I have taken all knowledge to be my providence.” But on p. 24 Lee says : “To return to Defoe’s business operations. There is no possibility of fixing accurate dates to the incidental notices collected through the works of an author who avoids as much as possible obtruding his private affairs upon the public. It may, however, serve as a guide—that the pecuniary difficulties which ended in his becoming insolvent began about the year 1692.”

Defoe’s failure in 1692 appears to be the next that is definitely known of him following the year 1688. He is now reported to have failed for £17,000, but what his particular business was at the time does not definitely appear. He is said to have absconded until a compromise was effected with his creditors. From 1694 to 1699 he is said to have been by King William’s appointment an accountant of the glass tax. It is also said that in 1694 he became secretary and ultimately the owner of the brick and pantile works at Tilbury, referred to in the mentioned notice issued for his arrest in 1703. The works at Tilbury are said to have prospered until that event, but soon after Defoe is reported to have again failed for £3000. These failures served later as the occasion for various articles concerning

the laws of bankruptcy and insolvent debtors. Bacon's struggles with his creditors, both early and late in life, have in a measure been touched upon.

At the time of Defoe's arrest, in 1703, there had appeared a large amount of this masterly literary work, though fathered upon no one. In other words, it was put forth anonymously. In 1691 appeared the pamphlet entitled "A New Discovery of an Old Intrigue;" in 1694, "The Englishman's Choice and True Interest;" in 1697, "Some Reflections on a Pamphlet Lately Published Entitled an Argument Showing that a Standing Army is Inconsistent with a Free Government and Absolutely Destructive to the Constitution of the English Monarchy;" in 1698, "An Inquiry into Occasional Conformity," "An Argument Showing that a Standing Army with Consent of Parliament is not Inconsistent with a Free Government," and a treatise, consisting of 350 pages, entitled "An Essay on Projects;"¹ two days later appeared an Essay on the Reformation of Manners, under the title "The Poor Man's Plea in Relation to All the Proceedings, Declarations, Acts of Parliament, etc., which Have Been or Shall Be Made and Published for a Reformation of Manners, and Suppressing Immorality in the Nation;"² in 1700, "The Two Great Questions Considered—1. What the French King will Do with Respect to the Spanish Monarchy? 2. What Measures the English Ought to Take?" and a poem entitled "The Pacificator," and from which, p. 12, we quote thus :

" Wit like a hasty Flood, may over-run us,
And too much sense has oftentimes undone us.
Wit is a flux, a Looseness of the Brain,
And sense-abstract has too much Pride to reign.

" Wit is a King without a Parliament,
And Sense a Democratic Government.
Wit without Sense is the Laughing-evil,
And Sense unmixed with Fancy is the Devil."

In 1701 appeared the satire in verse known as "The

¹ We have already called attention to the subject of projects while the English Treasury was in commission during the reign of James the First. Let it be investigated as to whether this work may have grown out of Bacon's relations to that commission.

² See Bacon's expressed fears upon the subject in our quotation from him at p. 180.

True-Born Englishman," and aimed, it is said, at those who railed at King William as a foreigner. And James the First as to England was a foreigner, let it be remembered.¹ There also appeared this year "The Six Distinguishing Characters of a Parliament Man;" "Considerations upon Corrupt Elections of Members to Serve in Parliament;" "The Freeholder's Plea Against Stock-Jobbing Elections of Parliament Men;" "The Succession to the Crown of England Considered;" "Legion's Memorial to the House of Commons;" "The Villainy of Stock-Jobbers Detected, and the Causes of the Late Run upon the Bank and Bankers Discovered and Considered;"² "The History of the Kentish Petition;" "The Present State of Jacobitism Considered in Two Queries: 1. What Measures the French King will Take with Respect to the Person and Title of the Pretended Prince of Wales? 2. What the Jacobites in England Ought to Do on the Same Account?" "Reasons against a War with France; or, An Argument Showing that the French King's Owning the Prince of Wales as King of England, Scotland, and Ireland is no Sufficient Ground for a War." Note that Charles the First was Prince of Wales at his marriage with the Catholic Princess Henrietta Maria of France in 1625. This marriage had been fixed upon not long after the breaking off of the match with the Infanta of Spain, already considered in earlier pages. The terms of it were very distasteful to England. See ch. 18 of Knight's History of England, vol. iii. This year also appeared the pamphlets entitled "The Dangers of the Protestant Religion Considered from the Present Prospect of a Religious War in Europe" and "the Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England Examined and Asserted." This last is indeed a most masterly piece of work. In 1702 appeared the three poems entitled "Reformation of Manners a Satire Væ Vobis Hypocrite;" "Good Advice to the Ladies, Showing that as the World Goes, and Is Likely to Go, the Best Way for Them Is to Keep Unmarried," and "The Spanish Descent, by the Author of the True-Born English-

¹ Concerning the origin of this title, "True-Born Englishman," see the "Serious Reflections" of Robinson Crusoe. (Defoe's Works by Hazlitt, vol. ii., p. 25.)

² Let this be viewed in connection with the South Sea scheme.

man." As the mentioned article in 1701, entitled "The True-Born Englishman," became popular, some later articles were thus subscribed. Indeed the first published edition of these writings was so issued. No name as author was appended to them until later, as we shall see further on. This year also appeared "Legion's New Paper;" "The Mock Mourners;" "A New Test of the Church of England's Loyalty; or, Whigish Loyalty and Church Loyalty Considered." The article entitled "An Inquiry into Occasional Conformity, Showing that the Dissenters Are in no Way Concerned in It," also appeared in 1702. And still the authorship of these writings remained undisclosed.

Anne came to the throne in March of this year, and the controversy as to occasional conformity was at once revived, and in November a bill for its prevention was introduced into Parliament, but between conference and amendment it was finally lost. While this bill was pending the mentioned pamphlet appeared. Harley was at this time Speaker of the House.

Later, and in December the article entitled "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters; or, Proposals for the Establishment of the Church of England," came forth, and for which Defoe was soon after procured to be arrested by the High Church party, which soon became furious for a victim. As to Bacon's purpose in this please see pp. 198 to 200. By reason of our unbounded claims, we must ask of the reader that he suspends still his judgment, for the end is not yet.

Concerning this pamphlet Lee, vol. i., p. 66, says: "To understand the inimitable irony of this production, it must be read. No mere quotation or abstract can convey an adequate impression of its completeness. The artfulness with which the writer gravely concealed his art, under an apparent simplicity of purpose; the mental transformation, by which he was able to see through the eyes and read the thoughts of those violent men; and then, so perfectly to express all their wishes, exactly in their own style, within less than thirty small pages, are proofs of the greatness of that genius which was destined to captivate all readers."

It is to be regretted that some of the liverymen of our day should not possess such rare gifts in theology.

In the A. D. B. Mask may be found this same indescribable art in whipping Buckingham's profligacy and dangerous political courses. Proclamation for Defoe's arrest was, as stated, issued January 10th, 1703. In the mean time he is said to have concealed himself. On February 24th he was indicted and his trial was ordered to take place in July. On February 25th the pamphlet was brought to the notice of the House of Commons, and was ordered to be burned the next day in New Palace Yard by the common hangman. As the printer and bookseller had both been taken into custody, Defoe, now in order to relieve them, is said to have surrendered himself. Just before his surrender there appeared an explanatory pamphlet, entitled "A Brief Explanation of a Late Pamphlet entitled The Shortest Way with the Dissenters." On March 24th, and while thus in confinement awaiting his trial, another pamphlet appeared, entitled "King William's Affection to the Church of England Examined." Previous to the legal examination of his case, for he had no trial, there was prepared for publication the first volume of his Works, under the title, "A True Collection of the Writings of the Author of The True Born Englishman Corrected by Himself." Does the reader think that in this title—and subsequent volumes were in the same form—he sees displayed the mind that produced the body of this literature? In other words, is it not evident that this title was but a cover? This volume contains twenty-two pieces, including "The Shortest Way with the Dissenters," the article for which Defoe was arrested. A second volume containing eighteen pieces appeared in 1705, and a third volume in 1710, and it is said with a key. And why a key?

In none of the various editions of Defoe's life, including the *Britannica* article, do we find the day of his arraignment stated further than as set forth by Lee in a foot-note to his work, vol. i., p. 70, and where his name is spelled Deffoe, while in the Chamberlain's Book it is stated as Daniel Foe. In the notice for his apprehension it is stated De Foe alias De Fooe. Before his apprehension Lee says he does not find him to have signed his name other than D. Foe. Without attempting any special point here we still give the reader what we find. The mentioned foot-note is in these words: "In the British

Museum, (K. P. 110, f. 27,) is a copy of 'The Shortest Way with the Dissenters,' with some MS. notes in a contemporary hand. Behind the title-page is the following:—
 'Nota.—At the Sessions in the Old Baily 7, 8, and 9 July, 1703 Daniell Defoe a supposed Dissenter, sometime a Hosier in Cornhill, pleaded guilty to an indictment for writing and publishing of this seditious libell and had Judgment to stand thrice in the Pillory with a Paper of his crime; executed accordingly and to find securities of his good behavior for 7 years and to pay cc Marks and to lie in Prison till all be performed.' At the end of the copy is the following, in the same hand:—'Nota.—The Author hereof Pilloried for the same is quite a Good Champion for the Moderate Church of England, by a Review in opposition to Jacobite and Non-Juror and the High Churchman of Passive Obedience.' "

In vol. i., p. 362, Lee mentions a mortgage as having been given by Defoe and his daughter Hannah in 1723, in the body of which their names are both spelled Defoe, and it recites therein certain indentures as having been given to them in which their names are thus spelled. The instrument is signed Daniel De Foe, Hannah Defoe. On p. 407 Lee mentions an advertisement by Defoe in 1726, in the *Daily Post*, a paper in which Defoe is said to have been interested, in which his name is spelled Defoe, while, on p. 471, as to Defoe's widow, he says: "The register of the Bunhill Fields burial grounds contains the following entry: 1732 Decr 19. Mrs. Defow, Stoke Newington." It will be observed, however, that no first name is given, nor is it stated that she was the widow of Daniel Defoe.

The mentioned arrest served now as the occasion for putting forth mournful portions of this literature, and we might think this arrest connived at with Defoe, but he probably neither knew Harley nor had aught to do with these writings prior to this time. It may possibly have been part of the original scheme, however. Many of the articles were so written as to serve but as the occasion for the bringing forth of others.

On July 16th he is said to have put forth a satire in verse upon himself, entitled "More Reformation." This work he had mentioned as forthcoming in the preface to the already mentioned first volume of his works, and it

would, it was said, concern his own errors and those of others, "to settle matters between vice and repentance a little, and that they may have no excuse to reject the admonition because the reprover was not an angel." That portion of it quoted by Lee, vol. i., p. 70, as referring to Defoe, we quote as referring to Bacon's troubles in 1621 as follows :

" And wouldst thou now describe a *Modern Tool*,
To Wit, to Parties, and himself a Fool,
Embroid'ed with State to do his friends no good,
And by his Friends themselves misunderstood ?
Misconstru'd first in every word he said,
By these unpitied, and by those unpaid :
All Men would say the Picture was thy own,
No Gazette Marks were half so quickly known.

" *Unhappy Satyre*, now Review thy Fate,
And see the *Threatening Anger* of the State !
But learn thy sinking Fortunes to despise,
And all thy *Coward Friends*,—turn'd Enemies."

Defoe remained in Newgate until early in August, 1704, when, through the influence of Harley, he was relieved, as stated in the mentioned "Appeal to Honor and Justice." Though in Newgate the literary stream did not cease, as we have seen. While here it was that the work entitled "The Storm," brought under review in our introduction to this work, p. 40, was put forth. While here his celebrated journal known as *The Review* was begun, February 19th, 1704, and was continued until July 29th, 1712, and finally by later numbers to June 11th, 1713, the last number ending with exit *Review*. To the time of Defoe's imprisonment, in 1703, the first daily newspaper, the first magazine, and the first English novel had not as yet made its appearance.

And so may we here again properly introduce our Head-light, "For I have taken all knowledge to be my providence." Under our claim Bacon not only reformed the English stage, but, as strangely as it may appear, was our first journalist in the political articles of the *Review*, and our first novelist in Crusoe, though this did not appear until some later nor until 1719.

Were it not that interpolations introduced into many of these writings go further than to conform them, we should be inclined to the belief that Harley, instead of

seeking his own ends in them, and which may have been so but in part, was trying to carry out the real design of their author.

The *Daily Courant*, put forth at London in 1709, was the first daily newspaper issued in England. But earlier, and in 1704 the *Review* was started as a weekly. Soon after it was issued twice and later thrice weekly. In size, the first four numbers excepted, it consisted of but two leaves in quarto, thus making, as we see, but a small amount of printed matter. Concerning the *Review*, we from the *Britannica* article on Defoe quote as follows: "This was a paper which was issued during the greater part of its life three times a week. It was entirely written by Defoe, and extended to eight complete volumes and some few score numbers of a second issue. He did not confine himself to news, but threw his writing into the form of something very like finished essays on questions of policy, trade, and domestic concerns; while he also introduced a so-called 'Scandal Club,' in which minor questions of manners and morals were treated in a way which undoubtedly suggested the *Tatlers* and *Spectators* which followed. It is probable that if the five points of bulk, rapidity of production, variety of matter, originality of design and excellency of style are taken together, hardly any author can show a work of equal magnitude. It is unlucky that only one complete copy of the work is known to exist, and that is in a private library."¹

The *Review* was brought to conclusion by the title "A Review of the State of the British Nation," and with the preface, from which we have already quoted at p. 421. This was followed by a work entitled "A Plan of the English Commerce; being a Complete Prospect of the Trade of this Nation, as well the Home Trade as the Foreign."

The works issued from the time of Defoe's imprisonment until his death, in 1731, may be seen in any good life of Defoe. They are too numerous to mention here. Concerning those issued after this period, Lee, in the introduction to his work, says that his numerous works published during the last twenty-five years of his life were, with about three exceptions, either anonymous or

¹ See Bacon's statement, made in 1622, concerning a continuance of his Essays, p. 317. As to the "Scandal Club" and high nonsense we shall later have occasion to refer.

pseudonymous.¹ He also says "he rarely alludes to his previous works, or to his private affairs. Occasionally in his *Review*, and more extensively in his 'Appeal to Honor and Justice' may be found fragments of his personal history; but in general, we learn more about him in his works from the slanderous attacks of opponents, than directly from his own pen; and he often left his antagonists unanswered, rather than descend from his discussion of important principles to the defence of his own character."

Touching private affairs and literary methods Bacon says: "Let him who comes to interpret thus prepare and qualify himself; let him not be a follower of novelty, nor of custom or antiquity; neither let him embrace the license of contradicting nor the servitude of authority. Let him not be hasty to affirm or unrestrained in doubting, but let him produce everything marked with a certain degree of probation. Let hope be the cause of labor to him, not of idleness. Let him estimate things not by their rareness, difficulty, or credit, but by their real importance. Let him manage his private affairs under a mask, yet with some regard for the provisions of things. Let him prudently observe the first entrances of errors into truths, and of truths into errors, nothing contemning or admiring. Let him know the advantages of his nature; and let him humor the nature of others, for no man is angry with the stone that is striking him. Let him, as it were, with one eye scan the nature of things; with the other, the uses of mankind. Of words let him distinctly know the mixed nature, which especially partakes of advantage and of inconvenience. Let him determine that with inventions the art of inventing grows. Also let him not be vain in concealing or in setting forth the knowledge which he hath obtained, but ingenious and prudent, and let him commend his inventions, not ambitiously or spitefully, but first in a manner most vivid and fresh, that is, most fortified against the injuries of time, and most powerful for the propagation of science, then least capable of begetting errors, and above all, such as may procure him a legitimate reader." (Works, vol. ii., p. 543.)

¹ All issued prior to his arrest were anonymous, as we have seen. We understand the same to be true as to the parts put forth by the other actors, those of Swift and Addison included.

The Defoe literature, in general, will be found notably shy as to any elements touching their author, as are the Shakespeare writings. But, again, portions of them will be found notably prominent to tell, and as if by effort, to link them to definite events. Interpolatory matter will commonly be found where such statements occur. Other journals in which Defoe is said to have been more or less interested were started after the close of the *Review* in 1713, and which were doubtless under Harley's control. In these Lee found what is known as Defoe's Newly Discovered Writings. Until their discovery it was generally supposed that Defoe's political career had ended with his mentioned "Appeal to Honor and Justice" in 1715. To these we shall later have occasion to refer in the further elucidation of our subject.

From this time to Defoe's death, said to have occurred in Ropemaker's Alley, Moorfield, April 26th, 1731, I do not understand that there is anything known of him further than as stated, except items of inference drawn from the writings themselves, and which, indeed, is true as to much of that already presented. He left no will, and is said to have died in a kind of concealment. He evidently had no effects of value, as, while having children, a creditor is said to have taken letters of administration more than two years after his death.

Thus have we presented for the reader's consideration and to the light of what follows the chief accredited facts as to the man Defoe, concerning whom Chalmers, in closing his *Life of Defoe*, issued in 1790, but sixty years after Defoe's death, says: "The zealous interposition of Mr. Lockyer Davis, and the liberal spirit of the Stationers' Company, procured me the perusal of the Register of books, which have been entered at Stationers' Hall. I was surprised and disappointed to find so few of De Foe's writings entered as property, and his name never mentioned as an author or a man."

These writings, however, whoever may have been their author, accomplished: 1. The act of union by which England and Scotland became one people; 2. The overthrow of the Stuart line of kings and a secure Protestant dynasty to the United Kingdom.

Until 1707 Scotland remained a kingdom having a Parliament of its own, which might have arranged for a

king different from the line fixed upon by the English Act of Settlement, and hence the importance of the mentioned union. James the First and his line, it will be remembered, but inherited the English crown upon the death of Elizabeth, and James the Second and his son were now set aside. This act of union Bacon labored much to effect at the accession of James the First, as we have seen. The English Act of Settlement, passed in 1701, provided that after Anne's death the crown should pass to the German line, the House of Hanover, and thus to the Princess Sophia, a daughter of Elizabeth, the Electress Palatine, whose husband, Frederick the Fifth of Germany, had been head of the Protestant union of German princes and King of Bohemia, as we have seen. Did Bacon favor the German line? This act of settlement brought George, the son of Sophia, to the English throne, in 1714, as George the First, as appears in earlier pages.

During King William's reign he is said to have been much exercised with fears concerning the Spanish monarchy, and out of which grew the already mentioned war with France.¹ While Harley had promised much to the Jacobites, he still had not acted in their interest, and for this reason the mentioned prosecution against him proved abortive.

In the preface to the Defoe work, entitled "Memoirs of a Cavalier," a sadly garbled work, I find these lines: "Memoranda.—I found this manuscript among my father's writings, and I understand that he got them as plunder, at or after, the fight at Worcester, where he served as major of ——'s regiment of horse on the side of the Parliament. I. K."

Was the name here left blank Harley's? We have seen that at the Revolution of 1688 he and his father took possession of Worcester in William's interest. The mentioned preface begins thus: "As an evidence that it is very probable these memorials were written many years ago, the persons now concerned in the publication assure the reader, that they have had them in their possession,

¹ Let it be investigated as to whether King William had knowledge concerning these writings. Our field is so wide in its relations that time has not as yet permitted full investigation. Why should Bacon's manuscripts upon his reputed death have been sent to The Hague? See p. 184.

finished as they now appear, above twenty years. That they were so long ago found by great accident, among other valuable papers, in the closet of an eminent public minister, of no less figure than one of King William's secretaries of State."

Let it be investigated as to whether there is any connection existing between these writings and the following quotation from Knight's History of England, vol. iv., p. 357 :

"At the village of Hurley, on the Berkshire side of the Thames between Henley and Maidenhead, stood, in 1836, an Elizabethan mansion called Lady Place, built on the site of a Benedictine monastery by Sir Richard Lovelace, who was created a peer by Charles I. This building was the seat of Lord Lovelace in the reign of Charles II. and James II.,—a nobleman whose lavish hospitality and expensive tastes were rapidly wasting 'the King of Spain's cloth of silver' which his ancestor, one of Drake's privateering followers, had won. The spacious hall opening to the Thames, the stately gallery whose panels were covered with Italian landscapes, and terraced gardens—were ruined and neglected when we there meditated, some thirty years ago, upon the lessons of 'Mutability.' All the remains of past grandeur are now swept away. But beneath the Tudor building were the burial vaults of the house of 'Our Lady' which seemed built for all time, and which, we believe, are still undisturbed. In these vaults was a modern inscription which recorded that the Monastery of Lady Place was founded at the time of the great Norman Revolution, and that 'in this place, six hundred years afterwards, the Revolution of 1688 was begun.' King William III., the tablet also recorded, visited this vault, and looked upon the 'Recesses' in which 'several consultations for calling in the Prince of Orange were held.' During the four years in which James had been on the throne, the question of armed resistance had been constantly present to the minds of many Whigs; and to the Prince of Orange they looked for aid in some open attempt to change the policy of the government by force,—or, if necessary, to subvert it." ¹ The wife of the Prince of

¹ We have already intimated, and from many data, that Lord Bacon instead of going into his grave in 1626 went into retirement. We have likewise intimated a belief in his having a financial interest

Orange was the presumptive heir to the crown ; he was himself the nephew of the English King."

Lee, as to the mentioned work, "The Cavalier," says :
"With equal truth it may be affirmed, that there are many passages in these Memoirs, which Defoe neither could, nor would have written. It will be sufficient to allude only to the great hatred expressed towards the Scotch nation in various parts of the work. They are branded with infamy, for having sold their honesty, and rebelled for money against the King, to whom they had sworn allegiance. In another place he calls them 'these cursed Scots,' and towards the end of the Memoirs, declares bitterly, that they sold the King for money into the hands of his murderous enemies. I may also remark, that while there is nothing in the 'Cavalier' or his story, unbecoming the high character of an English gentleman, yet is there little to be seen of the moral and religious spirit of dependence upon Providence, and appeal to the Scriptures, so characteristic of Defoe, even in his works of fiction.

"In style and diction, I may say that there are occasionally whole paragraphs that scarcely afford a trace of Defoe's pen ; although generally, he appears to have revised, and often rewritten and extended the manuscript. His mind as well as his hand is much more perceptible in the latter part of the book than in the former ; and, as he was better acquainted with the geography and physical character of his own country than that of Germany, this part of the narrative is often very characteristic of his genius." (Lee, vol. i., p. 333.)

Though thinking Defoe had time to spend upon the writings of other men, Lee at least distinctly admits that there is more than one hand discernible in this work. What is said of this particular work is true as to many of them, though in general it is true only where it becomes necessary to conform them, or to prevent detection. As already stated, the interpolations will generally be found to be the elements bold to tell, while all else shows caution and especially as to any facts touching their author. Early

for many years in the voyages of Drake and others. And so let some investigation centre about this quotation. As he is most surely the author of these writings, so let us see if we may not find the head centre of his designs.

in my investigation, and before reading Lee, I called this work under review ; and while I found the early pages to be by the master hand, I soon found myself in another element, and again I would strike the clear water ; but so extensive were the interpolations that my interest abated, and I soon laid it aside, and have not since found time for its further perusal.

As to Crusoe, Lee, though not crediting the story, says :

“ The respect due to everything sanctioned by so great an authority as Sir Henry Ellis, compels me to notice a strange surprising account of the authorship of the first volume of ‘ Robinson Crusoe.’ In 1843 Sir Henry edited, for the Camden Society, a handsome quarto volume, entitled ‘ Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men.’ At p. 320 is a letter by T. Warton, dated 1774, stating that the Rev. Benjamin Holloway told him that Lord Sunderland told him, that the first volume of ‘ Robinson Crusoe ’ was written by Lord Oxford while a Prisoner in the Tower, ‘ as an amusement under confinement,’ and was given to Defoe, who frequently visited him there ; and, that Defoe printed it as his own, with his Lordship’s approbation, and added a second volume ‘ the inferiority of which is generally acknowledged.’ ” (Lee, vol. i., p. 294.)

As to the work entitled “ History of the Plague in London,” Lee, p. 358, says :

“ Defoe was but four years old at the time of the great Plague ; and therefore, supposing him to have remained in London the whole time, he could have had no personal knowledge beyond the dim recollections of childhood ; but as he grew up to maturity he must have conversed with many who had witnessed all its horrors,—have listened—at a time when the memory is most sensitive—to many a thrilling story of its devastations,—and have had pointed out to him the locations, not obliterated by the fire, where its deadly rage was most violent. Such a mind as his was probably better stored with the real history of the Plague than that of any other man living in 1721, when it again threatened to visit his country, and when the attention of all thinking people was painfully directed to its progress in France.”

We may here properly state that on several occasions during Bacon’s times the plague visited London, and thrice with much severity—in 1563-64, in 1592, and again

at the accession of James the First, when some thirty-eight thousand died of it. In 1620 it again threatened Northern Europe. Even in March, 1575, while he was at the University, it was dispersed by reason of it.

In his Natural History reference is often made to this subject.¹ There may be found in this work also many interpolations. But space will not permit a longer stay upon this part of our subject.

Following Harley's death, which occurred May 21st, 1724, a man by the name of Andrew Moreton appears to have become more or less connected with these writings. Mr. Lee thinks Defoe assumed the name Moreton for some unapparent reason. An admirable pamphlet, entitled "Every Body's Business Is Nobody's Business," was thus issued in Moreton's name in 1725, though evidently a part of this literature. Concerning it, Mr. Lee, vol. i., p. 398, says: "I have in an earlier part of this Memoir noticed the fact, that all the later Works of Defoe were published without his Name, and have endeavored to assign reasons for it; it is less easy to say why at this time, and for some only of his subsequent productions, he assumed the name of Andrew Moreton. I shall consider in its place, the probable reason; and now only observe that the pamphlet before us is the first so published."

In order now to draw the mind of the reader in the direction of the subject treated under our next title, and thus to Defoe's Newly Discovered Writings, it seems proper to state that at about the time of the close of the *Review*, and on May 26th, 1713, a paper known as *Mercator*² was

¹ In the New Atlantis it is said: "And we do also declare natural divinations of disease, plagues, swarms of hurtful creatures, scarcity, tempests, earthquakes, great inundations, comets, temperature of the year, and diverse other things; and we give counsel thereupon what the people shall do for the prevention and remedy of them." Let the Anatomy of Melancholy be called into relation with these thoughts, and where hellebore, the sovereign remedy for madness, is considered. Promus, 80. (By far the largest portion of hellebore should be given to the covetous.)

² Bacon says: "His Lordship's first general observation was, that merchants were of two sorts; the one sought their fortunes (as the verse saith), *per saxa, per ignes*; and as it is said in the same place, *extremos excurret Mercator ad Indos*; subjecting themselves to weather and tempests, to absence and as it were exile out of their native countries, to arrests in entrances of war, to foreign injustice and rigor in times of peace, and many other sufferances and adven-

started consisting of but a single leaf in small folio. It treated of trade and commerce, and was continued until July 20th, 1714, just before Harley's dismissal from office as Lord Treasurer, and concerning which Lee, vol. i., p. 215, says: "The Ministry not only sanctioned but assisted the managers of the paper by placing at their service the Customs Returns of Imports and Exports, and other national sources of commercial revenue, for statistical purposes. It is a significant fact that *Mercator* ceased to exist only seven days before the discord which had long reigned in the Cabinet was brought to a climax, by the dismissal of the Earl of Oxford from the office of Lord Treasurer."

Is it not thus quite evident that Harley—in other words, the Earl of Oxford, was not only behind these doings, but that through him or his influence was furnished forth the material by which these papers could with slight labor be conformed to the times, chasms or blank spaces being, so far as we know, left in some of them for the purpose, though this we do not affirm.¹ Again, was the sending of Harley to the Tower a little later, in 1715, the cause of the sudden breaking off of the partially prepared and never finished "Appeal to Honor and Justice," already called under review? As to *Mercator* Lee further says: "I have already stated that the *Mercator* was discontinued on the 20th of July 1714, when the fall of the Earl of Oxford was imminent, and the Customs returns, upon which the statistics of the Papers were based, would probably be no longer accessible."² (Lee, vol. i., p. 230.)

Though Defoe and others may have been the dial-plate, was not Harley, after all, the real movement in these events? This thought will be further touched upon under our next title.

tures; but that there were others that took a more safe but a less dangerous course in raising their fortunes." (Bacon's Letters, vol. iii., p. 348.)

¹ Some of these writings by Swift, as "The Tale of a Tub" and "The Battle of the Books," have left in them blank spaces called chasms. See in this connection Addison's use of this word "chasm," and particularly in vol. iii., p. 427.

² Macaulay, in his already quoted statements concerning Harley, says he always appeared as one possessed of some monstrous secret.

THREAD OF THE LABYRINTH.

WHATEVER views the reader may entertain concerning positions already taken in this work, he will, we think, agree with us in this, that if Lord Bacon did attempt subtle and unusual methods in which to have his thoughts still active among men, or as stated in Sonnet 68, at p. 116, "To live a second life on second head," he had that peculiar genius which would enable him to lay them remote from detection.

As stated, the so-called Newly Discovered Defoe Papers were found by Lee in journals started not only after the final close of the *Review*, in 1713, but after that of *Mercator*, in 1714, and in a sense they seem to fall under a head by themselves, and will some day, we apprehend, be found to contain more than has yet been seen in them. They were what in journalism came to be known as leading articles, and concerning which Lee, vol. i., p. 273, says: "Thus I claim for Daniel Defoe that he first originated and exemplified in his own person those mighty agencies in the formation and direction of public opinion now comprehended in the word Editor and Leading Article." And we may add that some of them may be taken for pioneer work in pointing the true course to journalism. See articles beginning at pp. 340 and 387.

Many of these articles seem so written as to serve merely as the occasion for bringing forth others, some again seem unusually discordant, while others have been taken bodily from out their true relations in the works known as the stories of Defoe, or else were copied bodily from the articles into the stories.

Numbers of them contain great subtlety and what may be called an underlying thread of thought. Some, if not all, serve, doubtless, as framework for cypher writing. In connection with this thought we introduce two articles from Lee, vol. iii., pp. 149 and 172; the first, entitled

“ On Cypher Writing,” the second, “ On Cryptography ;” the first dated June 22d, the second August 17th, 1723.¹ We give them in their order thus :

“ *M. J. [Mist’s Journal], June 22.*—Sir, I being one of your constant Readers, observe, that many of my Fellow-Students apply to you, on any emergent Occasion, for Advice, Information, etc., as to a general Intelligencer. And, though I have been your constant Reader some Years, yet have never taken that Liberty before, but, being willing, once in my Life, to do you that Honour, I thought I never should have a more proper Occasion than now ; for, being of an inquisitive Disposition, I have been puzzled in my Thoughts for some Time. In short, Sir, the Occasion of giving you this Trouble is this :—

“ Being in Company lately with some of my Acquaintance, we were talking of several Subjects now in Fashion, and, among others, of the modern mysterious Way (to use the Words of a late Author) of decyphering Words wrote in mysterious Characters. And one of our Company did assure us, that there are Persons now in *England* who can decypher a Letter wrote in any Characters, and some who can find out the true Letters, and put the Words, though the Language be unknown to them. So that when they have done that, they know not the Meaning of them without an Interpreter.² Now I, who have no opinion of the Art of Conjurat[i]on, could not conceive which Way this could be done by any other Art ; and, as he could not inform me where such Persons were to be found, so, for the Reason aforesaid, he left me under Uneasiness of Thought which Way to know the Truth of this Matter ; for I thought that to find this performed, would be more curious than all the Arts of *Hocus Pocus* that ever I saw, besides the Usefulness of it. For, as it may be very useful to many Persons, as well in a private as in a publick Capacity, to have Ways of writing their Secret, though

¹ Lord Bacon, as is well known, was familiar with all of the subtleties of this subject. And in 1623, one hundred years prior to the appearance of these Defoe articles, he, in his *De Augmentis*, presents different phases of it and sets out what he regarded as the most perfect example of a cypher. See pp. 71–76. In his great Poetic Commonwealth these papers were part of the scheme.

² The Interpreter is indeed a needful character in these writings and, as will appear in connection with the subject, of “ high nonsense,” hereafter touched upon. And see p. 80, note 1.

innocent Affairs, to one another, in Characters known to few, if any, besides themselves; so it would be of great Satisfaction to the Publick, to find that no Persons can carry on any Correspondence, by Letters, against the Interest of their Country, so private, but that some People can discover it. Also it would be a Means to deter any one from it, when he finds that his Meaning can be discovered by some, in whatever Characters he writeth.¹ At length I considered with myself, who should I apply to, but to one, who (if I mistake not your own Words) hath dipp'd into all Arts and Sciences, and, I suppose, all Mysteries, and one who hath seen a great deal of the *Hocus Pocus* Art.

“Then, prythee *Mist*, put on your Conjuring Cap, and try at the few following Lines; and if you find them beyond your skill, be so candid and ingenious as freely to acknowledge your Incapacity in this Art, and desire some other more mysterious Sons of Art, to do it for you. Let me have the true Meaning of them in plain *English*, in some of your Journals shortly, or else let it be known, that there is one Person, at least, in the World, who cannot believe that there is any certainty in this Art. And, to help you something forward on your Way, I assure you, that these are all *English* Words, and not Words without any Signification, but the Sense of them coherent; though, perhaps, not in the most polite Style, according to the Modern and best Way of writing *English*, because such Words are made use of as may make the greater Difficulty in the Discovery. And take this also along with you, that if, upon Trial, you do not find them to be of an innocent Meaning, you may assure yourself, that your Art fails you, and you must turn over your Books once more; for neither you, nor any Man living, can put any ill Construction on them, if they give the true Meaning of them, which will be known by the Key, which shall be faithfully transmitted to you, as soon as you have decypher'd them, or acknowledg'd your Incapacity in this Art.

“Please to insert this, with the following Cypher, in your next Journal, and you'll oblige many of your Readers.

“I am, Your humble Servant, etc.

¹ Look at Bacon on the subject of “real characters,” chs. 1 and 2 of Book 6 of the *De Augmentis*. See quotations, pp. 71-76.

“pmos kwafroz rmyzo kgy307x 829vmqyd4 ca
 39zxowz nft reysrod6yww xmoz& hwasi m67eyw yfxe
 vm&ag cuzx&gz usa xmocz&dloz 49bopaz& hoe&qax ysv6
 rejce67pondxmz 24z6 vmoM kwerygo ie63pa4d qwee xmo9w
 qod46p zyhfornvz xepnwtz xm&ag zelownais 273 8w6j
 xmoag basi y7x6 maz k&ekdo wouzeff paxm o5k&waosr&
 hexm zmop vmux qgej resxwngM ruyzoz 398q&wosx
 oq8&rnz kg6r&o3.”

“*M. J., Aug. 17.*—Since my first giving the Publick a Letter in *Cyphers*, which I explain’d, I have receiv’d several others to the same Effect; and some of my Correspondents are so fond of the Humour, that they will write to me no other Way, by which means it takes me up as much Time and Study to come at the Sense of an Epistle, as it does a School Boy to construe his Lesson; and, if the Whim continues, I shall be oblig’d to keep an extraordinary Secretary for decyphering, which must cause a Deficiency in my private Civil List, and oblige me to lay a Tax upon the Public, for the Service of the Year,—that is, raise the Price of my Paper.

“I can assure my Readers, I never had any Notion of Pleasure in a Fox Chase, where a Man rides till he Fatigues himself, and then digs to come at the Fox; I say, after he has taken all those Pains, and has killed his Game, he finds the Beast is good for nothing. Thus it has fared with me in some of those Tryals of Skill; I have pored and studied to unravel all the Intricacies of one of these Letters, and when I have discovered all, I have met with nothing to reward my Trouble, or that could entertain my Readers; so that I have had my Labour for my Pains.

“But perhaps, it may be the Fashion now, to invent new Alphabets; and the Modes alter in these Things, as much, and as often as in Dress. I remember once a Man was reckoned Ignorant and Ill bred, who, in writing to a Person of any Condition, did not make at least two thirds of his Paper to consist of Margin. After this Fashion had its Run, it became a Piece of Rudeness to make any Margin at all, and it was Polite to begin the Letter very low, leaving a large void *Area* at Top, so that the first Page of a well-bred Epistle was almost a *carte-blanche*. I expect very soon that some whimsical Person, who is considerable enough to be followed and flattered; will introduce a new Mode of beginning the Letter at the

bottom of the Page, and writing up to the 'Top, as the Hebrews were accustomed to do. No Time can be more apt to receive such a Custom than the present, when all Actions seem to run retrograde, and Men act backwards in all Things.

"But this Maggot¹ of writing in Cyphers and Figures, is not entirely new, a Whim not unlike it started up some Years since, when several elaborate Pieces were published for the Edification of the Youth of this City, under the Title of *Tunbridge Letters*; in which certain Figures were made use of to stand for Words and Syllables. It seemed an ingenious Invention of writing Shorthand, after a long laborious Manner; as if going round about had been the nearest Way Home.

"Yet this was the Summer's Entertainment of our Beaus and Belles, at which Sport, when a Man had taken as much Pains as a Dutch Commentator, and was come to the End of his Labours; he discovered a miserable Piece of Nonsense, without Meaning or Design, a Diversion only fit for those who otherwise would pass their Time at the more ingenious Amusement of catching Flies.

"I find this Folly ridiculed by *Ben Jonson* in his celebrated Play of the *Alchymist*, where *Abel Drugger* causes his Name to be writ upon his Sign, with the Letter *A* and a Bell painted, for *Abel*, the Letter *D*, with a Rug, and a Dog grinning for *Drugger*. So that we find that this is only an old Folly reviv'd.

"This kind of Learning was first borrowed from the *Egyptians*, who used it to purposes, very different from

¹ As to this use of the word "maggot," we, from *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act v, sc. 2, p. 453, quote as follows:

"O! never will I trust to speeches penn'd,
Nor to the motion of a schoolboy's tongue;
Nor never come in visor to my friend;
Nor woo in rhyme, like a blind harper's song;
Taffata phrases, silken terms precise,
Three-pil'd hyperboles, spruce affectation,
Figures pedantical; these summer-flies
Have blown me full of maggot ostentation:
I do foreswear them; and I here protest,
By this white glove, (how white the hand, God knows!)
Henceforth my wooing mind shall be express'd
In russet yeas, and honest kersey noes:
And, to begin, wench,—so God help me, la!—
My love to thee is sound, sans crack or flaw."

what our Moderns have done ; 'tis said, that under the Figures of Birds and Beasts, the Mysteries of their Religion were couch'd, and that the Magicians discovered this Way, in order to conceal them from the Vulgar.¹

" After this, they used the same figurative Way of expressing the Qualities of the Body, or Virtues of the Mind, and particularly upon the Tombs of great Men ; as Strength was express'd by an Elephant, Faithfulness by a Dog, and this was their manner of writing Epitaphs.

" We follow the Example in our Days in Respect to the Living ; and we find a Way of praising the Qualities of a Man by the choice of the Presents we make him,—as a Lion, which is an Emblem of Courage and Generosity, is commonly presented to a King ; whereas we give Parrots to Women,—and I have known a Monkey sometimes presented to a Beau.

" And in this Way of communicating one's Thoughts, a Man may be Satirical, and give others a Hint of their Vices, as well as by Writing ; for when we find ourselves vex'd and oppressed by Persons too powerful for us to contend with in a lawful Way, we may ridicule their Vices in a Manner not cognizable by a Statute.

" I have heard a Story of an arbitrary Minister in *France*, who was Persecutor of the Wits of that Age in general ; but he pursued one with a more than common hatred. The merry Sufferer was every now and then sending his Persecutor something to remember him, as an *Ape* or a *Cat*, or other *Animals*, which are the Images of Malice and Revenge. The ridiculous Presents were always attended with Crowds of People, to the Gates of that great

¹ Look into Addison and into the plays for these elements, and note in Bacon's quoted prayer what he says about studying God's creatures as well as his Scriptures. These elements will be found spread more or less into the parts played by the various actors in this great drama, and so are found in Defoe, Swift, Addison, Steele and some others. And so, again, we remind the reader that Bacon had good reasons for saying in Sonnet 55 that his praise should still find room

" Even in the eyes of all posterity,
That wears this world out to the ending doom."

And he ends Sonnet 146 thus :

" And death once dead, there's no more dying then "

Promus, 936. (*After my death no hurt can come to me.*)

Man, for all Men were pleased with anything that ridiculed him ; and he was at length convinced, that he had better correct those Vices that provoked the general Hatred against him, than in the Wantonness of his Power, to crush a poor Man much superior to himself in every Thing that's commendable, only for endeavoring by his Writings to entertain and instruct the People.

“ The Turks have a Way of communicating their Thoughts to each other, different from any before-named. It is a Correspondence invented to carry on the Affairs of Love ; and nothing is more common there, than for a Lady to receive a *Billet doux* in a Nosegay, which she answers, by sending back another Nosegay, and the Lover knows his Fate, by perusing the Flowers. Perhaps it may be thought that he who has the finest Garden may be the most eloquent in this Way of Address ; but that does not always follow, for it is not in the Quantity, but in the Choice of the Flowers, and the different Manner of ranging them, by which the Lover signifies the Tenderness of his Passion, and lets his Mistress know his Pain ; but be that as it will, it is certain that an Amour is often carried on by an Intercourse of this Kind, and the Lovers, perhaps, never talk to one another till they meet to have the Ceremony of Marriage performed.

“ I could teach my Readers this mystick Art of making up Love Nosegays, but I forbear it out of a Consideration, that it may tend to promote Clandestine Marriages, and instruct young Ladies how to deceive and outwit their Guardians and Parents ; and it is often found that in Love Affairs they are but too witty already.”

Touching the external of some of these articles, it may be said, that as the attention of men can be gained only by that which interests them, so can they be brought higher only by bait framed to their capacities ; and hence he who takes all knowledge for his providence, must needs have a scale that touches as well the lowest as the highest human capacity. And thus much may be said concerning the so-called “ Scandal Club” of the *Review* mentioned at p. 438 and the subject of high nonsense later touched upon. We must permit Lord Bacon to be what he was—a prodigy of wonder. Macaulay of him says : “ The best collection of jests in the world is that which he dictated from memory without referring to any book,

on a day on which illness had rendered him incapable of serious study." See pp. 192 and 193.

We would have the reader note the strange use of capital letters in these articles. They thus occur in all of the newly discovered Defoe papers. The same is true as to the A. D. B. Mask and "Weldon's Court and Character of King James." Let the reader find, if he can, some reason, rule, or end in these methods.¹ Mr. Spedding, in his labored effort to show which of the two versions of Bacon's paper of advice to George Villiers, afterward Duke of Buckingham, was first produced, as to the shorter version says: "And as for punctuation and capitals they are governed by no principle of any kind, and would be very uncouth and perplexing to the reader of a modern page."² These, therefore, he has changed, as he tells us. May not the turning of that paper into this form have been the chief object in reproducing it? This we suggest as question is made as to why Bacon should have cared to reproduce it. See Bacon's Letters, vol. vi., pp. 9-27.

In order now to bring this particular phase of our subject, as to subtlety and cyphers, at once into relation, it becomes necessary to quote from other parts prepared for the actors in this literary scheme, and so introduce from those great satires,³ Gulliver's Travels, by Swift, pp. 229-31, the following:

"I told him, that in the kingdom of Tribnia, by the natives called Langden, where I had sojourned some time

¹ See this work, pp. 71-75, and ch. 12 of Book 2 of the *De Augmentis*. And in ch. 2 of Book 6 we have: "And (as I have already said) uniformity of method is not compatible with uniformity of matter. Wherefore as I approve of Particular Topics for invention, so to a certain extent I allow of Particular Methods for transmission."

² Mr. Spedding in his preface to Bacon's History of Henry the Seventh also says: "The various readings of the printed copy I have quoted in the notes: neglecting, however, all varieties of mere form, such as the introduction of capital letters, of italics, and of inverted commas; which, as there is no direction for them in the manuscript, I ascribe to the printer's fancy and the typographical fashion of the day." (Bacon's Literary Works, vol. i., p. 5.) The Defoe articles are a century later in date, let it be remembered.

³ See ch. 13 of Book 2 of the *De Augmentis*, where Bacon says that "we shall take no particular notice of satire, elegy, epigram, ode, etc., but turn them over to philosophy and the arts of speech," etc. And see these distinct subjects, and in this order, handled in Addison, vol. vi., pp. 587-605.

in my travels, the bulk of the people consist in a manner wholly of discoverers, witnesses, informers, accusers, prosecutors, evidences, swearers, together with their several subservient and subaltern instruments, all under the colours, the conduct, and the pay of ministers of state, and their deputies. The plots, in that kingdom, are usually the workmanship of those persons who desire to raise their own characters of profound politicians; to restore new vigor to a crazy administration; to stifle or divert general discontents; to fill their coffers with forfeitures; and raise or sink the opinion of public credit, as either shall best answer their private advantage. It is first agreed and settled among them, what suspected persons shall be accused of a plot; then, effectual care is taken to secure all their letters and papers, and put the owners in chains. These papers are delivered to a set of artists, very dextrous in finding out the mysterious meanings of words, syllables, and letters.

“For instance, they can discover a close-stool,¹ to signify a privy-council; a flock of geese, a senate; a lame dog, an invader; the plague, a standing army; a beetle, a prime minister; the gout, a high priest; a gibbet, a secretary of state; a chamber-pot, a committee of grandees; a sieve, a court lady; a broom,² a revolution; a mouse-trap,³ an employment; a bottomless pit, a treasury;

¹ In *All's Well that Ends Well*, Act v., sc. 2, p. 372, we have:

“*Par.* Pray you, sir, deliver me this paper.

Clo. Foh! pr'ythee, stand away: a paper from fortune's close-stool to give to a nobleman! Look here he comes himself.”

And in *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act v., sc. 2, p. 460, we have:

“You will be scrap'd out of the painted cloth for this: your lion, that holds his poll-ax sitting on a close stool, will be given to Ajax: he will be the ninth Worthy.” Concerning the use of the word “ring” in this play, see Addison, vol. ii., p. 181; and as to the “drum,” see p. 115. Note also the use of the word “drum” in Bunyan's *Holy War*.

² In *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Act v., sc. 2, p. 350, we have:

“I am sent with broom, before,
To sweep the dust behind the door.”

Let these different points be looked for in the plays.

³ In *Hamlet*, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 291, we have:

“*King.* What do you call the play?
Ham. The mousetrap.”

And in the same scene p. 296, we have:

a sink, a court ; a cap and bells,¹ a favorite ; a broken reed,² a court of justice ; an empty tun, a general ; a running sore, the administration.

"When this method fails, they have two others more effectual, which the learned among them call acrostics and anagrams.³ First, they can decipher all initial letters into political meanings. Thus, N, shall signify a plot ; B, a regiment of horse ; L, a fleet at sea ; or, secondly, by transposing the letters of the alphabet in any suspected paper, they can lay open the deepest designs of a discontented party. So, for example, if I should say in a letter to a friend 'Our brother Tom has just got the piles,' a skilful decipherer would discover, that the same letters which compose that sentence may be analyzed into the following words, 'Resist. — a plot is brought home—— the tour.' And this is the anagrammatic method.

"The professor made me great acknowledgments for communicating these observations, and promised to make honorable mention of me in his treatise."⁴

The next Baconian actor which we introduce upon the point under review is Joseph Addison, and from vol. iii. of the works attributed to him, p. 103, we quote as follows :

"Designing this day's work for a dissertation upon the two extremities of my paper, and having already dispatched my motto, I shall, in the next place, discourse

"Ham. Sir, I lack advancement."

¹ As to "cap and bells," please see Addison, vol. ii., p. 326.

² Bacon at his fall speaks of himself as a broken reed.

³ Please see the six articles on acrostics and anagrams in Addison, vol. ii., pp. 342-67. On p. 366 we have : "The genius of Heroic Poetry appeared with a sword in her hand and a laurel on her head. Tragedy was crowned with cypress, and covered with robes dipped in blood. Satire had smiles in her look, and a dagger under her garment. Rhetoric was known by her thunderbolt ; and Comedy, by her mask. After several other figures, Epigram marched up in the rear, who had been posted there at the beginning of the expedition, that he might not revolt to the enemy, whom he was suspected to favor in his heart." And see vol. iv., pp. 105-10.

⁴ This quotation is taken from the cheap though admirable edition of Gulliver's Travels in the Gladstone series, of which we have made use. Note, please, the introductory matter to this edition as to the great caution originally displayed in giving the work, though anonymous, to the public.

upon those single capital letters which are placed at the end of it, and which have afforded great matter of speculation to the curious. I have heard various conjectures upon this subject. Some tell us, that C is the mark of those papers that are written by the Clergyman, though others ascribe them to the Club in general. That the papers marked with R, were written by my friend Sir Roger. That L signifies the Lawyer, whom I have described in my Speculation; and that T stands for the Trader or Merchant; but the letter X, which is placed at the end of some few of my papers, is that which has puzzled the whole town,¹ as they cannot think of any name which begins with that letter, except Xenophon and Xerxes, who can neither of them be supposed to have had any hand in these speculations.²

¹ The subjects handled in these papers are chiefly such as to be of interest at any historic period, and they are studiously and adroitly handled to meet this necessity. And though there is occasionally an interpolation, still let the reader in the scope of the work have an eye to this thought. See Addison, vol. iii., pp. 435-38. And in sec. 1 of the discourse on the "Mechanical Operation of the Spirit," by Swift, we have: "In all my writings I have had constant regard to this great end, not to suit and apply them to particular occasions and circumstances of time, of place, or of person, but calculate them for universal nature and mankind in general." Bacon said he did not wish his writings to court the present time, etc. See p. 96. The use of the word "town" throughout the plays, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, and Bunyan's *Holy War*, instead of any mention of locality, is one of the noticeable earmarks in the direction indicated. See in this connection the subject of the *Town of Vanity Fair* in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 161, and see p. 91, note 2.

² The five anonymous actors are represented as sending in their speculations for publication to Bickerstaff, the ruling spirit. In Addison, vol. vi., p. 687, it is said: "Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., Astrologer, was an imaginary person, almost as well known in that age as Mr. Paul Pry or Mr. Samuel Pickwick in ours. Swift had assumed the name of Bickerstaff in a satirical pamphlet against Partridge, the maker of almanacks." Promus, 111. (Astrology is true, but the astrologer is not to be found.) As to Bickerstaff and these characters, see Addison, vol. iii., pp. 461-65, and vol. iv., pp. 67-71 and 172-76. The article on p. 172 opens thus: "The first who undertook to instruct the world in single papers was Isaac Bickerstaff of famous memory. A man nearly related to the family of Ironsides. We have often smoked a pipe together, for I was so much in his books, that at his decease he left me a silver standish, a pair of spectacles, and the lamp by which he used to write his lucubrations." Here we have a distinct Baconian expression, "much in his books." Bacon says: "For the Papists, it is not unknown to

"In answer to these inquisitive gentlemen, who have many of them made inquiries of me by letter, I must tell them the reply of an ancient philosopher, who carried something hidden under his cloak. A certain acquaintance desiring him to let him know what it was he covered so carefully, 'I cover it (says he) on purpose that you shall not know.'¹ I have made use of these obscure marks for the same purpose. They are, perhaps, little amulets or charms to preserve the paper against the fascination or malice of evil eyes;² for which reason I would not have my reader surprised, if hereafter he sees any of my papers marked with a Q, a Z, a Y, an &c., or with the word Abracadabra.³

"I shall, however, so far explain myself to the reader, as to let him know that the letters C, L, and X, are cabalistical, and carry more in them than it is proper for the world to be acquainted with. Those who are versed in the philosophy of Pythagoras,⁴ and swear by the Tetracthys, that is, the number four, will know very well that the number ten, which is signified by the letter X (and which has so much perplexed the town), has in it many particular powers; that it is called by Platonic writers the complete number; that one, two, three, and four,

your Grace that you are not at this time much in their books." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 449.)

¹ In this connection see the opening page of the Anatomy of Melancholy.

² In this way Bacon kept off envy from his work, and by high nonsense gave protection to the actors of his great project.

³ In Defoe's "History of the Plague," Bohn ed., p. 26, may be seen this word arranged into a figure, as an amulet against the plague. Bacon's views as to Pythagoras will be found to be the views spread into all of these writings. See Bacon's introduction to "Century X." of his "Natural History." (Phil. Works, vol. iv., p. 640.) In Twelfth Night, Act iv., sc. 2, p. 430, we have:

Clo. What is the opinion of Pythagoras concerning wild-fowl?

Mal. That the soul of our grandam might haply inhabit a bird.

Clo. What thinkest thou of his opinion?

Mal. I think nobly of the soul, and no way approve his opinion."

⁴ Pythagoras is in many places referred to in the plays, and so Bacon in many places makes mention of Pythagorean diet. And articles of diet are used as covers in the plays. Again Bacon says: "And hence the ancient times are full of all kinds of fables, parables, enigmas, and similitudes; as may appear by the numbers of Pythagoras, the enigmas of Sphinx, the fables of Æsop, and the like." (Phil. Works, vol. iv., p. 317.) See p. 224.

put together, make up the number ten ; and that ten is all.¹ But these are not mysteries for ordinary readers to be let into. A man must have spent many years in hard study before he can arrive at the knowledge of them.

“ We had a rabbinical divine in England, who was chaplain to the Earl of Essex in Queen Elizabeth’s time, that had an admirable head for secrets of this nature. Upon his taking the doctor of divinity’s degree, he preached before the University of Cambridge, upon the first verse of the first chapter of the first book of Chronicles, in which (says he) you will see the three following words,

Adam, Sheth, Enosh.

“ He divided this short text into many parts, and discovering several mysteries in each word, made a most learned and elaborate discourse. The name of this profound preacher was Doctor Alabaster, of whom the reader

¹ Promus, 852. (*The obscure numbers of Plato.* Plato sometimes obscured his philosophy with the numbers of Pythagoras, who reduced nearly all philosophy to numbers.) Of Pythagoras Bacon says : “ Yet his opinion that the world consists of numbers may be so understood as to penetrate to the principles of nature. For there are two opinions, nor can there be more, with respect to atoms or the seeds of things ; the one that of Democritus, which attributed to atoms inequality and configuration, and by configuration position ; the other perhaps that of Pythagoras, which asserted that they were altogether equal and similar. For he who assigns equality to atoms necessarily places all things in numbers ; but he who allows other attributes has the benefit of the primitive natures of separate atoms, besides the numbers or proportions of their conjunctions.” See Phil. Works, vol. v., p. 422. This is an all-important point in the Baconian philosophy, and Bacon in part illustrates it in the treatment of colors. He says : “ But as we intend not now to reveal, so we are circumspect not to mislead ; and therefore (this warning being given) returning to our purpose in hand, we admit the sixth direction to be, that all bodies or parts of bodies which are unequal equally, that is in a simple proportion, do represent whiteness ; we will explain this, though we induce it not. It is then to be understood, that absolute equality produceth transparency, inequality in simple order or proportion produces whiteness, inequality in compound or respective order or proportion produceth all other colours, and absolute and orderless inequality produceth blackness ; which diversity, if so gross a demonstration be needful, may be signified by four tables ; a black, a checker, a fret, and a medley ; whereof the fret is evident to admit of great variety.” See this point, Phil. Works, vol. iii., p. 237. Let the reader linger somewhat here. With Bacon, transparency is nudity. See p. 42, note 1.

may find a more particular account in Doctor Fuller's book of English Worthies. This instance will, I hope, convince my readers, that there may be a great deal of fine writing in the capital letters which bring up the rear of my paper, and give them some satisfaction in that particular. But as for the full explication of these matters, I must refer them to time, which discovers all things."

Let what Bacon in his Addison says of Homer, at p. 71, be here called into relation with the ending of Book 1 of the *De Augmentis*.

We would likewise have the reader note as we go the further circumstance in the proofs, though without stress upon it, that many of the newly discovered Defoe papers have names appended to them of like signification with those in *The Pilgrim's Progress*; as, Mr. Eminent, Frank Faithful, Theophilus Love Wit, Christopher Careful, Jeremiah Dry Roots, Tom Turbulent, Sir Timothy Caution, Anthony Quiet, Jonathan Problematic, Jack Indifferent, Anthony Antiplot, Able Peaceable, Anthony Broadheart, The New Convert, etc.

Others, again, have appended to them the names of Philo, Democritus, Diogenes, Simpronius, Quinquimpalix, Libertatas, Nicety, Sincerity, Enigma, Ancient, Modern, All-Hide, Chesapeake, Theo, Anti-Italic, Thunder Bolt, Boatswain Trinkolo, etc.; while others are either unsubscribed or have appended to them mere initials.¹

¹ And some few of the Addison articles are thus subscribed, as John Thrifty, Nicholas Humdrum, Leonora, Will Honeycomb, Robin Good-Fellow, Martha Tempest, etc. And occasionally in the plays we have a like personification of qualities; and so in *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act v., sc. 1, p. 239, we have:

"*Dogb.* Moreover, sir, which, indeed, is not under white and black, this plaintiff here, the offender, did call me ass: I beseech you, let it be remember'd in his punishment. And, also, the watch heard them talk of one Deformed: they say, he wears a key in his ear, and a lock hanging by it; and borrows money in God's name; the which he hath us'd so long, and never paid, that now men grow hard-hearted, and will lend nothing for God's sake: Pray you, examine him upon that point."

Concerning the above-mentioned "Robin Good-Fellow"—that is, Bacon's friend, Sir Faulke Grevill—he, in one of his Apophthegms, says: "Sir Faulke Grevill had much and private access to Queen Elizabeth, which he used honorably, and did many men good; yet he would say merrily of himself; *That he was like Robin Goodfellow; For when the maids spilt the milkpans, or kept any racket, they*

As the word "Christian" designates the chief character in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, so throughout all of the writings under review, Shakespeare included, do we ask attention to the distinctive use of that word in preference to any of synonymous or similar import. In the first and second of the six dialogues by Defoe on Christian conversation, the disputants are distinguished as Confirmed Christian, Doubting Christian. (Hazlitt's Defoe, vol. iii.)

Bacon would not now permit his wounded name to detract from *The Pilgrim's Progress*, this crowning seventh or Sabbath-day work for the good of men; and so, doubtless, sought for it and for his Bunyan's *Holy War* another channel.¹ As to these works, *The Pilgrim's Progress* was evidently produced last, as will appear in the author's apology for the book. And on p. 57 of the work see the verses that were made to accompany the *Holy War*. They are designed to show and to make certain that both works have the same author, but who still would be cloaked. And at the end of the poem the reason is stated thus:

"I write not this of any ostentation;
Nor 'cause I seek of men their commendation:
I do it to keep them from such surmise,
As tempt them will my name to scandalize.
Witness my name; if anagram'd to thee,
The letters make Nu hony in a B."²

would lay it upon Robin; So what tales the ladies about the Queen told her, or other bad offices that they did, they would put it upon him." (Bacon's Literary Works, vol. ii., p. 158.) See the Addison article, vol. iii., pp. 77-80.

¹ "Either our history shall, with full mouth,
Speak freely of our acts; or else our grave,
Like Turkish mute, shall have a tongueless mouth,
Not worshipp'd with a waxen epitaph."

—Henry V., Act i., sc. 2, p. 473.

² Promus, 927. (They will eat my bees and make my honey.) The introductory poem to the *Holy War* ends thus:

"Nor do thou go to work without my Key,
(In mysteries men soon do loose their way)
And also turn it right if thou wouldst know
My riddle, and wouldst with my heifer plow,
It lies there in the window, fare thee well,
My next may be to ring thy Passing-Bell."

A few lines earlier in the poem we have the substance of Bacon's expression, "But I hold thee too long in the porch." The lines are in these words:

All of the newly discovered Defoe articles by Lee are taken from journals in which Defoe is said to have been interested between 1716 and 1729. They were found chiefly, as Mr. Lee tells us, in what was known as *Applebee's Journal*. He says: "His first article in *Applebee's Journal* was published on the 25th of June 1720, which was the day following that on which the Act of Parliament and Royal Proclamation, for the instant suppression of all further Babbling Schemes, had come into operation. The subject he adopted was the strange and sudden alterations produced by the Act in Exchange Alley, and the streets, taverns, and coffee-houses, near that centre of recent 'Whimsical Transactions.' He describes these changes in his happiest and most playful manner, signing his communication 'Oliver Oldway.' It will be found in its place among his writings; and, in addition to the amusement it will afford, has a permanent interest as part of the history of the national delusion. Defoe continued to write weekly articles in *Applebee's Journal* until the 12th of March 1726, and the largest portion of his hitherto uncollected writings discovered in my research, have been transcribed from its pages." (Lee, vol. i., p. 338.)

Had this article been put forth a century—that is, one hundred years earlier by Bacon himself, on March 12th, it would have been issued twenty-eight days prior to his reputed death, said to have occurred April 9th, 1626.

Our claim therefore is, that while this literature was prepared by Sir Francis Bacon for a future historic period, portions of it distinctly represent the struggles through which he himself passed shortly before and following his fall; and that from some of these articles, as scaffolding, so to speak, he framed his great allegorical play, *The Tempest*.

We therefore proceed to give place to a series of articles from the mentioned Defoe papers, which we regard as

" But I have too long held thee in the Porch,
And kept thee from the Sun-shine with a Torch."

In the introduction of Bacon's *History of Life and Death* we have: "To inquire however concerning the last steps of death and the final extinction of life, which may happen so many ways both external and internal (yet all which meet as it were in a common porch before they come to the point of death), is in my judgment pertinent to this inquiry; but I reserve it till the end." And see p. 58.

bearing in the direction of Bacon's troubles and of that great play, and to which we invite the most careful attention, reminding the reader that oftentimes a case seemingly hopeless at its opening reaches the irresistible ere its close.

Already have we seen, in earlier pages, that under the reign of James the First, and in 1619, strong efforts were being made by Bacon to bring about a retrenchment in the expenses of the kingdom, as well as to repel and beat back tendencies, not merely toward Rome, but toward atheism and various immoralities ; or, as stated in the play of *The Tempest*, the flouting and scouting element. His interest likewise in the Bohemian outbreak, in 1618, which was the beginning of the 'Thirty Years' War, has been somewhat called under review. In connection with this thought we introduce an article, under date November 29th, 1718, *Lee*, vol. ii., p. 79, and which is as follows :

“ *W. E. P.* [*Whitehall Evening Post*], Nov. 29.—*To the Undertakers of the Whitehall Evening Post.* Sirs, —The liberty you give to inserting Letters in your Paper relating to the affair of Spain, whether they are receiv'd from other hands, or are the product of your Author's invention, is very agreeable to many of your Readers ; and I believe is generally so to all those who have right notions of the Public Affairs of Europe, and the true Interest of Great Britain ; especially while those Letters are written with good sense and good meaning, and appear, as they hitherto seem, to be calculated for the giving right ideas and just conceptions of the nature, reason, and necessity of the approaching War with Spain.

“ But why does not your Author, who, if we guess at him right, is well enough qualified for such an undertaking, enter into the part of the necessity and justice of that War, which is apparent from our Trading circumstances, and from the situation and extent of our commerce ? How can he refrain entering into some of those many arguments which naturally result from the Hazard of your Trade in the suppos'd view of the growing power of Spain ?

“ If I mistake not your Author, I have heard him say he would be glad of an opportunity to retrieve the good opinion of his Friends, which he lost by being drawn into former Follies. Tell him, now is the Time for him to let the World see, that whatever he might be formerly

biass'd to say in a Case which he could not defend, like a Council pleading for his fee, and obliged to make the best of a bad Cause ; yet that now he speaks from Inclination, and has a Cause that must go along with his Judgment, as well as with the duty of an Author.

“ Tell him, it is expected from him, he should show the World that there is a necessity for Great Britain to exert herself in timely preventing the growing Exorbitance of the Spanish Power, or to give up from this moment all her Pretences to the Trade either of the Mediterranean or Mexican Seas. That 'tis a scandalous mistake for him, or any one else, to say that this war is undertaken to aggrandize the House of Austria, and to make the Emperor the Terror of Europe : But that it is undertaken to prevent Spain making herself the Terror of Great Britain, by ruining our Trade, overthrowing our Colonies, and destroying the liberty of that Commerce, by which our Manufactures are extended abroad, and consequently are supported at Home. That 'tis Nonsense to talk of this War from Religious Amusements, that it is carried on between Popish Powers, who we ought to let fight with one another as long as they please, and look on with pleasure to see them dash themselves to pieces one against another, that the Protestant Powers may see their Enemies weaken'd, and their own strength reserv'd to pull them all down at last, and bury them in the Ruins of the *Whore of Babylon*,¹ etc.

“ When Europe is engaged in a Religious War, and the question is only stated between Protestants and Papists, these Things will be seasonable enough, and we shall hear him with pleasure upon those Heads.² But tell him he knows well enough this is a War of civil Interest, not Religious : This is a War in which the Question is, How the Right of Princes, the Intercourse of Nations, and the Peace, Prosperity, and Trade of the World shall be preserv'd ; how the ambition of voracious and unreasonable Men, vested with Power, and Gaping for more than their

¹ In the play of Henry V., Act ii., sc. 3, p. 493, we have :

“ *Quick. A* did in some sort, indeed, handle women ; but then he was rheumatic ; and talk'd of the whore of Babylon.”

² Bacon's fears as to the Spanish monarchy have been touched upon in earlier pages. And see p. 222.

share, shall be restrain'd ; and the just Bounds and Limits of Great ones' be on all sides preserv'd.

“Tell him that it is a Malicious mistake to say, that Great Britain is *an Auxiliary* in this War; we are really Principals; our Concern in it is infinitely more than that of the Emperor, or of the Princes of Italy: It is not of a thousandth part of the consequence to the House of Austria who possesses the Kingdom of Sicily, the Harbour of Cagliari, the Vire of Messina, or the Gulf of Naples, *as it is to us*. The Emperor would be Emperor, and a most potent powerful Prince, though he had not a Foot of Ground in Italy, and was so when he had very little there; but the Case differs quite with us, and this I say your Author knows.

“He knows that as Spain was 40 years ago a sapine, and indolent, an unmanaged Government, their King enjoy'd the Advantages of his possessing Naples and Sicily without much of our Concern ; but the Spaniards now are quite another Nation than Spain then could be said to be.² That if the present King sets up for a Superiority of his Marine Power, and resolves to have a stated Force of 80 Men-of-War of the Line of Battle in his Fleets, and if Spain resolves to improve all the Advantages that such a Superiority at Sea will give them, I say, he knows ; *for every man of Common Sense must know*, that Sicily,

¹ The expression "great ones" is Baconian; and note it in the plays. In Bacon's Essay entitled "Of Envy," we have: "And therefore it is a bridle to great ones, to keep them within bounds." See the expression also in his Essay entitled "Of Seditions and Troubles." And in his Essay entitled "Of Ambition," we have: "It is counted by some a weakness in Princes to have favorites; but it is of all others the best remedy against ambitious great ones." And in Hamlet, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 281, we have:

“ *King.* It shall be so :
Madness in great ones must not unwatch'd go.”

In Twelfth Night, Act i., sc. 2, p. 353, we have :

“ And then ’twas fresh in murmur (as you know,
What great ones do the less will prattle of)
That he did seek the love of fair Olivia.”

² See the subject of Naples in the play of *The Tempest*. Bacon says: "I see once in thirty or forty years cometh a Pope, that casteth his eye upon the kingdom of Naples, to recover it to the church; as it was in the minds of Julius 2, Paulus 4, and Zistus 5." See this article, Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 500.

in such a hand, would be like a Chain drawn across the Mouth of the Levant Seas, which without their leave no Ship could pass ; or like the Castle of Elsenour in the Sound, that locks up the Trade of the Baltick, and makes the most powerful Nations of Europe pay Tribute to the weakest of Europe's monarchs, the King of Denmark.'

"Here is a Field for him to give his most Extended Thoughts their due Length : It is impossible to answer what may be said on this Subject, or to confute the Reasons which naturally occur to prove, that Great Britain cannot acquiesce in letting Spain possess Sicily, without giving up her Trade to Turkey, and the Gulf of Venice, on which the consumption of her Manufactures so much depends ; her Trade to Zant for Currants, to Gallipoli for Oyl, to Messina and Naples for Silk, and in a Word, without effectually ruining her Italian Trade, viz., her Trade to Genoa, Leghorn, etc., as also indeed her whole Commerce of the Mediterranean.

"Are all these Arguments asleep with him, that he says nothing to these Things? Send him then to our West Indian Islands, and bid him tell us from thence, how long we shall be able to protect our Settlements there, and carry on our Navigation and Commerce with our own People at Jamaica, Barbadoes, etc., if the Naval strength of Spain be suffer'd to grow to such an immoderate and monstrous Pitch, as it is known the ambition of the Spanish Ministry now aim at.

"Let us see your Author exert himself now in so just a Cause as this, and tell him he shall be forgiven all his former wrong steps ; and honest men will begin to receive him again, and restore him to their good opinion, as a

¹ Already in our remarks upon the play of Hamlet, pp. 94-96, have we called attention to Bacon's fears touching the safety of England and her Protestantism in connection with trade, should the mouth of the Baltic Sea fall to the control of the Catholic powers. And for like reason it was that later he was so interested in Sicily and Naples. Let the reader look at these geographic points. These points Bacon longed to see under control of the Protestant powers. As to Tunis and Africa, mentioned in the play of The Tempest, see p. 338, and note 2, p. 337. In his article on the Holy War Bacon as to Algiers says : "In the piratical war which was achieved by Pompey the Great, and was his truest and greatest glory, the pirates had some cities, sundry ports, and a great part of the province of Cilicia ; and the pirates now being, have a receptacle and mansion in Algiers."

man return'd to himself, and inclined to make us (to use his own words) *L'Amende honorable* for what is past. *Your Friend*, etc., Spanish."

Here we have another touch upon relations involved in the play of Hamlet, we think, which concerns not only philosophy, but the Reformed faith and empire. In Act ii., sc. 2, following the expression "for look, where my abridgment comes," observe as bearing upon Bacon's purposes the speech touching Æneas' tale to Dido,¹ the mention of "Pyrrhus," of "the ominous horse," of "Priam." Bacon in Promus Note 20 says: (Enough has been done for my country and Priam). In this connection we from Bloss's Ancient History, p. 358, quote as follows:

"FIRST PUNIC WAR.—We come now to consider Rome in a most interesting period of her history; when, venturing beyond the bounds of Italy, she stretched her arms across the sea, and began the conquest of other lands. About 100 years before the foundation of Rome, Dido, sister of Pygmalion, King of Tyre, fled from the tyranny of her brother, with a select band of followers, and landed in Africa, near the spot where Tunis now stands. There a city was founded, which extended its commerce along the shores of the Mediterranean, and became one of the richest and most powerful cities in the world. Carthage also possessed, in the opinion of Aristotle, one of the most perfect governments of antiquity. At the time of the Punic wars she had under her dominion 300 of the smaller cities of Africa, with their territories. The expulsion of Pyrrhus from Italy—the subjugation of the Samnites and Tarentines—had made the Romans masters of the garden of Europe. Sicily was their granary, but, not content with the supplies of corn annually received, they secretly desired to possess the island itself, the more, perhaps, because Carthage claimed some of its cities, and sent her fleets unquestioned into the bay of Tarentum and up the Adriatic."

As Troy,² the land of Priam, was won through the

¹ As to Dido, see p. 338, note 2.

² Promus, 776. (We Trojans were—*i.e.*, have now ceased to be; as "*Troja fuit*," Troy was.) Promus, 760. (By making trial the Greeks arrived at Troy. Try, and you will succeed.) Promus, 35. (Men sin within the walls of Troy as well as outside of them.) As to the walls of the soul see p. 353, note 2, and p. 374, note 2.

wooden horse of the Greeks, so did Bacon stuff the carcass of their mythology with material that should win it back. In his notes made in 1608 we have : “ Discussing scornfully of the philosophy of the Græcians wth some better respect to y^e Aegiptians, Persians, Caldes, and the utmost antiquity and the mysteries of the poets.” (Bacon’s Letters, vol. iv., b. 64.) Such a literary record as Bacon has made has never been equalled.

We next introduce two articles from what is called the Miranda correspondence, and which have subtle relations, and concern, we think, the Miranda of The Tempest. The first bears date March 21st, 1719, and the other May 27th, 1721. (Lee, vol. ii., pp. 111 and 382.) They are, we think, subtle satires touching Prince Charles, and are as follows :

“ *M. J., March 21.*—Mr. Mist makes no Question but that everybody will grant to him that the Ladies’ Affairs are of much greater Value than those of Government, Kings, Emperors, and such Trifles ; and that Matters of Love are of infinitely more consequence than Matters of State ; so he hopes he need give no other Reason why he has adjourned private Things, such as long Discourses—upon the Dangers of the Nation from a foreign Invasion ;—upon the great Advantages of a Protestant Wind, which blows so exactly for our safety, as if the sky itself were come into the Quadruple Alliance ;—upon the forwardness of our Navy, part of which are at Sea ;—and upon the raising Troops, the success of the new Levies, and the like ;—and, is obliged to apply himself to that more weighty affair between Madam Miranda and her Pretenders.

“ The state of this Lady’s Affairs, it seems, stands at present thus, in few Words ; having received an almost innumerable number of Letters in answer to her first Proposal of Matrimony, she dispatch’d some of them by our Hands in the last Journal, their substance being, in her Opinion, perfectly remote from the matter. That some of them may have Weight she does not deny, and therefore has order’d them to be honoured in her Name with a Publication at length ; and as to those which are still omitted, she desires the Parties may take her silence for the best Answer that can be given them.

“ The first of these to be published, is a very ingenious

good-humour'd Letter in French ; the Lady commands us not to translate it, because, she says, it is not easy to make a Translation equal to the Original, or to do Justice to the Author, in the spirit, vivacity, and the beauty of the Expression ; but as to the Gentleman himself, the Lady only says, that she is very sorry he is not an Englishman, which happens to be one of the Circumstances which she long ago obliged herself to.

“ Next to this, we were oblig'd to insert, at large, a Letter written from this Lady's former Lover, who claims to do himself, and her too, some Justice, in rectifying some Misunderstandings that have happened between them, and which have perhaps been the Occasion of the Lady's looking abroad to please herself better ; Now we cannot deny but that the Gentleman is very much in the right to recover her if he can, and herein we should do him Justice by publishing his Letter ; but we are now prevented from inserting either of these Letters at this time.”

“ *A. J., May 27.*—We have been often told how a great many intended Matches have been lately broken off by the sudden and unexpected Fall of Fortunes in Exchange-Alley. But the following Story is an Instance of one that was brought on by that very Means. A certain young Gentleman near Covent Garden, had no sooner got above £40,000 by the *South Sea* Traffic, but he forgot a beautiful and virtuous Lady, that he was upon the Point of being marry'd to.¹ However, according to the uncertain rotation of human Affairs, this same Gentleman, half a year after, was stripped of all, having lost not only his acquir'd, but his original Fortune. He thereupon put on a bold Face, for he had no other Game to play, and came to his *quondam* Mistress, and told her his Case ; and, in short, that he was so reduc'd as to want five or six Guineas ; to which she reply'd, *I am glad of that with all my Heart.*² *Are you so, Madam?* Said he again, suspect-

¹ Let it be remembered in connection with Bacon's secret scheme for revenue, that it was £40,000 that Raleigh was to forfeit in case of failure to perform his promises. This was the amount of Bacon's fine fixed upon at his fall.

² This expression, “ with all my heart,” may be found throughout. I have observed its use some six or seven different times in the plays. See the expression in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, pp. 91, 275, and 313. And on p. 275 we have : “ But now we are in, we are in, and I am

ing her Constancy, as one that had been himself inconstant might very well do. *Why so! Because*, says she, *I can give you five or six thousand*; and so she did, and herself into the Bargain."

We next give place to the first paragraphs of an important article issued in 1719, showing fears for the Reformed faith.

"*M. J., May 30.*—Mr. Mist,—I suppose you are not tied up altogether to Froth and Levity, but now and then (not to use it) you may away with something more solemn and solid than *Whitsontide* Walking and *Miranda's* Fables. Do you consider, man, that while the World is preparing to go together by the Ears for Baubles abroad,—as Ambition, Avarice, and the Devil guide them,—we are actually engaged in a worse War at home? I say a worse War; for they fight Men against Men, but here we are grown so audacious, that like the *Titans* of old we are engaged in the same unequal Combat as the Poets feigned of those Giants against *Jupiter*. In a word, the War is against Heaven itself, Mortal Man against Almighty God; and where it will End judge you.

"What I speak of, you will easily guess to be the breaking out of the old *Arian* Heresy among us,—and particularly the frightful consequences of it among our religious people,—driving them, by the mere force of Controversy, into all the Errors and Blasphemies of *Lelius*, *Socinus*, *Michael*, *Servetus*, and *Fustus Socinus*, the great Father of Socinianism." (Lee, vol. ii., p. 129.)

We next give place to the first of several articles concerning the Hell-Fire Club, and dated May 13th, 1721 (Lee, vol. ii., p. 373), and which is as follows:

"*A. J., May 13.*—Sir,—I have made diligent Enquiry

glad with all my heart." In the play of the Prince of Tyre, Act v., sc. 2, p. 379, we have:

"Shall we refresh us, sir, upon your shore,
And give you gold for such provision
As our intents will need?

Lys. Sir,

With all my heart; and when you come ashore,
I have another suit."

Bacon says: "For certainly counsel is the blind man's guide; and sorry I am with all my heart, that in this case the blind did lead the blind." (Bacon's Letters, vol. iv., p. 355.)

among all Parts of the Town, which I am acquainted with, to find, if possible, some one Member, or harden'd Defender of the Members of these impious Societies, so much talk'd of; and, to my particular Satisfaction, I must acknowledge I have not found, and cannot find one of them, or any Footsteps of one of them, or, at least, one that will dare to own any Thing of it; although my Diligence in the Search, has been, I assure you, very particular, and such as would be thought, if you knew it all, to be very sufficient.

“ From hence I have had a strong Inclination, to question the Truth of the whole Story; and that indeed there is no such Thing, no Men so wicked, no Set of Men so audacious. I must confess, I should be very glad to say, I hope there is nothing more in it but Rumour and Clamour; tho', on the other Hand, I am very apt to take it the other Way, and to say with his Majesty's Declaration and Order, and hope, that there is no ground to believe it.

“ But when I was indulging that charitable Thought, it return'd, that tho' they may not merit that Vile Name particularly, yet there is a Set of Men who having openly deny'd the Son of God, robb'd him of his Divinity, and consequently of his glorious and immortal Nature,— have levell'd him with themselves; and who, in like manner, have expos'd to ridicule the Notion of the Holy Spirit, and of his glorious Influence upon the Souls of Men. And, I say, what are these but a Hell-Fire Club, in whom all ideas of Gospel-Light are eradicated, and blotted out of the Mind; and who are harden'd to deny the Lord that bought them.

“ For my Part, when Men are impious, and merely for a Flout,¹ *as these Men do*, cast off all Reverence of the Deity, lay aside all sorts of Knowledge and Learning, and set themselves up to tell their Redeemer, that he is not the Person the World has taken him for; these Men seem to be ripen'd up by the Progress of their Crimes to become what we call Fire-Brands of Hell, or any Thing; and there never was, in my Opinion, a more direct and Opposite Denomination for them, than that of a Hell-Fire Club.

“ Tell me not of Civility, or of using such Men as these

¹ This word “ flout,” as used in the play of *The Tempest*, was the starting-point in my interpretation of that work, and it may be found throughout these writings.

with ill Manners. There are indeed a sort of wild Creatures in the Fields and Woods, which being found by the Sportsmen, they give a certain Latitude to, which we call the Game Law.¹ But there are another sort which are voracious and impudent, who, if you will not attack them, will attack you. To these we give no Law, but Knock their Brains out, wherever they may be found.

“Such, in a Degree, are the People I am speaking of. Tell me no more, I say, of treating these Men like Gentlemen, who will not treat their Saviour like a God. They who can audaciously rank our Blessed Redeemer with Men, should themselves be rank’d with Beasts. If Jesus Christ must, by those Wretches, be call’d a mere Man, I am sure they do not merit the Title of Men, but should be used like Brutes, or like something a great deal worse ; I mean Devils, human Devils, incarnate Devils ; or, in modern English, Hell-Fire Men. The Title is very suitable to them ; and very suitable to what they will certainly be, at last.

“Let us search no further then, if these are not the same, the individual Hell-Fire Club, which the King’s Proclamation, or publick Order, has branded with the Title of Impious,—they are certainly the same Thing in reality ; for what can be more Impious ? What a greater Insult of Heaven than to deny the Son of God to be God, as if we could divide the Infinite, and make Classes of Gods, contrary to the express Words of the Scripture ; *The Lord thy God is one God* ; or as if, because we are taught to distinguish the Persons in the Trinity, that therefore, as I wrote once before, we could solve the Doctrine of the Trinity by a System of Human Generation.

“Make then no more Difficulty in the Search ; here is your Hell-Fire Club.² All the Deists and Arians, and

¹ This distinct thought I remember to have seen in Bacon’s writings, but I do not now remember where it may be found.

² These articles have evidently a relation to Bunyan’s Holy War, and which with greater ease may be shown to be Bacon’s than The Pilgrim’s Progress. We understand it as written soon after the breach of the mentioned Spanish marriage alliance. Its character, “My Lord Willbewill,” we understand to personate qualities possessed by Buckingham. Touching the Hell-Fire Club we quote from it thus : “And, said he, if you break in upon them, as I wish we do, either with some, or with all our force, let them that break in look to it, that they forget not the work. And let nothing be heard in the Town of Mansoul but Hell-fire, Hell-fire, Hell-fire.”

modern Socinians, which we find risen up among us, are Members of it; and you ought to go to the Bench of Justices and demand the Reward for the Information, as 'tis promis'd in their Advertisements, to encourage those that should detect them. I am, Sir, your Servant, Orthodox."

We next introduce part of an article under date February 3d, 1722 (Lee, vol. ii., p. 483), as follows:

"*A. J., Feb. 3.*—Sir, St. Augustine, in his Epistles to Marcellinus, tells us, that the Romans justify'd the Liberty they allow'd themselves in, to the Practice of all manner of Vice, from the Pattern of their Gods, which Patterns they drew from the fabulous Writings of their ancient Authors, and the Recapitulation of them in Homer, in Ovid, and such celebrated writers of those Times.

"The Stories of the Rapes and Incests of Jupiter, the Lewdness of Venus and Mars, and the like, made those Crimes not only familiar to Men, but took off the Scandal of them; for it was hard to perswade Men that they might not be allowed to commit such Things as were legitimated by the Practice of those Beings, who they thought fit to adore.

"It must be confess'd, it seems wonderful how the Honour and Reverence given to those impious Deities could be so long maintained in the World, while their Historians were stain'd with so many vile Actions! Things, some of which were shocking even to Nature, and could no otherwise be supported but by extinguishing both the light of Nature, and Reason, in the Minds of Men; nay, by extinguishing all the Degrees of Virtue and Morality, and transforming Men into Monsters of Wickedness!

"There is no doubt but this very Thing did assist, at last, in pulling down the Pagan Worship in the World, and exploding those Rights which were manifestly appointed to Set off imaginary Deities; who, if they had any real Essence, were fitter to be detested, as infernal Furies and Devils, than worship'd as Gods. On the contrary, the Christian Religion recommends itself from the Purity of its Precepts, and the sublime Nature of its Worship, which was directed to the Glorious Maker of all Things, and to him only; and withal, from this general happy Character, which its Professors also made evident by

their Practice, namely, that it commanded all that was Good and Virtuous, Just and Upright, Humble and Gentle,—and Forbade all that was Wicked, Unjust, Dishonorable, Immodest, or Arrogant and Proud.

“But to go back to the Romans; while they serv’d these impure Deities, it was no Wonder, I say, that they imitated their Practices, and justify’d their Manners from their Example; and by this means the World was, in those Days overwhelm’d with all manner of Vices and Immoralities.

“Since the Suppressing the Pagan Worship, and that the Examples of the Gods would no more bear Men out in their Impious Practices, the Sons of Crime fly to the Practice of their Governors for their Pattern, *Regis ad exemplum*; and it is a kind of Warrant for Debauchery, either of Morals or of Principles, that those who are either the Guides or Censors of Men’s Actions should be allow’d for their Examples.

“Hence, in all Christian Nations, pious and just Princes have thought themselves highly obliged to keep a Guard upon their own Conduct, lest the people should fall into Corruption and Degeneracy of Manners by their Example. It was the saying of a wise Heathen, *That it is in the Power of Princes to reform Kingdoms by their Example, but that it can never be done by Force*. It was said, by way of Character, of Constantius the Roman Emperor, Son of Constantine the Great, that he gave excellent Laws to the Empire, but did not promote their Execution by his Example; and upon this Score it was left doubtful, whether he was to be rank’d among the good Emperors or the bad.

“It is further observable, that an evil Example is much more prevalent and fatal to the Morals of a Nation, when it comes from those Magistrates or great Men, who are most popular, and who have gain’d most upon the Affection and Opinion of the People.

“I began the Argument in the Examples of Emperors and Sovereign Princes, but I level the Inferences to that which is my principal View and Design; namely that of Magistrates and great Men; who, tho’ they are not immediate Sovereigns, are yet the Men to whom the People have their Eye in a more than ordinary Manner, with respect to their Morals; because, by their Office,

they are empower'd to punish the Immoralities of others, and therefore ought to be as popular in their Example, as they are in their Stations and authority. And I insist that when any Person has, either by his private or publick conduct, made himself popular ; he has a double Obligation upon him to guard his Behaviour in such a manner, that no corrupt Precept or Principles may come recommended to the World from his Authority."

Our next article bears date November 26th, 1720 (Lee, vol. ii., p. 302), and concerns the mentioned Miranda or South Sea marriage. It is as follows :

"A. J., Nov. 26.—Sir,—You are one of our Weekly Oracles, *God help us!* and, for want of a better, we are fain to come every now and then to you, and the rest of your Journalists, and such like Conjurors, to tell us our Fortunes ; as men did to the like senseless Devils, in the Days of Yore, at *Delphos*, *Atri*, *Chios*, and other places, —to the Weekly Journals of *Diana*, *Apollo*, and the rest of them.

"Now, since we have such infallible Scoundrels to go to, we humbly hope you will all put your Heads together. Tell the Town a little what is like to be their Fortune in the great Transactions of Trade that are now coming upon the Stage, and of which we are at this Time so very doubtful, in which so many Thousand Families are so deeply concern'd, as, for aught we know, to be over Head and Ears in the Mire of it ; in short, we mean the *South-Sea*. Tell us, O ye sage Journal Scribblers ! what will be its Fate this approaching Time of Tryal ; and will the Company come out of the dirty Mizmaze they have brought themselves and their Adventurers into, or will they not ? That is to say, Will they come out with Applause ?

"We are told, that the *Dutch*, who are Fellow-Sufferers with us, have made Pictures and Hieroglyphicks, to represent Things by, and to strike the Fancies of the Common People, viz.:

"1. Several great Ships, deeply laden with English Merchants, all sinking in the Ocean ; and upon the Ocean where they sink is written, *Mare del Zur*, or the *South-Sea*.

"2. Twelve English Cars, with each of them two *Old Women* going to Execution, and over their Heads written, *Den gross Copmans*, or the *Great Merchants*, which some say, in English may be call'd DIRE . . ORS.

“ Whether this is true or no, we do not affirm ; for we come to inquire of, *not to inform*, the Oracle. But let that be as it will, my Questions to you are plain, if you can give a plain honest Answer, such as may be depended upon, *Magnus Apollo* shall be one of the least Compliments the Town shall bestow upon you.

“ 1. Will Petitions be presented to the Parliament, when assembled, to pray them to make Enquiry into the Conduct of those People, who, last Session, were establish'd anew,¹ and who have since been entrusted to such a Degree with the Estates and Fortunes of the weak People of the Town? *Or will they not?*

“ 2. Will the Proprietors of the Redeemables, etc. commonly call'd Annuitants, make Application for Relief against the Company? *Or will they not?*

“ 3. Will the Subscribers on the several Subscriptions lose the Money they have paid into the Company upon their first Subscribing, rather than stand to their Subscriptions, and take the Stock at 400? *Or will they not?*”

“ 4. Will the Borrowers, to whom the Company lent Money upon their Stock, after the Rate of 400 *per cent.* redeem their Stock, and repay the Money? *Or will they not?*

“ 5. Will the Company make any new Proposals to the Parliament, in order to Satisfy the People? Or, will they insist upon the Reasonableness of their last Offers, and expect the Event?

“ 6. Will the Company declare a New Dividend for Christmas Half-year, before they come to have the Resolutions of the Parliament in their Favour, or otherwise ; or, will they stay to see what the Parliament shall resolve before they meddle with it?

“ 7. Will Paper Credit revive any more? And can the Parliament do any Thing to restore it as it was before? And if they should, Will it be better for us, or worse?

“ 8. Will the Contract stand good, which was said to be made between the Bank and the South-Sea Company, to

¹ Let it be further investigated as to whether there was a reorganization of the company that was interested in Raleigh's voyage, already considered, and in which, as Bacon says, many lost their fortunes. See p. 387.

² We have seen that the adjustment of Bacon's effects went by the King's direction to the Lord Treasurer Cranfield as referee. We may yet see that the combined influences against Bacon grew to be such as to justify him in abandoning even a good defence.

take three Millions, three Quarters, of their Stock, at 400 *per cent.* or near it? *Or will they not?*

" 9. Who now best deserve the Name of *Old W— men*, the Directors of the Bank, or the Directors of the South-Sea Company?

" 10. Is it not possible to dissolve this projected Scheme of the South-Sea, and yet to have the Property and Advantages of the Proprietors be preserv'd in other Hands, and under better Management?

" These material Questions we desire you may Answer us by yourself, or your Representative, in your next Journal; and we must tell you, that upon a substantial Answer, very much of your Credit will depend; for if nothing can be done or said to relieve us, in the present Distress of our Stock, we shall have as little Opinion of your Work, as we had of the Dir . . . ors themselves.

" We have many other significant Things to bring before your Eminences, but do not think fit to trouble you with too many at a Time; besides, we know it is not proper to ask you Questions of what the Parliament will, or will not, may or may not, do or determine, at this Time, in an Affair of such Consequence. We take it upon ourselves to say, we believe the Parliament will do all that lyes in them to establish a better Understanding among us; which will be, for aught we know, the only Way that is left to save the Property of the Adventurers, and the Credit of the Company. But whether even the Parliament itself can effectually do these Things or not, we cannot tell.

" No doubt, it would be of great Service, at this Critical Juncture, to establish a new and mutual Confidence between the Company and the World of Subscribers which are now concern'd with them; and as this shall, or shall not, be brought to pass, the Credit of the Stock will necessarily rise or fall. How this shall be done, you will be a greater Conjuror than we take you for, if you can tell. However, if you know any Thing, we pray you to communicate it, for the Good of your Neighbors and Friends.¹

" ANTHONY TOM RICHARD."

¹ In earlier pages we have noted Bacon's statement in a Promus Note and elsewhere that nothing comes unawares to him, and that long before he casts what may be. There are reasons to believe that he carried along with his years an undisclosed literary record.

This article was dated November 26th, 1720, as we have seen. The next is dated December 3d, and shows the great necessity for carrying these matters with secrecy in the nation's councils, and ends thus :¹ "Depend upon it, that either the Town knows nothing of the Schemes that are on Foot, or those that have them in their Hands, are not worthy of being trusted with them. Secrecy is the Life of such Councils."² To expose them beforehand, would be to signify to the World, that they are not equal to the Trust, and know not what they have to do ; for to expose the Schemes is to destroy the Schemes. Assure yourself, that what is doing is no more known to these Men, than to the Czar of Muscovy, or to the Grand Signior ; and I refer you to the Issue of Things, to judge who is in the right.—Your Friend and Servant, ALL-HIDE."

Was Bacon's scheme of the New Atlantis, as already intimated, in some way tacked to legislative projects for revenue, and in which Buckingham—the great King Screen—was also involved ? and do we here reach the true Thread of the Labyrinth ?³

Bacon's secret scheme for revenue subsequent to Salisbury's death, the papers concerning which Mr. Spedding supposes to be lost, has already fallen under review. Did it concern discovery and trade to the South Sea ? Lord Bacon, through colonization, evidently possessed the hope of ultimately becoming, either as governor, bishop, or in some central way, the operative head of his great life scheme, the New Atlantis. Let the reader here reperuse Bacon's speech touching Drowned Mineral Works at p. 18. In it he may see why the true author of the Defoe literature gave so large attention to the criminal element. In our quotation from the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 21, we find *Mare del Zur*, or the South Sea, in the foregoing article mentioned, named as a possible location for the

Otherwise what does he mean when he speaks of breaking the order of time ?

¹ We have seen that Bacon recommended his scheme for revenue to be so carried. See pp. 235 and 236.

² This very sentence will be oft found used by Bacon.

³ We can see reasons why Bacon would not wish these matters disclosed even after his fall, as they would have brought to light his literary methods before the chosen time.

New Atlantis.¹ We have seen that the voyage of the New Atlantis opens abruptly and takes its course by way of the South Sea to China and Japan.

In 1711 Harley introduced into Parliament a bill in reference to trade to the South Sea, and concerning which Lee, vol. i., p. 179 says: "Public credit still continued in a state of great exhaustion, funds were required for the carrying on of the war, and for paying off the debts of the kingdom. The Parliament was in session, and it was the duty of Harley, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, to propose the necessary ways and means. His life was not considered to be out of danger until the end of five weeks, and he would not entrust his colleagues with the secret of his intended measures. After the House of Commons had been compelled to adjourn for several days on account of his absence, he ventured, though still very weak from his wounds, and laid before Parliament his project for retrieving the finances, by a trade to the South Seas. The proposal was approved, though Lord Rochester, and some other of the ministers, did all in their power to defeat it."

We shall claim this as an attempt to enact a thwarted scheme of the Baconian period, or at least a scheme which served as the occasion for putting forth undisclosed literature connected therewith, and which is yet to be known as Bacon's Utopia, or Poetical Commonwealth of the Defoe Period. His original scheme having failed, he, in our mentioned quotation from the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, p. 21, says: "I will yet, to satisfy and please myself, make an Utopia of mine own, a New Atlantis, a poetical commonwealth of mine own," etc.

In 1720 the South Sea bubble, so called, is said to have burst. There seems to be but little definitely known concerning it. And what is known seems to have been drawn chiefly from the various phases of this literature. But the scheme was, probably, to a certain extent enacted.

We next introduce an article which, we think, concerns the Duke of Buckingham. It bears date April 8th, 1721, and is as follows:

"*A. J., April 8.*—Sir,—It is a Maxim formed upon the Experience of many Ages, that Laws and Rules of Govern-

¹ We have seen that the *Anatomy of Melancholy* was reissued in two volumes after Bacon's fall and in 1621.

ment are like Nets which catch the small Fish, but the greater break thro'. Cobwebs catch the little Flies, but the Wasps and the Hornets tear all before them, and go CLEAR.¹

"That it is so in the Fisherman's Art² is true, literally, as it is in Politics symbolically: But the Fisherman's Answer is, that for great Fish, who are too big for their Nets, they have other Methods; that they have Fisgigs, Harping Irons, Runners, Spears, Darts, and such like, with which they strike the *Dolphin*, the *Shark*, the *Porpus*, the *Grampus*, and the *Whale*: By these the dextrous Managers conquer the most powerful Sea Monsters they meet with, even such Creatures whose bulk is terrible to look on,³ and threatens to upset⁴ the very Ship itself,

¹ Bacon in one of his Apophthegms says: "One of the Seven was wont to say; *That laws were like cobwebs; where the small flies were caught, and the great brake thorough.*" (Bacon's Literary Works, vol. ii., p. 150.) In a letter to Buckingham, November 26th, 1619, he says: "But yet I hope the corruption and practice upon the *Oretenus*, and the rectifying of Rowland's credit, will satisfy my Lords upon the former proofs; for I would be very sorry that these new defendants (which, except one or two, are the smaller flies) should be in the net, and the old defendants, which are the greater flies, should get through." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 63.) And in another letter to Buckingham in the following February, p. 81, he says: "Mr. Attorney groweth pretty pert with me of late, and I see well who they are that maintain him. But be they flies, or be they wasps, I neither care for buzzes nor stings, most especially in anything that concerneth my duty to his Majesty or my love to your Lordship." See, please, this letter, and which concerns Cranfield, while the first concerns the Dutch, we think, mentioned as sufferers in the foregoing article. It opens thus: "I know well his Majesty taketh to heart this business of the Dutch, as he hath great reason, in respect of both honour and profit; and because my first letter was written in the *epitasis*, or trouble of the business, and my second in the beginning of the *catastrophe*, or calming thereof (wherein nevertheless I was fain to bear up strongly into the weather, before the calm followed), and since every day hath been better and better, I thought good to signify so much, that his Majesty may be less in suspense." Let these letters be here called into relation and looked at with care.

² As to the fisherman's art, see our quotation from *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 69.

³ In the play of *The Tempest* Miranda says:

"Mira. 'Tis a villain, sir,
I do not love to look on."

—Act i., sc. 2, p. 34.

⁴ Among some private notes made by Bacon, in 1621-22, concern-

are conquer'd and reduc'd by small Shallops, well mann'd, and furnish'd with proper Powers and Instruments for the Work.

"It is observ'd that where these Men stick a *Whale*, or any other monstrous Creature, and fix the Harping Iron in him, immediately they vere out their Line,—let the Creature go, and give him all the whole Sea to fling and roll himself in,—as if he had got CLEAR of them, and escaped their Hands. But still the bearded Dart sticks close to his Flesh, he feels the Wound that stings and torments him ; he is struck inwardly with mortal Terror, and dyes, or stains, the Ocean with his Blood ; till at last, spent with the Violence of his own Rage, exhausted by the Loss of Blood and Spirits, the vigilant Harpooners begin to draw in their Line, and he comes vanquish'd into their Hands, feeble and dying ; and is guided by a Thread to the Stage appointed for his Destruction.

"Great Offenders in the State, whose Power and Influence make them appear terrible and monstrous ; who seem to defy Legislatures, and Legislators ; who, surrounded with Friends and Followers, Dependants upon them, and Sharers in the Spoils of their Country, look formidable to those that offer to attack them, tho' with the legal Instruments of the Government ; even these, some Times, are struck by the wise and vigilant Guides of the Laws, in such a Manner, that the Guilt cleaves to them like a Wound in their Vitals, like a Dart stuck through their Liver, and they can never get it off.

"They flounce and roll about in the Ocean of Civil Power,¹ and make use of their publick Figure, and the formidable Weapons of Gifts, Friends, Preferments, etc. and by these make many a SKREEN² for them, but the faithful Patriots who pursue their Blow³ wisely, avoiding

ing Buckingham, and hereafter quoted, we find the following : "Whale not, he will overturn boat or bark, or admiral or other." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 352.)

¹ This thought has a relation to the "Tale of a Tub," later to be considered.

² As to this use of the word screen, see *The Tempest*, p. 339.

³ Through all of these writings let the word "blow" and the word "blot" be noted, for they are Bacon's words, with rarely a synonym ; as, "the blow of fortune," "the blow of gunpowder," "it were too late for the law to take a blow before it gives." In his essay entitled "Of Empire," he says : "For there is no question but a

the Force of their Power ; lye still, give them Room to play, till they find them gradually tir'd, with the fruitless Labour of escaping by their Bluster and Rage ; and then the Guilt, like the Harpoon, or Harpoon-Iron, sticking fast in their Vital Part (Conscience), they follow it Home, and renew the Wound, as the strength to get CLEAR of it declines ; and thus, at last, the greatest criminals, are brought to Justice, and the meanest innocent Subject triumphs over them, with a Conquest that can never be retrieved.

“ Great Offenders in the State are Devourers, who sweep all before them, like a great Flood in Time of Harvest ; and 'tis the Wisdom of a Legislature to make proportion'd Provision, that such Monsters should never be suffer'd to grow too great. They are a sort of Thieves, that dwelling within Doors, rob the House with the help of that very Power, and with those very Weapons which they are entrusted with for the Defence of it.

“ It is but a little while since a happy Law was made in *England*, that Servants robbing their Masters, should be punish'd as Felons ; that is to say, were to be esteem'd Thieves, equally with those who attempted the House from without. And I remember a learned and upright Judge, summing up the Evidence on the Tryal in this kind of Offence, was pleased to explain very wisely the Justice of that Law ; representing, that by how much that Family had the greater Confidence in the Servant, and entrusted him within Side of the Bolts and Bars, which were furnished to defend them against Violence,—by which he had Opportunity not only to rob the House, and go out freely to make his Escape, but also to open

just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war.” And in the plays we have the expressions “ the blow of the law,” “ the blow of justice,” etc. And see *The Tempest*, p. 327. As to the word “ blot,” he in Book 8, ch. 1 of the *De Augmentis*, gives and explains the proverb “ He that instructs a scorner gets to himself shame, and he that rebukes the wicked gets himself a blot.” See the word as used in some of the sonnets. See Sonnets 28, 36, 92, 95. In Addison, vol. iii., p. 147, we have : “ We therefore very often find, that persons the most accomplished in ridicule, are those who are very shrewd at hitting a blot, without exerting anything masterly in themselves.” And see p. 161. In this article may be found the word “ slips,” another permanently used Baconian word for any deviation from the path of rectitude.

the Doors and let in other Villains, assisting them to rob, and perhaps murder his Master ;—by so much the more Criminal was the Offender, and so much the more just was the Severity of his Punishment ; the Household being secure in his Fidelity, and sleeping quietly in Confidence of his being honest to them.

“ Exactly parallel to this is the Case of those great Officers of State, who being entrusted by a Government with the Administration of Affairs, and in whom the Sovereign, and perhaps the Subjects too, having a general Confidence, repose the Safety of themselves, and of all that belongs to them, abuse the Confidence, and, under the Cloak of an unsuspected Fidelity to their King and Country, give themselves a loose in secret clandestine Treachery ; enriching themselves with the Plunder of the Nation, which entrusts them with its Safety, and using that Power which is given them for the publick Good, as a *Skreen* to Corruption, and a Protection to their Emissaries and Confederates, in devouring those whom they are employed to preserve. Shall such Offenders go free ? Shall such be CLEARED by Niceties, and the Help of Numbers, from Publick National Vengeance ? Are they not infinitely more Criminal than an open Traytor, who boldly takes Arms in the Field, declares his Treason, and offers to Maintain it by the Sword ? This latter is a Traytor 'tis true ; and, when subdued by just Power, is brought to the Stroke of Justice, as he deserves ; but the secret Traytor, who, under the Favour of the Trust reposed in him, who is employ'd for the defence of the Government, and has the Weight of the publick Prosperity resting upon his Shoulders, in whose supposed Wisdom and Probity the whole Nation rested secure, but who, under the Cover of that Trust, with the Reputation of that Fidelity, swallows up, and devours the People who entrust him ; he is a thousand Times the more Guilty of the Two, and deserves the more severe Punishment.

“ Apply this, Sir, in such a Manner as Reason and Justice shall direct you. I am, Sir, your faithful Monitor, SEMPRONICUS.” (Lee, vol. ii., p. 359.)

We now give place to part of an article a few days earlier in date than that just given.

“ *A. J.*, April 1.—Sir, The Liberty of speaking Truth

has been a kind of Right, annex'd not by Custom and Right only, but by the Nature of the Thing, to the Privileges of English Men ; and I hope we may claim our Share in that Liberty. We see Men every Day take the unlawful Liberty of speaking Falsehood, and that such pass with Impunity among us, unless it be now and then an unprofitable Lye, that pinches some Men of Fame and Power ; and then we find them exerting that Power, to punish the Authors, Publishers, etc.

“ But as I resolve to say Nothing to you, nor persuade you to say any Thing to the World but what is Truth, I hope we may do this with Safety. If this Truth should pinch¹ any Man who is able to resent it, and our Ears should be call'd Horns,² I know not what we shall do then. But we must venture that.

“ *First*, I observe to you, that, in my Opinion 'tis speaking Truth to say, that he that would SKREEN a Guilty Knave from Public Justice, is as bad as the Guilty Knave who he would endeavour to SKREEN ; and tho' he cannot be punish'd as the Guilty Knave may be, yet he shall always be look'd upon by me as a Confederate in the Knavery which he endeavours to prevent the enquiry after.”³

In vol. vii. of Bacon's Letters, pp. 348-53, will be found important private notes, made in March, 1621-22, by Bacon, touching Buckingham and the King and Prince ; and in order to make them the more private they were in Greek characters. Beginning at p. 350, we quote as follows :

“ There be mountebanks, as well in the civil body as in the natural ; I ever served his Majesty with modesty ; no strouting, no undertaking.

¹ See this word “ pinch ” as used in the play of *The Tempest*. And Bacon uses the expression “ this was as grievous to him as to pinch away the quick flesh from his body.” (Bacon's Letters, vol. iv., p. 4.)

² *Promus*, 2. Good means against badd, hornes to crosses. *Promus*, 1620. (A fair pair of horns.) In *As You Like It*, Act iii., sc. 3, p. 212, we have : “ As horns are odious, they are necessary. It is said,—many a man knows no end of his goods : right ; many a man has good horns, and knows no end of them.”

³ And see articles under date May 27th and June 24th, 1721. (Lee, vol. ii., pp. 379-93.)

“ Seneca saith, *Tam otii debet constare ratio quam negotii*. So I make his Majesty oblation of both.

“ For envy, it is an almanack of the old year, and as a friend of mine said, the Parliament died penitent towards me.

“ Of my offence far be it from me to say, *dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas* : but I will say that I have good warrant for ; *they were not the greatest offenders in Israel, upon whom the wall of Shilo fell*.”

“ My Lord hath done many things to show his greatness, this of mine is one of them that shows his goodness.¹

“ I am like ground fresh. If I be left to myself I will graze and bear natural philosophy : but if the King will plough me up again, and sow me with anything, I hope to give him some yield.

“ Kings do raise and pull down and restore ; but the greatest work is restoring.

“ For my part, I seek an *otium*, and, if it may be, a fat *otium*.

“ I am said to have a feather in my head. I pray God some have not mills in their head, that grind not well.

“ I am too old, and the seas are too long, for me to double the Cape of Good Hope.²

“ Ashes are good for somewhat, for lees, for salts. But I hope I am rather embers than dead ashes, having the heat of good affections under the ashes of my fortunes.

“ Your Majesty hath power : I have faith. Therefore a miracle may be soon wrought.

“ I would live to study, and not study to live ; yet I am prepared for *date obolum Belisario* ; and I that have borne a bag can bear a wallet.

“ For my Pen.

“ If active, 1. The recompiling of laws.

2. The disposing of wards and generally education of youth.

3. Limiting the jurisdiction of courts, and prescribing rules for every of them. Reglement of Trade.³

¹ That is, Buckingham's conduct toward him in his fall shows clearly what kind of goodness he entertained toward him.

² What, please, does he mean by this expression ?

³ And see the Defoe literature upon the subject of trade, and also as to the education or training of youth.

“ If contemplative, 1. Going on with the story of H.
the 8th.

General Treatise *de Legibus et
Justitia.*

The Holy War.

“ For my L. of Buck.

“ This I rank high amongst his favours. To the K. of him ; that the goodness of his nature may strive with the goodness of his fortune.

“ He hath but one fault, and that is that you cannot mar him with any accumulating of honours upon him.

“ Now after this sunshine, a little dew ; that same warr^t.

“ Whale not, he will overturn boat or bark, or admiral or other.¹

“ For the Prince.

“ Ever my chief patron.

“ The work of the Father is creation ; of the Son redemption.

“ You would have drawn me out of the fire ; now out of the mire.

“ To ask leave of the King to kiss the Prince’s hands, if he be not now present.”

Following the breach of the Spanish match, and on November 25th, 1623, same vol., p. 442, Bacon wrote thus to Buckingham.

“ EXCELLENT LORD : I send Mr. Packer to have ready, according to the speech I had with your Grace, my two suits to his Majesty, the one for a full pardon, that I may die out of a cloud ; the other for the translation of my honours after my decease. I hope his Majesty will have compassion on me, as he promised me he would. My heart telleth me that no man hath loved his Majesty and his service more entirely, and love is the law and the prophets. I ever rest,” etc.

“ FR. ST. ALBAN.”

Let also the private notes made by Bacon as to Buckingham at about this time, and found between pp. 442 and 448, same volume, be read.

On p. 445 we have :

² See Defoe article, p. 480

" You have now tied a knot, as I wished you ; *chi no da nudo pierde punto*. A jolly one, The Parliament.

" Although I could have wished that before a Parliament some remarkable thing had been done whereby the world might have taken notice that you stand the same in grace and power with the K. But there is time enough for that between this and Parliament. And besides the very prevailing for a Parliament sheweth your power with the K.

" You march bravely, do you draw up your troops so well ?

" One of these days I shall turn my L. Brooke, and say to you *O brave Bu*.

" I will commend you to all others, and censure you only to yourself.¹

" You bowl² well, if you do not horse your bowl an hand too much. You know the fine bowler is knee almost to ground in the delivery of the cast.

" Nay and the King will put a hook in the nostrils of

¹ Is not this just what Bacon did as to Buckingham ? and hence were men deceived by his words concerning him. At the writing of the play of *The Tempest* he thought he had him at bay, as already stated.

² In *Richard II.*, Act iii., sc. 4, p. 97, we have :

" 1 *Lady*. Madam, we'll play at bowls.

Queen. 'Twill make me think, the world is full of rubs,
And that my fortune runs against the bias."

Let the following, from *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act v., sc. 2, p. 460, be called carefully into relation with a later quotation from Bacon touching Alexander :

" *Cost*. [*To Nath*.] O ! sir, you have overthrown Alisander the conqueror ! You will be scrap'd out of the painted cloth for this : your lion, that holds his poll-ax sitting on a close-stool, will be given to Ajax : he will be the ninth Worthy. A conqueror, and afeard to speak ! run away for shame, Alisander. [*Nath. retires*.] There, an't shall please you ; a foolish mild man ; an honest man, look you, and soon dash'd ! He is a marvellous good neighbour, in sooth ; and a very good bowler : but, for Alisander, alas ! you see how 'tis ; —a little o'erparted : —But there are Worthies a-coming will speak their mind in some other sort."

As to the word " close-stool" here used, see p. 455. And see Addison, vol. iv., p. 372. And as to the " lion" here referred to, the political lion, see pp. 162-66 and 172-75. Note in the plays and in Addison the words " patches," " petticoat," " drum," " tailor," " pudding," " pancake," etc.

Spain, and lay a foundation of greatness here to his children in these west parts. The call for me, it is book-learning. You know the King was wont to do me the honour as to say of me *de minimis non curat lex*: if good for anything for great volumes. I cannot thridd needles so well.

"The Chamb. For his person not effectual; but some dependancies he hath which are drawn with him. Besides he can take no reputation from you.

"Montgomery is an honest man and a good observer. Can you do nothing with Naunton? Who would think now, that I name N. to my L. of Buc.? But I speak to you point-blank: no crooked end, either for myself or for others turn.

"The French treaty, besides the Alliance, is to have three secret art.: The one, the protection of the liberty of Germany and to avoid from it all forces thence, like to that which was concluded between the Princes of Germany and H. 2, the last King except H. 4th of value in France, for the race of the Valois were *fainéants*; and in the name of Germany to conclude the Grisons and Valto-line. The second, the conserving of the liberties of the Low-Countries. The third, the free trade into all parts of both East and West Indies. All these import no invasive hostility, but only the uniting of the states of Europe against the growing ambition of Spain."¹

¹ The following from Addison, vol. i., p. 535, may concern Bacon's undisclosed design. "The church of the Franciscan convent is famous for the monument of the Emperor Maximilian the First, which stands in the midst of it. It was erected to him by his grandson Ferdinand the First, who probably looked upon this emperor as the founder of the Austrian greatness. For as by his own marriage he annexed the Low Countries to the house of Austria, so by matching his son to Joan of Arragon he settled on his posterity the Kingdom of Spain, and by the marriage of his grandson Ferdinand got into his family the kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary. This monument is only honorary, for the ashes of the emperor lie elsewhere. On the top of it is a brazen figure of Maximilian on his knees, and on the sides of it a beautiful bas-relief representing the actions of this prince. His whole history is digested into twenty-four square panels of sculpture in bas-relief; the subject of two of them is his confederacy with Henry the Eighth, and the wars they made together upon France. On one side of this monument is a row of very noble brazen statues much bigger than the life, most of them represent such as were some way or other related to Maximilian. Among the rest is one that the fathers of

And on p. 447 we have :

“ At least the going on with the Parliament hath gained this, that the discourse is ceased, My L. of Bu. hath a great task. His head is full : either the match breaks or his fortune breaks. He was [wont to] run his courses with the stream of the King’s ways ; but now he goeth crossway, he may soon leese his own way.

“ If your Gr. go not now constantly on for religion and round dealing with Spain, men will either think they were mistaken in you, or that you are brought about ; or that your will is good but you have no power.

“ Your Grace hath a great party against you and a good rough way. The Spaniards hate you : The Papists little better. In the opinion of the people you are green, and men yet at a gaze. Particulars are for the most part discontented friends or reconciled enemies : and the nice dividing between the *sol orient* and *occident*.”

And so Bacon, at the writing of the play of *The Tempest*, thought he had Buckingham at bay. His secret feelings toward him may be clearly gathered, we think, from the foregoing, and engendered not merely by Buckingham’s now rash and profligate courses, but, if our position be true, he was the chief mover in robbing Bacon of his estate, by reason of which he now feared him, and stood at every avenue to beat aside, not merely his pardon, but any influence that might bring a restoration of the royal favor.

Bacon’s laudations both during and following his troubles, and even to those whom he knew to be engaged in robbing him, make his conduct inexplicable to many.¹

the convent tell us represents King Arthur, the old British King. But what relation had that Arthur to Maximilian ? I do not question, therefore, but it was designed for Prince Arthur, elder brother of Henry the Eighth, who had espoused Catherine, sister of Maximilian, whose divorce afterwards gave occasion to such signal revolutions in England. This church was built by Ferdinand the First.” Why upon his reputed death were Bacon’s papers sent to The Hague. See p. 184. His essay entitled “ Of Empire ” throws some light, we think, in the direction of his purposes. And see Addison, vol. iv., pp. 340-64, as to the Spanish monarchy.

¹ In his Essay entitled “ Of Praise,” Bacon says : “ Some praise comes of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, *laudando precipere* ; when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be.” And see p. 254.

In connection with this thought we introduce the following article, under date November 16th, 1723 :

“*A. J., Nov. 16.*—Sir, I had a great Mind, a long while, to come into the Road¹ of the Times, and Rail at my Superiors ; but it has occurred to me, that there are Abundance of Ways and Methods to be considered of, for the decent Performance of such an important Work, particularly that of always preserving the *Main Chance*—which you know Mr. *App*, is a nice Concern,—*I mean Safety*. I have seen a great many witty Fellows have miscarried in this laudable Work, and therefore I must act with the greater Caution.

“Some with greater *Plainness* than *Prudence* have spoken *Bold Truths*, which the Governments they live under WOULD not bear ; and they have been punished for their FOLLY.

“Some with greater *Boldness* than *Truth* have spoken *damn'd Lyes*, which no Government that they lived under OUGHT to bear ; and those have been punished for their KNAVERY.

“The best Character *the first Sort* have obtained, has been to pass for honest well meaning *Fools* ; and even the Party whom they Served, and Suffered for, would at best *only Pity them*, but never Stand by them. Remember that too, Mr. *App* ! which is sufficient Warning against ruining one's self for a Party, or a Cause. 'Tis much better to be *Envied*, than *Pitied* in the World.

“On the other Hand, the worst Character the Second *Sort* have obtained, has only added that of *Knaves* to the *Fool*, and yet they have perhaps been as much pitied as the former ; for the Knaves, *of the two*, have generally the better Luck.

“Now all these Ways having been Tried, I see no Encouragement to vent my Gall that Way. But if I fall upon *my Masters*, I think I must begin with *Panegyrick*, for as two Negatives make an Affirmative, why should not two Affirmatives make a very good Negative ? The extremes of Panegyrick ought no doubt to be accepted for *Satyr*, and perhaps are the highest accesses of *Satyr*, which an Author, or Poet can arrive to ;² and if the

¹ To this use of the word “road” we have already called attention. Please see p. 388.

² Bacon thus often ended the member of a sentence with the preposition “to,” preceded by the word “arrive.”

Persons *so dealt* with cannot see it, they must be blinded with Folly not many Degrees above *Idiotism*. When *Herod* made a Speech, and was applauded as a God, his Crime was, not the applauding him in that Manner ; but his absurd Pride, in accepting the Surfeiting Praise. *Alexander* the Great, 'tis said, had the Folly secretly to wish to be flattered, and yet he with Diligence endeavoured to shun its being known. That was his Prudence.¹ Some of the Roman Emperors, the most Brutal of them, did openly covet it ; but *Augustus*, *Vespasian*, *Titus*, and all the wisest of them, took the offer of it to be casting the utmost Contempt upon them, and therefore rejected it.²

“ Concluding then, that the extravagant Elevations and Raptures,—in compliment to the personal Virtues of great Men, who understand nothing of Virtue in Practice,—must be allowed to be the keenest *Satyr* that can be written ;—why should not I try to abuse some honest great Man or other that Way ? Suppose I should write a Panegyrick upon Modesty, and dedicate it to her Excellency, Madam, the Countess de *Sally Salisbury* ? Would it not do very well ? Or another upon Frugality, and Inscribe it to his Grace of [*Wharton*], and his Grace of [*Ormond*], or any other Man of Fortune, who may have Glass Windows, thro’ their great Estates almost as soon as they were of Age to possess them ? Would not those be taken for *Satyr* ?

“ Suppose I was to write a Book in Praise of Honesty, and Dedicate it to Sir C[onstantine] P[hipps], or in Praise of Generosity, and Present it to a Lord Mayor ; perhaps these great Men might be affronted at me, and take it for *Satyr* upon them.

“ If I should write in Recommendation of Voluminous, and Contentious Writing, and send it in a Penny Post Letter to a certain dignified C[lergy] man, or Praise con-

¹ Note the emphasis placed in all of these writings upon the word “prudence.” Bacon says : “ And surely I do best allow of a division of that kind, though in more familiar and scholastic terms ; namely, that these be the two parts of natural philosophy,—the Inquisition of causes, and the Production of effects ; Speculative, and Operative ; Natural Science, and Natural Prudence.” See *Phil. Works*, vol. iii., p. 351.

² We remember to have seen these identical views expressed by Bacon, though we are not now able to give the reference.

foundings of Principles with Contraries in Practice, What would this Dignifiedship say to me?

"In a word, I am convinced, Mr. *App*, this will do it. *Probatum est*. TRUE BRITON, No. 1629. From henceforward then expect—when I write in Praise,—when I swell in Panegyrick;—*it is all Satyr*, and done to abuse my Superior; according to the laudable Example of all the Model Journals and publick Prints, that have gone before me,—Sir *Dick*, as well as the Duke.

"In the first Place then, I think to write a long Encomium upon the *York Buildings' Lottery*; wherein I shall applaud the Equity of drawing Lotteries before they are full,—the goodness of Bubble Security,—the Certainty of having Prizes,—and the Uncertainty of having them paid; with a great Variety of excellent Observations in praise of the excellent Art of managing Mankind, by Figures and great Numbers.

"I thought to have sent you an admirable Poem upon the late *Harburgh Lottery*,² adorned with some Characters of Persons, whereby the Injustice done those honest worthy Gentlemen, might perhaps have appeared to have been greater or less than themselves imagine; but in Charity I forbear Treading on the Vanquished.

"I have abundance of Panegyrick³ by me, which would much exalt the Honour and Glory of our Nation, and show us what abundance of Heroes we are like to raise, without a War, more than ever rose by the Glory of the Field; and how many brave Officers die annually in the Bed of Honour, *Drury Lane*, more than ever did in a Campaign in *Flanders* or at a *Hochstet*, and a *Ramillies*.

"In a Word, Mr. *App*, I can never want Subject of Panegyrick, if Panegyrick may but pass for *Satyr*: So

¹ Let the reader here and in later articles keep his eye a little upon the words "*York Buildings*," as we shall claim them to be allusions to Bacon's cherished York House residence, and which went into the hands of the Treasurer Cranfield, as mentioned in earlier pages.

² See Bacon's allusion to the Dutch in his letter to King James, quoted in a recent note, p. 480, and see p. 475.

³ Bacon says: "And because this is no part of a panegyric, but mere story, and that they be so many articles of honour fit to be recorded, I will only mention them; extracting part of them out of that you Mr. Speaker have said." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 175.)

you may expect for the future I shall be very Civil (Saucy) to my Superiors. Yours &c." (Lee. vol. iii., p. 204.)

Our next is a political article on divers sorts of winds, and bears date December 21st, 1723, and is as follows :

"A. J., Dec. 21.—Sir, I thought to have refined a little upon the Philosophy of the Winds, and the strange Effects which they have upon the Surface of this Globe, as well on the Solid as on the Fluid ; and to have taken the rise of my Hypothesis from the late Storms, which have been so Furious and done so much Damage to our Shipping, as well as to our Buildings. But this is so ordinary a Subject, or at least offers itself so frequently to our Observation, that having so much more Material a Subject in my View, I have thought fit to adjourn it till the next great Storm, which upon consulting my private Barometer, I foretell will not happen till the middle of *February* ; and that thence, to the vernal Equinox, you will have some Occasion to put me in Mind of it again.

"I might also have Dilated my Eloquence here upon the natural Reasons, Why Kings should be Windbound at Sea ! And why Monarchs, who can turn the Winds of Faction and Rebellion, this Way or that Way, as they please, should not be able to stem the Torrent of Wind at Sea. (For Air being a convertible Element, may be aptly enough styled a Torrent, as well as when it is condensed into Water.) But I shall take an Occasion to talk of this another Time.¹

"I desire to speak of Winds now under another kind of Explication, namely, as they are Politically, Nationally, and Ridiculously considered. *For Example* ;—

"When a poor Author or Printer comes under the Oppression of a Messenger from his Superiors, and is

¹ Bacon's views as to the winds have been somewhat considered in earlier pages. See pp. 48-52. Touching his belief as to wind imprisoned within the earth, we give the further example from Henry IV., part 1., Act iii., sc. 1, p. 229, as follows :

"Diseased nature oftentimes breaks forth
In strange eruptions : oft the teeming earth
Is with a kind of colic pinch'd and vex'd
By the imprisoning of unruly wind
Within her womb ; which, for enlargement striving,
Shakes the old beldame earth, and topples down
Steeple, and moss-grown towers."

unhappily sent for to answer, for this or that Boldness of Expression, or for giving Offence to this or that Ambassador, and the like ; 'tis an ordinary Thing to say, he has had a STORM upon him.¹

“ When a poor Tradesman Fails, turns Insolvent, and Calls his Creditors together, 'tis Ordinary to say he is under a CLOUD ; and when the *Cloud* breaks upon him in a Commission of Bankrupt, 'tis fairly represented by a *Thunder-Clap*. Upon the whole we say he is *Blasted*, 'tis a Blast upon his Credit ; all which particulars are Stormy Things in the main, and have some Place in the Doctrine of Winds, as now under Consideration.

“ There are divers Sorts of Winds too that blow among us, besides those at Sea ; as particularly, there are sometimes hard Gales, which blow from a Parliamentary Quarter, such was the Blast from a certain Corner, upon the late *South-Sea* Men, the *Hamburgh* Lottery Men, and others,—which blew a great many of them quite out of the House, and well they deserved it indeed, especially the *Latter*,—whom some think should have been blown to the Gallows.

“ There have been several Times strong Gusts (and Disgusts) about the Courts of our Monarchs. These have overset many a Favourite, before they had been able to set their Sails to it ; for (N.B.) *Favourites* GENERALLY are so *Nimble in shifting their Sails, that they can Sail with any Wind ; and 'tis not easy for the Storm to blow too hard for them*. Sometimes also there is an ugly Squally Wind, which rises out of the Monarch's reach, and Blows now from this Quarter, now from that, and Oversets, not the Favourite only, but the Favourer too. This Wind is called a *Country Gale* ; 'tis worse than the Wind *Euroclydon*, which we read of, that Ship-wrecked *St. Paul* ; 'tis generally, I say, a *Country Gale*, and whenever it blows hard, it makes the Court a *Lee-Shore*, that is to say, it makes foul Weather at Court.

“ This *Country Gale* when it overblows,² has divers Names too, like the Winds at Sea. When the Wind freshens at Sea, 'tis first called blowing hard ; then a Fret of Wind ; then a Storm ; then a Tempest ; and in

¹ See p. 302, and see Bacon's Literary Works, vol. ii., p. 176.

² In The Tempest, Act ii., sc. 2, p. 60, we have : “ I hope now thou art not drown'd. Is the storm overblown ? ”

some Countries 'tis called a *Hurricane*. So these Country Gales go under divers Denominations. If they blow in the ordinary Manner, 'tis called, as above, a *Country Gale*; if it increases, 'tis called a *Party Gust*, then a *Faction*; then popular Heat, after that, *Fury*, *Rage*, and sometimes at last, it comes up to *Insurrection*, and *Revolution*. We have seen all these Winds blow in *England* some Years ago. But of late, blessed be our Fate! we have had good calm Weather at Court, and 'tis hoped it may continue so, whatever some *True Britons* may hope to the Contrary.

"But to leave these dangerous Corners, we have other Winds in *England*, which like Summer are refreshing, comfortable and cooling; these we call *Court Breezes*, and when they come kindly, and in the ordinary legal Course, they bring in very Seasonable Weather with them on that Side. To some they Dispense fruitful Pensions, plentiful Crops and large Harvests; according as they are skilfully improved by the Persons who receive them from the Sovereign's Favour;—do Good or Evil, according to the Merit of the Persons, as Corn sowed produces a good or ill Crop, according to the goodness of the Soil."

"Just and wise Governments have always endeavoured to distinguish Right in the Dispensing their Favours, and cause this Wind to blow as best serves the Interest of their Kingdoms and Countries. Tyrants and Designing Princes blow hot and cold, this Way, and that Way, as

¹ Bacon says: "But those also who are naturally of greater honesty and principle, when they find no safeguard in their innocence (the prince not being able to distinguish truth from falsehood), throw off their honesty, and catching the court breezes allow themselves to be carried where they blow." (De Augmentis, ch. 2. Book 8.) In the same chapter he also says: "Those again, of better principles and dispositions, after finding little security in their innocence, their master not knowing how to distinguish truth from falsehood, drop their moral honesty, go into the eddy winds of the court, and servilely submit to be carried about with them."

² This expression, "goodness of the soil," may be found in many places in Bacon's Natural History. And let the word "goodness," in both its material and mental sense be noted throughout. In his Essay entitled "Of Goodness and Goodness of Nature," he says: "I take Goodness in this sense, the affecting of the weal of men, which is that the Grecians call *Philanthropia*; and the word *humanity* (as it is used) is a little too light to express it. Goodness I call the habit, and Goodness of Nature the inclination."

their secret Designs guide them ; and that is the Reason we find their Subjects complaining of Oppression, Injustice, breach of Constitution, and the like. These are Storms and Tempests in their kind ; and of these I have much to say in a convenient Season, but not now. Thank Heaven we live under a Reign, where there is a perfect Calm, the *Court Breezes* are all Sanative and Wholesome ; wisely suited to the good of the whole Country ; the Monarch Dispenses his Favours with Justice, and his Justice with Clemency, Merit commands Respect, and Men of Worth have always a favourable Gale blowing upon them.

“ I shall set forth the Advantages of such a fair Wind in its due Time ; in the mean time I must enter in my next upon the ill consequences of those unhappy Things in a Government, call'd, contrary Winds. But I must defer it, I say, till my next.” (Lee, vol. iii., p. 216.)

We next give place to an article dated February 15th, 1724, touching some juggling with the King of Spain.

“ *A. J., Feb. 15.*—Sir, We have had so many Speculations at Work, and so many Calculators of Times and Seasons upon this new Revolution in *Spain* ; that I cannot but think the King of Spain has made more Work for the Sooth-sayers, than ever *Pharaoh* King of *Egypt*, or *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon* did.

“ I must own, in my Opinion the Reasons, which they say the King of *Spain* has given for his laying down the Royal Dignity, are the Weakest, not to say the Foolishest, that ever I met with in History. When his great Predecessor *Charles* the 5th abdicated, and gave up the Imperial Crown to his second Son *Ferdinand*, and the Crown of *Spain* to his Eldest Son *Philip* II., among other Reasons he gave for it, These were some, (viz.) That he was weakened by *Age*, worn out with *Cares*, and many Fatigues, and reduced to an infirm State of *Body*, by a declining Health, and Distempers growing Daily upon him ; so that he was unable to undergo the Burthen of the Government, and the Weight of so many Crowns. These Things had some Consideration due to them. It was Time for him to apply, if ever, with more than ordinary Seriousness to the Thoughts of another Life. He had one Foot in the Grave. He was loaden with Honour and with Years, and indeed lived but a little While after it.

“ On the other hand, here is a young Monarch, not yet forty Years Old, that has had no Fatigues to go through, never went out of his Kingdom, but once into *Italy*, that has had always the Administration of his Affairs in the Hands of his Ministry, and the Care of Government as much taken off his Hand too as he pleased ; and yet he lays down his Government, and obliges a Young and Beautiful Queen to do the like. Divesting themselves of all the Pleasure and Grandeur of a Court, and the Majesty and Glory of a Crown, and turning recluse ; contrary to the common Principles of Nature, and to all that we can Account for in Human Reasoning.

“ The Reasons his Majesty gives for all this,—so far as we have them handed down to us—are, that he may give up himself to *meditate on Death*, and to *seek his Salvation*.

“ Now if these are really the true Reasons, I must confess, *to me*, they are very weak ones ; and this makes me say, the Doubts which some People have of the Sincerity of those Appearances seem also *to me*, to have better Grounds than ordinary.

“ Nor let any one suggest that it is *Maltreating* the King of *Spain* to say those Reasons are weak ; on the contrary, I think they are a Testimony of an uncommon Respect for the King of *Spain*, and that I have a great Veneration for his Judgment, and for his Experience of human Affairs, and therefore cannot readily come into the Belief of his quitting the Crown, on Account of Two Things, which he might as certainly, and effectually have looked after with the Crown upon his Head, as he can without it ; or else, all the Kings in *Europe* are but in a very ordinary Condition, as to the World to come.

“ If the Weight of the Crown was too heavy for his Head,¹ or there was some ungodly Thing necessary to be done by a King of *Spain*, which other Kings are not obliged to ; these indeed are Cases by themselves, but we do not see any Ground for either of them. King *Philip* had worn the Crown about Three and Twenty Years ; and, in all that time, History does not charge him with any

¹ Bacon in his Essay entitled “ An Essay of a King ” says : “ A King that would not feel his Crown too heavy for him, must wear it every day, but if he think it too light, he knoweth not of what metal it is made.”

Thing so much out of the Way, as to make us think he was very unfit to Reign. We do not hear his Majesty charged with Idiotism, or gross Weakness ; and, as to the Crown of *Spain*, I will not insinuate that a King cannot wear it with as safe a Conscience, as other Kings wear their Crowns. So that 'tis very odd, the King should not be able to think of Death, and seek his Salvation, without relinquishing his Crown.

“ Now if the Crown of Spain is no more liable to these Negatives than other Crowns, What must we say of all the Kings of *Europe*, who occupy the State of Glory in their Degrees? Hard is the Fate of Crowned Heads, if they cannot apply themselves to the Things of another World, and that with the greatest Seriousness and Diligence, without giving up their Crowns.

“ *Dedicating to God* is another Word used for this Abdication. Now I can by no means believe but that a King Dedicating the Power, which he is invested with by his administration, effectually to the Service and Glory of God, is able to Honour his Creator much more, and it is a much better Dedication of himself to God, than any he could be capable of in a private retired Capacity. If this is not Granted I am ready to support it with good Arguments, drawn from both Reason and Religion.

“ But on the other Hand, if it is granted, as it must be, then the King of *Spain* laying down his Royal Dignity, and Divesting himself of his Royal Authority, to Dedicate himself to God ; is a kind of Religious inconsistency, to say no worse of it. As to there being a Juggle in it at the Bottom and that the Design looks at another Crown, that I have nothing to say to just now ; but in Favour of all the rest of the Monarchs of the Christian World, I must be allowed to say, a King may certainly be a Christian, with the Crown upon his Head, as well as in a Monastery, or other Retreat ; and may give himself a due Latitude of Time to Meditate upon Death, and seek his Salvation, notwithstanding the Cares of Government, and the Weight of Administration. Nay, if they would, as above, apply themselves to Administer their Affairs, in the Fear and to the Glory of God, it might be for aught I know the best way of seeking their Salvation that they could possibly fall into. From whence I must infer, that either the King of *Spain* has been very much imposed

upon, or there must be more in it, than we yet hear of." (Lee, vol. iii., p. 232.)

We have at p. 234 expressed an intention of calling Bacon's charge in the Owen case into relation with some of these Defoe articles, but find that space will not permit.

We here submit to the reader the question as to whether the abdication alluded to in the foregoing article was some rumored resignation of Philip the Third during the Baconian period, or the actual resignation of Philip the Fifth during the Defoe period. Note the allusion here made to the age and wife of Philip, and which was true as to Philip the Third, but not as to Philip the Fifth. Likewise Philip the Fifth actually resigned the crown, and on account, as history tells us, of a profound melancholy. In what sense, then, "a juggle" for another crown? Was the fear here manifested the fear that Spain was juggling with James or Buckingham beyond the question of the marriage of Prince Charles with the Infanta? Was it the fear that the two crowns were to come under one hat, as represented in the play of *The Tempest*? The occasion of fear from Spain in the Baconian period may be further seen in the *Britannica* article on Spain, vol. xxii., pp. 330 and 331, and from which we quote the following :

"The accession of James I. in England gave a convenient opportunity for concluding the long war that had been carried on with Elizabeth. English mediation brought about a twelve years' truce in 1609 with the United Provinces, which amounted to a practical recognition of their independence. The death of Henry the IV. and the regency of Mary de' Medici enabled Lerma to arrange an alliance with France, which was cemented by a double marriage. Louis XIII. married the Infanta Anne of Austria, and Elizabeth of France was betrothed to the son and heir of Philip III. For the moment Spain occupied a higher position in Europe than it had held since the defeat of the Armada. James I. was weakened by quarrels with his Parliament and by the want of a definite policy. France under the regency had abandoned the attitude of Henry IV. and was distracted by internal squabbles. The empire was in the feeble hands of Mathias, and the Austrian Hapsburgs were still divided by the family jealousies that had arisen from the deposition of Rudolph II. The Turks had declined since the days of

Soliman the Magnificent with a rapidity characteristic of Oriental powers. In the midst of these states Spain, subject to an apparently absolute monarchy, enjoyed much the same prestige as in the best days of Philip II. With the consciousness of power the old ambitions revived. An arrangement was being discussed for the recognition of the Archduke Ferdinand as the successor of Mathias in the Austrian territories. Philip III., however, advanced a claim to Hungary and Bohemia on the ground that his mother was a daughter of Maximillian II., whereas Ferdinand was only descended from that emperor's brother. The claim was by no means indisputable, but it was inconvenient to Ferdinand to have to discuss it.¹ He agreed therefore to purchase the support of Spain by ceding Alsace, and the vacant imperial fief of Finale in Italy (1617), and on these terms he succeeded in effecting his designs. Thus a prospect was opened to Spain of connecting its Italian possessions with the Netherlands and of forming a compact Spanish dominion in central Europe. At the same time the old policy of advancing Roman Catholicism was resumed, as the success of Ferdinand promised to secure a signal victory for the Counter-Reformation in Germany. But this forward policy was distasteful to Lerma, who found it necessary to retire in 1618."

Bacon's fears as to the Spanish monarchy we have somewhat recounted, and some later, and in 1624, he says: "Is it nothing, that the crown of Spain hath enlarged the bounds thereof within these last six score years much more than the Ottomans? I speak not of matches or unions, but of arms, occupations, invasions. Granada, Naples, Milan, Portugal, the East and West Indies; all these are actual additions to that crown and in possession. They had a great mind to French Britaine, the lower part of Picardy, and Piedmont; but they have let fall their bit. They have, at this day, such a hovering possession of the Valto-line, as an hobby hath over a lark: and the Palatinate is in their talons: so that nothing is more manifest, than

¹ We have had some thoughts as to whether the play of *The Tempest* may have centred in these actors in the foremost features of European politics, in a general sense, instead of in a mere special sense as applied to England, but have not seen reasons for changing our views.

that this nation of Spain runs a race (still) of empire, when all other States of Christendom stand in effect at a stay." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 479.)

From the several articles relating to the York Buildings we give place to one, under date September 30th, 1721, as follows :

" *A. J.*, Sept. 30.—Sir, We have an old English Proverb very significant in itself, and verifi'd often by Practice, *Give the Loser leave to speak.*¹ In right of this Proverb or Custom, we have given our Passions vent a great while, and have rail'd most plentifully at the Law Managers of the *South Sea* Stock, and particularly at the Directors by Name.

" Not content with that, we have, speaking nationally, brought them to Justice, and they stand as some call it, attainted in Parliament ; their Estates are confiscated, their Persons disabled, and the like.

" But that which very much surprizes me (and indeed the Assurance of it is surprizing), is to hear, not the Losers, but the Winners rail. To hear Men open against the Scheme who were deepest ingulph'd in the Crime of it ; nay who,—if we may believe all the Evidence that has convinc'd a Parliament,—were Guilty, even of the very Machination, the original Plot, and the first thought of it. 'Tis a merry² Story to hear these Men open against the *South Sea* Company, against the Directors, against Mr. Knight, against the Brokers, and against every Body that had a share in carrying it on.

" Some are condemn'd and censur'd in Parliament for infamous Corruption, and for being concern'd therein with those who are censur'd with them in the same Bill ; and yet they are the Men who, with a particular Rage, are the first to fall foul upon the Directors, no Men more.

" This, Sir, has been so far from giving us in the Coun-

¹ Promus, 972. Always let losers have their words.

² This word " merry " is an everywhere used word in these writings. Promus, 471. Good to be merry and wise. Promus, 494. Better are meals many than one to merry." Bacon says : " Your Grace will give me leave to be merry, however the world goeth with me." (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 538.) And see pp. 72 and 342.

³ This sentence, either designedly or otherwise, is a little peculiar. Some were sentenced for infamous corruption, and, and what ? Why, for being concerned with those who were censured, with them, in the same bill.

try an Idea of those People's Honesty or Ignorance, that, on the contrary, it gives us a Sketch of inimitable Confidence and Assurance, I had almost call'd it Impudence ; likewise it convinces us of the Rectitude of Parliamentary Justice, and the Necessity there has been of consolidating some Men's Case with the Directors. Nay indeed, we think the Parliament had done well to have begun with these Men, and have made Examples of them first ; and then perhaps we had not had such Complaints made of Skreens, and of Skreening the guilty People from the Publick Resentment.

“ Had these Men been laid hold of before Mr. Knight¹ had fled, and had that Time been spent in the Enquiry after the Head of the Mischief, before we began to take hold of the lesser Thieves ; perhaps there would have been Cause given to have secur'd Mr. Knight, and have fasten'd him down, that he might not have had Time to move off ; and then, the green Book would have been perhaps discover'd also, and many a Truth have been discover'd, that now we can only guess at.

“ But for want of this Discovery, we find them not only insisting upon their Innocence, and appealing, as I told you last Week, to the People ; but grown loud in their quarrelling at Public Justice ; and, in their Turn, casting Dirt upon their Fellow Criminals, and upon others also.

“ Is it not an unaccountable Stock that these Persons are arriv'd to ? That they should, at this Time of Day, fall upon the other Schemes and Projects,—such as the Assurances, and York-Buildings,—when they at the same Time assisted in that great Scheme, of which these were only the Seconds, and to which they were really as nothing ? That they should charge these with a Crime in raising the Value of their Stocks, and making Offers to the Advantage of the Government, when they were in the great Cheat of all ? Where a Bargain was made with the Government, which 'tis apparent now they cannot perform, and on the Chimera of which, such immense Sums

¹ Is this word “knight” an interpolation ? Or is it the dark horse for Sir Giles Mompesson, with whom Bacon had conference touching matters of the Treasury, and who with his papers made his escape and fled from England at the commencement of the investigation which was brought to a close by Bacon's overthrow ?

were advanc'd, as in the Disappointment must necessarily shock the whole Nation?

“That they should reproach particular Men for espousing those Things which they call'd Bubbles, when they themselves, in a very particular Manner, espoused the great Cheat of advanc'd Subscriptions to such a Degree, as to give in Lists of vast Sums to those Subscriptions, and that at a Rate which they knew could never be comply'd with.

“Give me leave to tell you, that 'tis our Opinion here, that these Men have been the Chief Agents of the Nation's Misfortunes; the Supporters, the Encouragers, and the Grand Confederates in the whole *South Sea* Disaster. If some Body else has been as the *Spencer*¹ of old Time, they have been the GAVESTONS, a name equally odious; and together, they make us all Honour and Reverence the late Revolution in Parliament, as the general Voice of the whole People of England, (viz.) That they have been Guilty of most INFAMOUS AND DANGEROUS CORRUPTION. Yours, etc., N. B.

“N.B. You may inform your Readers that a New Opera is design'd shortly to be presented to the Town, and to be acted by a Company of Comedians coming over from Brussels. This famous new Opera will be call'd CACAPISMAS or the History of the two CRAGGS's.

“Their hungry Projectors have been our Directors,
And with Bites and with Bubbles have Schem'd us;
Their *Gaveston* and *Spencer* have got our Pence, Sir,
And *Craggs*,² the old Barber, has trim'd us.”

(Lee, vol. ii., p. 434.)

We here give another article touching the York Buildings, dated Aug. 24th, 1723, as follows:

¹ As to “*Spencer* of old Time,” see Bacon's Letters, vol. i., pp. 246–51. Mr. Spedding says: “There follows in the Lambeth papers a great deal of correspondence in which Francis Bacon took part, concerning the sale of *Barly*, an estate of Anthony's, to Alderman Spencer. The estate was entailed; the Alderman was a sharp bargainer; Sir Nicholas Bacon, the eldest of the half-brothers, being a ‘remainder-man’ and required therefore to join in the bargain and sale, was difficult and suspicious; Anthony was hard pressed for money; the lawyers were subtle, and the law complicated.” See reference given.

² In Bacon's already mentioned private notes, made in 1608, we have: “Not. feodalls doon by Cragge perillous to Monarchies: qu. ulterius de universo isto nogotio.” (Bacon's Letters, vol. iv., p. 94.)

“ *A. J.*, Aug. 24.—Sir, Bubbles were grown so Stale a Snare, after the Detecting the Frauds of the late Direction of the South Sea Company, that we thought it was impossible the People of *England* should have been any longer in Danger of being drawn in, or imposed upon, But

“ ‘ Of all the flagrant high Extremes of Vice,
There’s none so void of Sense as Avarice.’ ¹

“ Had all the Honorable, and Right Honorable Persons who had raised immense Fortunes by the Shares they had in the cunning Part of the South Sea Affair acted in their Senses at last, and abandoned them in Time, they might not only have saved their Characters, but have been able to have made some Reparation to the Families, whom they had injured ; but they went on, and their own Ruin gave the Sufferers some Satisfaction, though not such as in Justice they had room to demand.

“ But the Sufferers, not warned sufficiently by their own Harms,² permitted two Sets of Bubble Engineers to operate upon them still, and blinded by the general Avarice of the Times, submitted to be cajoled still with hopes of golden Mountains ;³ and so the Crafty found the Way still to dip their Fingers in the Pockets of the Simple, till the Fate of Bubbles⁴ in general came upon them.

“ ‘ So the unskilful Engineer
Who fires an ill-charg’d Mine,
Sinks in the Rubbish of his Works,
And spoils his own Design.’

¹ Promus, 80. (By far the largest portion of hellebore should be given to the covetous.)

² Note this use of the word “harm” in the plays, in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, and throughout. In his Essay entitled “Of Envy” Bacon says : “For they are as men fallen out with the times ; and think other men’s harms a redemption of their own sufferings.”

³ Raleigh in a statement before his voyage said : “Secondly, when God shall permit us to arrive, if I bring them not to a mountain (near a navigable river) covered with gold and silver ore, let the commander have commission to cut off my head there.” (Bacon’s Letters, vol. vi., p. 343.) And on p. 392, concerning this voyage and those that lost their fortunes in it, Bacon makes use of the expression “golden bait.” Please see quotation at p. 387, and see pp. 384–387. In an article upon this subject (see Lee, vol. ii., p. 218), we have “The Golden Bait was greedily Caught at,” etc.

⁴ Note in *The Pilgrim’s Progress* the description of “Madam Bubble !” p. 400.

“ When I say two Sorts of Bubbles remained, I do not tell you I mean the *Harburgh* Lottery, and the *York Buildings* Company ; but this I may say of them both, which I hope can give no Offence ; that if any Man of Common Understanding, ever took these two Projects to be anything else but Bubbles, unless it be something much worse ; I repeat it again, I may say, *I wonder at them.*

“ We find in the last of these, a Person of Noble Rank, and unspotted Character, has quitted the Service, or the Command, call it as you please ; 'tis not for us to give Reasons for it. The World guesses his Lordship's Reasons to be very good, and indeed so do I, and I believe the World guesses at those Reasons too.

“ Had the Right Honorable Person concerned in the FIRST of them thought to have quitted, in the same timely manner, I believe he had not given room for Knaves to lay the Scandal of their Designs at his Door ; nor for the Public Justice to take cognizance of him to his Disadvantage.

“ Men of Design love dearly to have high Patrons ; not only to Disguise their Frauds, in order to push them with more Success upon the World, but to bear the weight of the popular Clamour, when that Fraud is Detected.

“ Do Men think there were no Knaves in the South Sea Administration but the Directors, and those few that bore the Weight with them ? Was the *Harburgh* Lottery the single Act and Project of only the Person that suffered the Blast of it ? No, no ! all Projects have a Head, but they have also Members.¹

“ Now here is a Bubble made Notorious, and the Right Honorable Person, on whose Reputation perhaps some Men thought they could build a *Babel*² of their own Imagination, has quitted ; and they are now left to themselves deceived, and are without a Head. Let us see what Measures they will take to lick into shape again the Creatures they have to nurse.

“ Will they tell us that a Stock, whose intrinsick was affirmed to be worth between 30 and 40 *per cent.* cannot

¹ This expression may be found in several places in Bacon's attributed writings. As to a plot against Bacon see p. 343.

² Bacon applied the word “ *babel* ” to Salisbury's great scheme for revenue, as we have seen in earlier pages. See p. 223.

stand at seven and a half? And that Men could be so blind, as to decline to pay a call upon a Stock intrinsically worth 25 *per cent.* above the Market Price? Can this be, and no Fraud, either in the present Practice, or the past? If the Stock is now worth but seven and a half, How can it be true that it was worth 33 or 40? If it be worth more than seven and a half, Why is it offered so low, and why so few Buyers? If it was affirmed to be worth 33, it was True, or, it was not; if not, then it was a Bubble in those that affirmed it to be worth, really worth it. What's become of the intrinsick? Who has lessened it? Delude the World no more you Men of Bites and Projects, two Things are before you.

“EITHER produce the Money, the Missing of which has made it less; OR, produce the Man that affirmed it to be more. Your Humble Servant, A SUFFERER.” (Lee, vol. iii., p. 175.)

But now let us look deeper for our thread. Mining, together with the recovery of treasure from the sea, was laid as a kind of basis for Solomon's House in the New Atlantis. Aid in the enterprise was sought through Parliament. By means of it Bacon was to make the world his heir. This was to be accomplished by means of true penitents, reformed criminals, “whose wretched carcasses the imperial laws have, or shall dedicate, as untimely feasts, to the worms of the earth, in whose womb those deserted mineral riches must ever lie buried as lost abortments, unless those be made the active midwives to deliver them.”¹ The voyage of the New Atlantis was headed for the South Sea. Bacon had some undisclosed scheme for revenue. Dr. Rawley's words are that “some papers touching matters of estate, tread too near to the heels of truth, and to the times of the persons concerned.” In the light of these facts we quote in full the appendix to Swift's voyage to Laputa, entitled a “Ballad on the South Sea Scheme.”²

¹ Already have we seen Bacon's manifested interest concerning the Commonwealth's commission for the poor and vagabonds, p. 236.

² Ch. 1 of Book 6 of the *De Augmentis*, which opens the subject of the transmission of literary products to posterity, begins in these words: “It is permitted to every man (excellent King) to make merry with himself and his own matters.”

“ Ye wise philosophers, explain
What magic makes our money rise,
When dropp’d into the Southern main ;
Or do these jugglers cheat our eyes ?

“ Put in your money, fairly told,
Presto ! begone !—’tis here again :
Ladies and gentlemen, behold,—
Here’s every piece as big as ten !

“ Thus, in a basin drop a shilling,
Then fill the vessel to the brim,
You shall observe, as you are filling,
The ponderous metal seems to swim.¹

“ It rises both in bulk and height,
Behold it swelling like a sop ;²
The liquid medicine cheats your sight,—
Behold³ it mounted⁴ to the top.

¹ Bacon, in Sub. 761 of his Natural History, says : “ For like as a shilling in the bottom of the water will show greater ; so will a candle in a lanthorn, in the bottom of the water.” In the next sub. he says : “ For example, we see that, take an empty basin, put an angel of gold, or what you will, into it ; then go so far from the basin, till you cannot see the angel, because it is not in a right line ; then fill the basin with water ; and you shall see it out of its place, because of the reflection.” See these sections in this connection.

² Bacon says : “ Spirit of wine mingled with common water, though it be much lighter than oil, yet so as if the first fall be broken by means of a sop or otherwise, it stayeth above ; and if it be once mingled, it severeth not again, as oil doth.” (Phil. Works, vol. iii., p. 822.) And on p. 458 he says : “ For small favours, they do but lull men asleep, both as to caution and as to industry, and as Demosthenes calleth them, *Alimenta socordix* [sops to feed sloth].”

³ This use of the word “ behold ” may be found throughout these writings. In Bacon’s expostulatory letter to Coke we have : “ First, therefore, behold your errors.” Promus, 338. (Behold how all things rejoice at the approach of the age.) In Measure for Measure, Act i., sc. 2, p. 24, we have :

“ *Lucio*. Behold, behold where madam Mitigation comes !”

And in The Pilgrim’s Progress, concerning the sheep, p. 287, we have : “ Behold how quietly she takes her death, and, without objecting, she suffereth her skin to be pulled over her ears.”

⁴ As to the word “ mount,” we find Bacon, in his Natural History, Sub. 532–36, using the expressions “ vapour mounting to the head ;” “ firs and pines mount of themselves ;” “ a slow putting forth, and less vigour of mounting ;” “ they are kept warm ; and that even in plants helpeth mounting.” And see his use of the word at p. 154. In the De Augmentis, Book 5, ch. 2, Bohn ed., p. 193, he says :

“ In stock three hundred thousand pounds,
 I have in view a lord's estate ;
 My manors all contiguous round,
 A coach and six, and served in plate !

“ Thus the deluded bankrupt raves,
 Puts all upon a desperate bet,
 Then plunges in the southern waves,
 Dipped over head and ears—in debt.

“ So, by a calenture misled,
 The mariner with rapture sees
 On the smooth ocean's azure bed,
 Enamelled fields and verdant trees.

“ With eager haste he longs to rove
 In that fantastic scene, and thinks
 It must be some enchanted grove,
 And *in* he leaps, and *down* he sinks.

“ Five hundred chariots, just bespoke,
 Are sunk in these devouring waves,—
 The horses drown'd, the harness broke,
 And here the owners find their graves.

“ Like Pharaoh, by *directors* led ;
 They with their spoils went safe before !
 His chariots tumbling out the dead,
 Lay shatter'd on the Red Sea shore.

“ Raised up on Hope's aspiring plumes,
 The young adventurer o'er the deep,
 An eagle's flight and state assumes,
 And scorns the middle-way to keep.¹

“ On paper wings he takes his flight,
 With *wax* the *father* bound them fast ;
 The *wax* is melted by the height,
 And down the towering boy is cast.

“ So heat in diffusing itself rather mounts upwards, but cold in diffusing itself rather moves downwards.” In Addison, vol. i., p. 482, we have : “ At the same time are seen little flakes of scurf rising up, that are probably the parts which compose the islands, for they often mount of themselves, though the water is not troubled.”

¹ Here, again, we have Bacon's allusion to “ Scylla and Icarus, or The Middle Way.” Read in this connection his interpretation of this fable.

“ A moralist might here explain
The rashness of the Cretan youth,—
Describe his fall into the main,
And from a fable form a truth.

“ His *wings* are his *paternal rent*,
He melts the *wax* at every flame ;
His credit sunk, his money spent,
In Southern Seas he leaves his name.

“ Inform us, you that best can tell,
Why in yon dangerous gulf profound,
Where hundreds and where thousands fell,
Fools chiefly float, the wise are drown’d ?¹

“ So have I seen, from Severn’s brink,
A flock of *geese* jump down together,
Swim where the birds of Jove would sink,
And swimming, never wet a feather.²

“ But I affirm ’tis false, in fact,
Directors better know their tools ;
We see the nation’s credit cracked,
Each knave has made a thousand fools.³

¹ As to this gulf see the mentioned fable as given in Mr. Montagu’s Life of Bacon, where we have mentioned “ the rocks of distinction and the gulfs of universality, which two are famous for the wrecks both of wits and arts.” I find that Mr. Spedding, if not here, in many places seeks to concentrate Bacon’s words. See also in this connection Addison, vol. iv., pp. 321–25.

² “ A flock of geese ” signifies a senate, as seen in our quotation from Swift, p. 455.

³ Promus, 612. (At length the string cracks by being overstrained.) In the A. D. B. Mask, p. 134, we have :

“ If thou do aught, laborious,
Yet if it honest be,
Thy name and fame most Glorious
Shall rest from pains most free :
But if with pleasure and delight
Thou work a wicked fact,
Thy pleasure soon will take his flight,
Shame stays and Credit’s crackt.”

Note the use of this word “ crack,” and particularly in the plays. In Hamlet, Act. v., sc. 2, p. 376, we have :

“ *Hor.* Now cracks a noble heart !— Good night, sweet prince ;
And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest !—
Why does the drum come hither.”

In The Tempest, Act iii., sc. 1, p. 64, we have :

“ One fool may from another win,
And then get off with money stored,
But if a *sharpener* once comes in,
He throws at all, and sweeps the board.

“ As fishes on each other prey,
The great ones swallow up the small ;
So fares it in the Southern Sea,
The whale *directors* eat up all.¹

“ When *stock* is high, they come between,
Making by secondhand their offers,
Then cunningly retire unseen,
With each a million in his coffers.

“ So when upon a moonshine night,
An ass was drinking at a stream,
A cloud arose and stopped the light,
By intercepting every beam.²

“ The day of judgment will be soon,
Cries out a sage among the crowd,
An ass has swallowed up the moon—
The moon lay safe behind a cloud.

“ Each poor *subscriber* to the sea,
Sinks down at once, and there he lies ;
Directors fall as well as they,
Their fall is but a trick to rise.

“ *Fer.* No, precious creature :
I'd rather crack my sinews, break my back,
Than you should such dishonour undergo,
While I sit lazy by.”

And in Act v., sc. 1, p. 91, we have :

“ *Pro.* Now does my project gather to a head :
My charms crack not ; my spirits obey ; and time
Goes upright with his carriage.”

¹ In the play of *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, Act ii., sc. 1, p. 308, we have :

“ *1 Fish.* Why as men do a-land : the great ones eat up the little ones. I can compare our rich misers to nothing so fitly as to a whale ; 'a plays and tumbles, driving the poor fry before him, and at last devours them all at a mouthful. Such whales have I heard on the land, who never leave gaping, till they've swallow'd the whole parish, church, steeple, bells and all.” And see *All's Well that Ends Well*, Act iv., sc. 3, p. 359.

² *Promus*, 648. For the moonshine in the water. In *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act v., sc. 2, p. 445, we have :

“ *Ros.* O vain petitioner ! beg a greater matter ;
Thou now request'st 'but moonshine in the water.”

“ So fishes rising from the main,
Can soar with moistened wings on high ;
The moisture dried, they sink again,
And dip their fins again *to fly*.

“ Undone at play, the female troops
Come here their losses to retrieve ;
Ride o’er the waves in spacious hoops,
Like Lapland witches in a sieve.¹

“ Thus Venus to the sea descends,
As poets feign ; but where’s the moral ?
It shows the queen of love intends
To search the sea for pearl and coral.

“ The sea is richer than the land,
I heard it from my grannam’s mouth ;
Which now I clearly understand,
For by the sea she meant the *south*.

“ Thus, by directors, we are told,
‘ Pray, gentlemen, believe your eyes ;
Our ocean’s covered o’er with gold,
Look round and see how thick it lies :

“ ‘ We, gentlemen, are your assisters,
We’ll come and hold you by the chin : ’
Alas ! all is not gold that glisters,
Ten Thousands sink by leaping in.²

“ Oh ! would those patriots be so kind,
Here is the deep to *wash their hands*,
Then like Pactolus, we should find,
The sea indeed had *golden sands*.

“ A shilling in the bath you fling,
The silver takes a nobler hue,
By magic virtue in the spring,
And seems a guinea to your view.

“ But as a guinea will not pass
At market for a farthing more,
Shown through a multiplying-glass,
Than what it always did before

¹ Promus, 723. To divine with a sieve. Promus, 521. (Almost [like] the daughters of Danus, whose punishment in hell was to pour water into an empty sieve.) As to “Lapland witches” see Defoe’s “Duncan Campbell.”

² Promus, 477. All is not gold that glisters. Promus, 473. He must needs swim that is held up by the chin.

“ So cast it in the *Southern* seas,
Or view it through a jobber's bill ;—
Put on what spectacles you please,
Your guinea's but a guinea still.

“ One night a fool into a brook,
Thus from a hillock looking down,
The *golden stars* for guineas took,
And silver Cynthia for a crown.

“ The point he could no longer doubt :
He ran, he leaped into the flood ;
There sprawl'd a while, and scarce got out,
All cover'd o'er with slime and mud.

“ “ Upon the water cast thy bread,
And after many days thou'lt find it ; '
But gold upon this ocean spread,
Shall sink, and leave no mark behind it.

“ There is a gulf where thousands fell,
Here all the bold adventurers came,
A narrow sound, though deep as hell ;—
Change Alley is the dreadful name.

“ Nine times a day it ebbs and flows,
Yet he that on the surface lies,
Without a pilot seldom knows
The time it falls or when 'twill rise.

“ Subscribers here by thousands float,
And jostle one another down ;
Each paddling in his leaky boat,
And there they fish for gold and drown.

“ Now buried in the depths below,
Now mounted up to heaven again,
They reel and stagger to and fro,
At their wits' end, like drunken men.

“ Meantime, secure on Garraway cliffs,
A savage race, by shipwrecks fed,
Lie waiting for the founder'd skiffs,
And strip the bodies of the dead.

“ But these, you say, are fictitious lies,
From some malicious Tory's brain ;
For where *directors* get a prize,
The Swiss and Dutch whole millions drain.

- “ Thus, when by rooks a lord is plied,
Some cully often wins a bet,
By venturing on the cheating side,
Though not into the secret let.
- “ While some build castles in the air,
Directors build them in the seas ;
Subscribers plainly see them there,—
For fools will see as wise men please.
- “ Thus oft by mariners are shown—
Unless the men of Kent are liars—
Earl Godwin’s castles overthrown,
And palace roofs and steeple spires.
- “ Mark where the sly directors creep,
Nor to the shore approach too nigh !
The monsters nestle in the deep,
To seize you in your passing by.
- “ Then like the dogs of Nile, be wise,
Who taught by instinct how to shun
The crocodile, that lurking lies,
Run as they drink, and drinking run.
- “ Antæus could, by magic charms,
Recover strength where’er he fell ;
Alcides held him in his arms,
And sent him *up in air to hell*.
- “ Directors thrown into the sea,
Recover strength and vigor there ;
But may be tamed another way,
Suspended for a while in air !
- “ *Directors !* for ’tis you I warn,
By long experience we have found
What planet ruled when you were born ;¹
We see you never can be drown’d.
- “ Beware, nor over-bulky grow,
Nor come within your cully’s reach ;
For if the sea should sink so low,
To leave you dry upon the beach,

¹ In a Defoe article dated April 30th, 1720 (Lee, vol. ii., p. 220), we have : “ Sure some ill Planet ruled when I was born ! I have all my life been building Castles in the Air, yet could never get a lodging in any one of them.”

“ You’ll owe your ruin to your bulk ;
 Your foes already waiting stand,
 To tear you like a founder’d hulk,
 While you lie helpless on the strand.

“ Thus, when a whale has lost the tide,
 The coasters crowd to seize the spoil ;
 The monster into parts divide,
 And strip the bones, and melt the oil.¹

“ O ! may some *western* tempest sweep
 These *locusts* whom our fruits have fed
 That plague, directors, to the deep,
 Driven from the South Sea to the Red.²

“ May He, whom Nature’s laws obey,
 Who *lifts* the poor and *sinks* the proud,
 Quiet the raging of the *sea*
 And still the madness of the crowd !

“ But never shall our isle have rest
 Till those devouring *swine* run down,
 The devils leaving the possessed,—
 And headlong in the *waters* drown.

¹ Concerning the revenue, mining, and the whale, Bacon, in 1617, says : “ When the famous case of the Copper Mines was argued in this court, and judged for the King, it was not upon the fine reasons of wit ; as that the King’s prerogative drew to it the chief *in quaque specie* ; the lion is the chief of beasts, the eagle the chief of birds, the whale the chief of fishes, and so copper the chief of minerals ; for these are but dalliances of law and ornaments ; but it was the grave records and precedents that grounded the judgment of that cause ; and therefore I would have you both guide and arm yourself with them against these vapours and fumes of law, which are extracted out of men’s inventions and conceits.” (Bacon’s Letters, vol. vi., p. 203.) See Defoe article, p. 480. As to these copper mines, see a foot-note to p. 214 of Gulliver’s Travels. In Henry IV., part 2, Act iv., sc. 4, p. 408, we have :

“ His temper, therefore, must be well observ’d :
 Chide him for faults, and do it reverently,
 When you perceive his blood inclin’d to mirth ;
 But, being moody, give him line and scope,
 Till that his passions, like a whale on ground,
 Confound themselves with working.”

² In The Pilgrim’s Progress, p. 112, we have : “ Thus it happened to Israel ; for their sins they were sent back again by the way of the Red Sea ; and I am made to tread those steps with sorrow which I might have trod with delight, had it not been for this sinful sleep.”

“ The Nation then, too late, will find,
Computing all their cost and trouble,
Directors’ promises but wind,
South Sea at best a mighty bubble.”¹

We here imagine the intelligent reader to shift his globes of vision from our page and say : 'Tis true, we here find illusions that may very properly be taken to concern Bacon's troubles from 1617 to and after his fall, and the circumstances to have caused good men, as well as the rabble, to have combined against him. But it may likewise be said, Were not these the lines of Dean Swift in 1720, and which appear in the mentioned edition of *Gulliver's Travels* beginning at p. 255, and from which our quotation is taken ?

Our unhesitating answer is, that whoever else may have been the author of “ *Gulliver's Travels*,” “ *A Tale of a Tub*,” “ *The Battle of the Books*,” “ *The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit*,” “ *The Abolishing of Christianity*,” “ *The Art of Political Lying*,” and some others, Dean Swift was not, unless it be likewise said that he was author not only of the newly discovered Defoe papers, but generally of the body of the Defoe literature ; and which conclusion, with us, the careful reader must himself reach if he but peruse them in relation ; and this, not by reason of identity of language characteristics merely, but by reason of general invention and in touching upon the same subjects of thought. “ *Gulliver's Travels*” excepted, Swift's works consist of short pieces, and found in the mentioned Camelot Classics edition, of which we have made use in this investigation.

The “ *Tale of a Tub*,” together with its introductory matter, should be read, or much light will be withheld

¹ Touching the word “ bubble,” we here give place to the first of four verses by Bacon in the introduction to his translation into verse of certain Psalms, and which is as follows :

“ The world's a bubble, and the life of man
less than a span :
In his conception wretched, from the womb
so to the tomb :
Curst from the cradle, and brought up to years
with cares and fears.
Who then to frail mortality shall trust,
But limns the water, or but writes in dust.”

(Bacon's Literary Works, vol. ii., p. 271.) And as to “ *Madam Bubble*,” please see *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 400.

from the reader. It is indeed a Head-light to our Head-light. It is dedicated to posterity in these words, "To His Royal Highness Prince Posterity," and upon which Prince Sir Francis Bacon, as we have seen, ever had his eye.

The publisher's introductory statement to the article entitled "A Discourse Concerning the Mechanical Operation of the Spirit" is in these words: "The following Discourse came into my hands perfect and entire; but there being several things in it which the present age would not very well bear, I kept it by me some years, resolving it should never see the light. At length, by the advice and assistance of a judicious friend, I retrenched those parts that might give most offence, and have now ventured to publish the remainder. Concerning the author I am wholly ignorant; neither can I conjecture whether it be the same with that of the two foregoing pieces [these are 'A Tale of a Tub' and 'The Battle of the Books'], the original having been sent me at a different time, and in a different hand. The learned reader will better determine to whose judgment I entirely submit it."

Again do we call attention to the manœuvring by which "Gulliver's Travels"—said to be designed to form part of a satire on the "Abuse of Human Learning," projected by Pope, Swift, and Arbuthnot—came first to the hands of the publisher.¹

As to the article on Political Lying, Swift wrote to Stella: "Arbuthnot has sent me from Windsor, a pretty discourse upon lying; and I have ordered the printer to come for it."²

¹ From a note at p. 56 of Gulliver we quote the following: "Swift and Defoe are unrivalled in the art of introducing trifling and minute circumstances which give an air of reality to their fictitious narrations. In Gulliver's early history, as in that of Crusoe, persons are casually mentioned of whom we hear nothing more. Gulliver's uncle, like Crusoe's brother, only comes on the stage to disappear again forever. This is quite contrary to the usual course of romance writers, who rarely introduce a personage or any incident that does not in some way aid the development of the plot." And we may add that the language features already considered apply equally to the works of Swift.

² Bacon represents Hermes Stella as making annotations upon his fragment entitled *Valerius Terminus*, though no such annotations appear. And Mr. Spedding says: "The manuscript from which Robert Stephens printed these fragments was found among some loose papers placed in his hands by the Earl of Oxford, and is now

It thus appears to have come from some hand other than Swift's. But the preserved papers between these parties were doubtless part of the great scheme.

From an introductory note to the mentioned edition of Swift's Works we quote as follows :

" Thus the services of a writer so ready and incisive as Swift were of the highest value to the ministry. *The Examiner*, a weekly series of political essays, was commenced in their interest shortly after their accession to power. Swift soon took it in hand, and continued to write it for some eight months. On the 27th of Nov. 1711 his pamphlet on *The Conduct of the Aliens* appeared. A second edition was called for in a few days, and was sold in a few hours. By the end of January 11,000 copies had been sold. Much other work of effective sort he did for Harley's ministry." It is here also said :

" *The Examiner* was a weekly sheet established in support of the Tory Government of the day. The first number appeared on the 3rd of August 1710. Among the earliest writers were Atterburry, St. John (afterward Viscount Bolingbroke), and Prior. Swift's first contribution was No. 14, dated the 2nd of November. His second is printed here.¹ He continued to write the paper regularly for about eight months, his last essay being No. 45, dated the 7th of June 1711, and his last contribution, a brief address in No. 46 ; after which, as he states, he 'let it fall into other hands, who held it up in some manner until Her Majesty's death.' "

Swift is also said to have contributed some articles to the *Tatler*, started by Steel April 12th, 1709, and continued to January 2d, 1711.

It is here important to inquire as to whether, as originally produced, all of the articles in the great scheme, as in those by Swift, Addison, and some others, were numbered. Why? Because the work was not only devised, but produced, through a formula. On what authority? Bacon's own words. Where found? At p. 181, where he says : " I foresee that this formula of interpretation,

in the British Museum ; Harl. MSS. 6462." (Bacon's Phil. Works, vol. iii., p. 206.)

¹ Note that these articles by Swift were all numbered. This is likewise true of the Addison articles. Let it be investigated as to whether this was true of them all when first issued.

and the inventions made by it, will be more vigorous and secure when contained within legitimate and chosen devices." And see Sonnet, p. 102, and quotation at p. 107. In connection with this thought we introduce a Defoe article under date July 31st, 1725, as follows :

"*A. J., July 31.*—Sir, I suppose, among the rest of your Friends, you have not been ignorant of the Clamour which has been made upon a certain Author, for publishing his Translation, or Version, of our old Friend *Homer*, under his own Name, when it seems he has not been, nay, some have had the hardiness to say, *could not have been*, the real Operator.

"I must confess, I cannot come into all the Resentments of the learned World upon that Subject ; and I am not without my Reasons for my Opinion, as I suppose they have shewn their reasons for theirs.

"Writing, you know, Mr. *Applebee*, is become a very considerable Branch of the English Commerce ; Composing, Inventing, Translating, Versifying, etc., are the several Manufactures which supply the Commerce. The Booksellers are the Master Manufacturers or Employers. The several Writers, Authors, Copyers, Sub-Writers, and all other Operators with Pen and Ink, are the Workmen employed by the said Master Manufacturers, in the forming, dressing, and finishing the said Manufactures ; as the Combers, Spinners, Weavers, Fullers, Dressers, etc., are, in our Clothing Manufactures, by the Master Clothiers, etc.

"If a Clothier employs a Master Workman to weave him so many Pieces of Cloth, and agrees with him for so much Money, the Weaver brings them home finished, and puts his own Mark on them ; and this Weaver, being known to be a good Workman, the Master Clothier recommends the Cloths to his Customers, as the Work and Weaving of such a known and eminent Weaver. At the same Time, the Clothier knows very well that the said Weaver could not be able to weave them all himself ; perhaps also he knows that some of them are of a much meaner Workmanship than that Weaver used to Work, yet the Weaver and the Clothier conniving together, they all carry the same Mark. Nay, sometimes the Weaver brings a better Workman than himself into the Loom ; but having an Opportunity to get his Work cheaper, he takes him in.

And thus, a Medley of goods are put off together, all under the Mark, and in the Name of the Master Weaver.

“Now upon the whole, pray, Mr. *Applebee*, who is the greatest Cheat in this Affair, the Clothier or the Manufacturer, the Master Employer, or the Weaver? Not but that they may be both Rogues, Mr. *Applebee*, but who is most concerned in the Fraud, seeing it is the Master Clothier who puts the Goods off in the Weaver’s Name, tho’ he knows there are ’Prentices, and Scoundrels, for the sake of a low Price, employed in the making them.

“As to Writing, Mr. *Applebee*, Do we expect that every Man that publishes a Book, and sets his Name to it, should *Bona fide*, be the Author of it all himself? Do we not know how several Booksellers of Note at this Time, keep Authors of different Fame employed, some at one Price, some at another, to form the same Pieces of Work? And have not several Authors, who are particular for being voluminous, their several Journeymen that work for them, some in one Jail, some in another, some in one fluxing House, some in another? Nay, has not the Right Reverend Author himself, who made this very complaint, his deputy Journalist, and his supply of Operators, as Occasion requires, tho’ the Labourers receive their Esteem from his own illustrious Character, and are all called his Own?

“Did not the late celebrated *Tatlers* pass, even to the end of the Work, for the Labours of the worthy Editor Sir *Dick Steele*? And did it not come out at last, *when he could conceal it no longer*, that he had abundance of *Aid de plumes* under him? And might we not give the same Account of several laborious Tracts, which the World to this Day honours the Names of Authors for, who had the least share in the Labour?

“But to carry this Complaint higher, a Merry Fellow of my Acquaintance assures me, that our Cousin *Homer* himself was guilty of the same *Plagiarism*. Cousin *Homer* you must note was an old blind Ballad Singer at *Athens*, and went about the Country there, and at other Places in *Greece*, singing his Ballads from Door to Door; only with this Difference, that the Ballads he sung were generally of his own making. Hence I suppose it was, that one of the same Profession here in *London*,—who, tho’ blind too, made his own Ballads,—was so universally called *Old*

Homer. But says my Friend, this *Homer*, in process of Time, when he had gotten some Fame,—and perhaps more Money than Poets ought to be trusted with,—grew Lazy and Knavish, and got one *Andronicus* a Spartan, and one Dr. S——l, a Philosopher of *Athens*, both pretty good Poets, but less eminent than himself, to make his Songs for him ; which, they being poor and starving, did for him for a small Matter. And so, the Poet never did much himself, only published and sold his Ballads still, in his own Name, as if they had been his own ; and by that, got great Subscriptions, and a high Price for them.

“ Now, Mr. *Applebee*, if my Friend be in the right, was not Cousin *Homer* a Knave, for imposing thus upon the *Grecian* World? *In a Word*, it seems to me that Old *Homer*, was a mere Mr. P^(ope), and Mr. P^(ope), in that Particular, a mere *Homer* ; so that there’s ne’er a Barrel the better Herring, except the *Master Manufacturer* ; who, like a Bawd to a ——, knew the Fraud, and imposed it upon his Customers, and so has been worse than both of them. Your Servant, Anti-Pope.”¹ (Lee, vol. iii., p. 409.)

The journals in which Defoe was interested have already passed under review. And so may we see the instruments with which, and by means of which, Harley was enabled to compass the gigantic game which he played with the books—namely, “The Battle of the Books.”

Have we here a knavish attempt to carry out his own, or a muddled one, to carry out a Baconian scheme? or did it partake of both elements?²

The article by the mentioned title—viz., “The Battle of

¹ To all of these articles Mr. Lee has himself supplied titles, as he tells us. This one is entitled “On Pope’s Translation of Homer.” Bacon says: “Surely of those poets which are now extant, even Homer himself (notwithstanding he was made a kind of Scripture by the later schools of the Grecians), yet I should without any difficulty pronounce that his fables had no such inwardness in his own meaning ; but what they might have upon a more original tradition, is not easy to affirm ; for he was not the inventor of many of them.” (Phil. Works, vol. iii., p. 345.) Bacon’s statement at p. 428, note 1, was made in connection with the works of Homer. And see p. 460.

² These questions, as well as that embraced in the thought that Harley may have formed but one in a knot of men interested in the great design, are matters to be considered by themselves.

the Books"—is indeed a most subtle piece of work, and has for its ruling idea Bacon's comparison of his own methods with the ancients ;¹ and secondly, a side issue by which he is represented as cast from his Empire—his Dukedom of The Tempest. Criticism had begun upon the *Novum Organum* upon the eve of his fall, and as well at Rome as elsewhere.²

In this article, as in the play of *The Tempest*, two courses appear : 1. As between the ancients and moderns ; and 2. A side issue between the spider, who is said to spin all out of himself, and the bee, whom Bacon, while not strictly of either party, though a modern, personates ; and who in his discourse with the spider makes allusion to the spider's foreign assistance in casting him. The Battle is represented as having begun in St. James' Library.³ Touching this side issue, we from the mentioned article quote as follows :

" Things were at this crisis when a material accident

¹ On p. 2 of the article it is said : " But the issues or events of this war are not so easy to conjecture at ; for the present quarrel is so inflamed by the warm heads of either faction, and the pretensions somewhere or other so exorbitant, as not to admit the least overtures of accommodation. This quarrel first began, as I have heard it affirmed by an old dweller in the neighborhood, about a small spot of ground, lying and being upon one of the two tops of the hill Parnassus ; the highest and largest of which had, it seems, been time out of mind in quiet possession of certain tenants, called the Ancients ; and the other was held by the Moderns." As to Parnassus, please see Defoe's " Consolidator," pp. 222-27 ; Addison, vol. iv., pp. 221-24, and vol. v., pp. 214-27. Bacon says : " For as for appetite, the waters of Parnassus are not like the waters of the Spaw, that give a stomach ; but rather they quench appetite and desire." (Bacon's Letters, vol. i., p. 345.)

² King James in a kind of profane jest said of the *Novum Organum*, that " it is like the peace of God—it passeth all understanding." And Coke in a copy sent to him wrote :

" It deserveth not to be read in schools,
But to be freighted in a ship of Fools."

By a Catholic bishop Bacon had been drawn into defining his position. See pp. 64 and 112.

³ In his last will Bacon says : " But as to the durable part of my memory, which consisteth in my works and writings, I desire my executors, and especially Sir John Constable and my very good friend Mr. Bosville, to take care that of all my writings, both in English and Latin, there may be books fair bound, and placed in the King's library, and in the library of the university of Cambridge," etc. (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 539.)

fell out. For upon the highest corner of a large window there dwelt a certain spider, swollen up to the first magnitude by the destruction of infinite numbers of flies, whose spoils lay scattered before the gates of his palace, like human bones before the cave of some giant. The avenues to his castle were guarded with turnpikes and palisadoes, all after the modern way of fortification. After you had passed several courts you came to the centre, wherein you might behold the constable himself in his own lodgings, which had windows fronting to each avenue, and ports to sally out upon all occasions of prey or defence. In this mansion he had for some time dwelt in peace and plenty, without danger to his person by the swallows¹ from above, or to his palace by brooms² from below; when it was the pleasure of fortune to conduct thither a wandering bee, to whose curiosity a broken pane in the glass had discovered itself, and in he went; where, expatiating a while, he at last happened to alight upon one of the outward walls of the spider's citadel; which, yielding to the unequal weight, sunk down to the very foundation. Thrice he endeavoured to force his passage, and thrice the centre shook. The spider within, feeling the terrible convulsion, supposed at first that nature was approaching to her final dissolution; or else, that Beelzebub, with all his legions, was come to revenge the death of many thousands of his subjects whom his enemy had slain and devoured. However, he at length valiantly resolved to issue forth and meet his fate. Meanwhile the bee had acquitted himself of his toils, and, posted securely at some distance, was employed in cleaning his wings, and disengaging them from the ragged remnants of the cobweb. By this time the spider was adventured out, when, beholding the chasms, the ruins, and dilapidations of his fortress, he was very near at his wits' end; he stormed and swore like a madman, and swelled till he was ready to burst. At length, casting his eye upon the bee, and wisely gathering causes from events (for they knew each other by sight): A plague split you, said he, for a giddy

¹ Promus, 536. (Allow no swallows under thy roof. Interpreted by Hieronymus of garrulous and gossiping persons.)

² Promus, 888. (Broken up brooms. Said of the disorderly and worthless, who can be put to no use.) In *Gulliver's Travels*, at p. 231, a broom is said to signify "a revolution." See p. 455.

son of a whore ; is it you, with a vengeance, that have made this litter here ? could you not look before you, and be d—d ? do you think I have nothing to do (in the devil's name) but to mend and repair after your arse ?—Good words,¹ friend, said the bee (having now pruned himself, and being disposed to droll) : I'll give you my hand and word to come near your kennel no more ; I was never in such a confounded pickle since I was born.—Sirrah, replied the spider, if it were not for breaking an old custom in our family, never to stir abroad against an enemy, I should come and teach you better manners.—I pray have patience, said the bee, or you'll spend your substance, and, for aught I see, you may stand in need of it all, toward the repair of your house.—Rogue, rogue, replied the spider, yet methinks you should have more respect to a person whom all the world allows to be so much your betters.—By my troth,² said the bee, the comparison will amount to a very good jest ; and you will do me a favour to let me know the reasons that all the world is pleased to use in so hopeful a dispute. At this the spider, having swelled himself into the size and posture of a disputant, began his argument in the true spirit of controversy, with resolution to be heartily scurrilous and angry to urge on his own reasons, without the least regard to the answer or objections of his opposite ; and fully predetermined in his mind against all conviction.

“Not to disparage myself, said he, by the comparison with such a rascal, what art thou but a vagabond without home or house, without stock or inheritance ? born to no possession of your own, but a pair of wings and a drone-pipe. Your livelihood is a universal plunder upon nature ; a freebooter over fields and gardens ; and, for the

¹ Throughout there will be found a distinct individuality in the expression “good words.” Promus, 4. (I was silent from good words, and my grief was renewed.) In Measure for Measure, Act iii., sc. 1, p. 76, we have :

“*Isab.* I have heard of the lady, and good words went with her name.”

And we find Bacon using the words “good hopes,” “good offices,” “good wishes,” “good thoughts,” “good quiet,” “good spare,” etc. As to this last expression, see p. 383.

² Promus, 966. Time trieth troth. (Tempus arguit amicum.—Eras. Ad., 104. *Time is the proof of a friend.*) We have already called attention to Bacon's use of this word, as well as its use throughout the plays. See p. 183.

sake of stealing will rob a nettle' as easily as a violet. Whereas I am a domestic animal, furnished with a native stock within myself. This large castle (to show my improvements in the mathematics²) is all built with my own hands, and the materials extracted altogether out of my own person.³

"I am glad, answered the bee, to hear you grant at least that I am come honestly by my wings and my voice ; for then, it seems, I am obliged to Heaven alone for my flights and my music ; and Providence could never have bestowed on me two such gifts, without designing them for the noblest ends. I visit indeed all the flowers and blossoms of the field and garden ; but whatever I collect thence enriches myself, without the least injury to their beauty, their smell, or their taste.⁴ Now, for you and your skill in architecture and other mathematics, I have little to say : in that building of yours there might, for aught I know, have been labour and method enough ; but, by woeful experience for us both, it is too plain the materials are nought ; and I hope you will henceforth take warning, and consider duration and matter, as well as method and art. You boast indeed of being obliged to no other creature, but of drawing and spinning out all from yourself ; that is to say, if we may judge of the liquor in the vessel by what issues out, you possess a good plentiful store of dirt and poison in your breast ; and, though I would by no means lessen or disparage your genuine stock

¹ Bacon was wont to apply this word "nettle" to the Papists, as we have seen at pp. 301 and 327.

² Here see ch. 4 of *Gulliver's Travels*, pp. 212-17.

³ *Promus*, 797a. (He fabricated out of himself like a spider.) Please see *Novum Organum*, Aph. 95, Book 2.

⁴ Bacon was wont to say : "The empirical philosophers are like to pismires ; they only lay up and use their store. The Rationalists are like to spiders ; they spin all out of their own bowels. But give me a philosopher, who like the bee, hath a middle faculty, gathering from abroad, but digesting that which is gathered by his own virtue." (*Bacon's Literary Works*, vol. i., p. 177.) And fail not to read in this connection Addison, vol. iv., pp. 286-96 and 304-8. And in the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. i., p. 11, we have : "As a good housewife out of divers fleeces weaves one piece of cloth, a bee gathers wax and honey out of many flowers, and makes a new bundle of all." In Addison we have : "The tenth and last species of women were made out of the bee : and happy is the man who gets such an one for his wife." See the article Addison, vol. iii., p. 88.

of either, yet I doubt you are somewhat obliged, for an increase of both, to a little foreign assistance.¹ Your inherent portion of dirt does not fail of acquisitions, by sweepings exhaled from below ; and one insect furnishes you with a share of poison to destroy another. So that, in short, the question comes all to this ; whether is the nobler being of the two, that which, by a lazy contemplation of four inches round, by an overweening pride, feeding and engendering on itself, turns all into excrement and venom, producing nothing at all but fly-bane and a cobweb ; or that which, by a universal range, with long search, much study, true judgment, and distinction of things, brings home honey and wax.

“ This dispute was managed with such eagerness, clamour, and warmth, that the two parties of books, in arms below,² stood silent awhile, waiting in suspense what would be the issue ; which was not long undetermined ; for the bee, grown impatient at so much loss of time, fled straight away to a bed of roses, without looking for a reply, and left the spider, like an orator, collected in himself, and just prepared to burst out.

“ It happened upon this emergency that Æsop broke silence first. He had been of late most barbarously treated by a strange effect of the regent’s humanity, who had torn off his title-page, sorely defaced one half of his leaves, and chained him fast among the shelf of moderns. Where, soon discovering how high the quarrel was likely to proceed, he tried all his arts, and turned himself to a thousand forms. At length, in the borrowed shape of an ass, the regent mistook him for a modern ; by which means he had time and opportunity to escape to the ancients, just when the spider and the bee were entering into their contest ; to which he gave his attention with a world of pleasure, and when it was ended, swore in the loudest key that in all his life he had never known two cases so parallel and adapt to each other as that in the window and this upon the shelves.³ The disputants, said he, have

¹ Is this an allusion to Buckingham’s aid from Spain or the Papists in Bacon’s overthrow ?

² The brooms were what the spider had to fear from below, as we have seen.

³ The controversy in the window was the side issue, while that upon the shelves was the chief one, the one between the ancients and moderns. See in this connection the short oration by Addison in favor

admirably managed the dispute between them, have taken in the full strength of all that is to be said on both sides, and exhausted the substance of every argument *pro* and *con*. It is but to adjust the reasonings of both to the present quarrel, then to compare and apply the labours and fruits of each, as the bee has learnedly deduced them, and we shall find the conclusion fall plain and close upon the moderns and us. For pray, gentlemen, was ever anything so modern as the spider in his air, his turns, and his paradoxes? he argues in the behalf of you, his brethren, and himself with many boastings of his native stock and great genius; that he spins and spits wholly from himself, and scorns to own any obligation or assistance from without. Then he displays to you his great skill in architecture and improvement in the mathematics. To all this the bee, as an advocate retained by us the ancients, thinks fit to answer, that, if one may judge of the great genius or inventions of the moderns by what they have produced, you will hardly have countenance to bear you out in boasting of either. Erect your schemes with as much method and skill as you please; yet, if the materials be nothing but dirt, spun out of your own entrails (the guts of modern brains), the edifice will conclude at last in a cobweb; the duration of which, like that of other spiders' webs,

of the new philosophy. (Addison, vol. vi., pp. 607-12.) On p. 610 we have: "On no such grounds as these has Aristotle built his philosophy, who from his own brain furnished out all his rules of arts and sciences, and left nothing untouched on, nothing unregarded, but truth." And again: "After Aristotle's fate amidst the waves of Euripus, a new race of Peripatetics started up, even worse than their founder, who handed their philosophy to after ages in so thick an obscurity that it has preserved it from the satire and ridicule of all mankind, being understood by very few. Some there are to be found who spend their time amidst the rubbish which these commentators have filled the world with, and pore more than once on these godlike treasures of learning, and stick to them to no other purpose unless to show the world the vast pains they take of being deceived." In this article we find Bacon's expression "troop of forms," and his sharp and distinctly marked opinion as to Aristotle. And yet at p. 725 the reputed author of this masterly oration and literature is said never to have been able to say a word in Parliament. While he was Secretary of State it is said, p. 728: "It was his official business to write to Hanover that Queen Anne was dead: he found it so difficult to express himself suitably to his own notions of the importance of the event, that the lords of the regency were obliged to employ a Mr. Southwell, one of the clerks."

may be imputed to their being forgotten, or neglected, or hid in a corner.¹ For anything else of genuine that the moderns may pretend to, I cannot recollect; unless it be a large vein of wrangling and satire, much of a nature and substance with the spider's poison; which, however, they pretend to spit wholly out of themselves, is improved by the same arts, by feeding upon the insects and vermin of the age. As for the ancients, we are content, with the bee, to pretend to nothing of our own beyond our wings and our voice: that is to say, our flights and our language. For the rest, whatever we have got has been by infinite labour and search, and ranging through every corner of nature; the difference is, that, instead of dirt and poison, we have rather chosen to fill our hives with honey and wax; thus furnishing mankind with the two noblest things, which are sweetness and light." (Swift, pp. 176-181.)

And on p. 182 we have:

"All things violently tending to a decisive battle, Fame, who much frequented, and had a large apartment formerly assigned her in the regal library, fled up straight to Jupiter, to whom she delivered a faithful account of all that passed between the two parties below; for among the gods she always tells truth.² Jove, in great concern, convokes a council in the milky way. The senate assembled, he declares the occasion of convening them; a bloody battle just impendent between two mighty armies of ancient and modern creatures, called books, wherein the celestial interest was but too deeply concerned. Momus,³

¹ See ch. 5 of Gulliver's Travels, pp. 217-25. In Book 1 of the *De Augustis* we have: "For the human mind, if it act upon matter, and contemplates the nature of things, and the works of God, operates according to the stuff, and is limited thereby; but if it works upon itself, as the spider does, then it has no end; but produces cobwebs of learning, admirable indeed for the fineness of the thread, but of no substance or profit." Note in Addison and in the plays the many references to the "spider" and the "bee." As to the "bee," see Henry V., Act i., sc. 2, p. 472. And in a *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, Act. iv., sc. 1, p. 327, we have:

"*Bot.* Monsieur Cobweb, good monsieur, get your weapon in your hand, and kill me a red-hipp'd humble-bee on the top of a thistle; and, good monsieur, bring me the honey-bag."

² Promus, 329. (The Father [Jupiter] is favorable to either destiny.)

³ See what Bacon says concerning Momus, p. 86. And in his

the patron of the moderns, made an excellent speech in their favour, which was answered by Pallas,¹ the protectress of the ancients. The assembly was divided in their affections ; and Jupiter commanded the book of fate to be laid before him. Immediately were brought by Mercury three large volumes in folio, containing memoirs of all things past, present, and to come. The clasps were of silver double gilt, the covers were of celestial turkey leather, and the paper such as here on earth might pass almost for vellum. Jupiter, having silently read the decree, would communicate the import to none, but presently shut up the book.

“ Without the doors of this assembly there attended a vast number of light, nimble gods, menial servants to Jupiter : these are his ministering instruments in all affairs below. They travel in a caravan, more or less together, and are fastened to each other, like a link of galley-slaves, by a light chain, which passes from them to Jupiter’s great toe :² and yet, in receiving or delivering a message, they may never approach above the lowest step of his throne, where he and they whisper to each other through a large hollow trunk. These deities are called by mortal men accidents or events ; but the gods call them second causes.³ Jupiter having delivered his mes-

Essay entitled “ Of Building,” he says : “ Neither is it ill air only that maketh an ill seat, but ill ways, ill markets ; and if you will consult with Momus, ill neighbors.” As to Momus and the window in the breast, see Addison, vol. iv., p. 196, the introduction to the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, vol. i., p. 55, and see introductory matter to the *A. D. B. Mask*.

¹ As to Pallas, please see, in ch. 13 of Book 2 of the *De Augmentis*, Bacon’s interpretation of the fable of “ Perseus, or War.” For battles this was the model. This battle was probably designed to represent the overthrow of the old and the establishment of the new order of things under the Baconian system.

² Bacon says : “ For on the threshold of philosophy, where second causes appear to absorb the attention, some oblivion of the highest cause may ensue ; but when the mind goes deeper, and sees the dependence of causes and the works of Providence, it will easily perceive, according to the mythology of the poets, that the upper link of Nature’s chain is fastened to Jupiter’s throne.” (*De Augmentis*, Bohn ed., Book 1, p. 32.)

³ See the word Providence as used in connection with the play of *The Tempest*. Bacon says : “ For certain it is that God worketh nothing in nature but by second causes ; and if they would have it otherwise believed, it is mere imposture, as it were in favour towards

sage to a certain number of these divinities, they flew immediately down to the pinnacle of the regal library, and consulting a few minutes, entered unseen, and disposed the parties according to their orders.

“Meanwhile Momus, fearing the worst, and calling to mind an ancient prophecy which bore no very good face to his children the moderns, beat his flight to the region of a malignant deity called Criticism.¹ She dwelt on the top of a snowy mountain in Nova Zembla; there Momus found her extended in her den, upon the spoils of numberless volumes, half devoured. At her right hand sat Ignorance, her father and husband, blind with age; at her left, Pride, her mother, dressing her up in the scraps of paper herself had torn. There was opinion, her sister, light of foot, hoodwinked, and headstrong, yet giddy and perpetually turning. About her played her children, Noise and Impudence, Dulness and Vanity, Positiveness, Pedantry, and Ill-manners. The goddess herself had claws like a cat; her head, and ears, and voice, resembled those of an ass; her teeth fallen out before, her eyes turned inward, as if she looked only upon herself; her diet was the overflowing of her own gall; her spleen was so large as to stand prominent, like a dug of the first rate;² nor wanted excrescencies in form of teats, at which

God; and nothing else but to offer to the author of truth the unclean sacrifice of a lie.” (Phil. Works, vol. iii., p. 267.) In the *Serious Reflections* of Crusoe, p. 9, we have: “All motions to good or evil are in the soul. Outward objects are but second causes.”

¹ In Addison, vol. iv., p. 149, we have: “Envy and cavil are the natural fruits of laziness and ignorance; which was probably the reason that in the heathen mythology, Momus is said to be the son of Nox, and Somnus of Darkness and Sleep. Idle men, who have not been at the pains to accomplish or distinguish themselves, are ever apt to detract from others; as ignorant men are very subject to decry those beauties in a celebrated work which they have not eyes to discover. Many of our sons of Momus, who dignify themselves by the name of critics, are the genuine defendants of those two illustrious ancestors.” Any number of these relations might be introduced, but we are now but bounding the field; nor will space permit us to do more than to touch upon points as we go.

² Bacon in one of his *Apophthegms* says: “Trojan would say, ‘That the king’s exchequer was like the spleen; for when that did swell the whole body did pine.’” (Bacon’s *Literary Works*, vol. ii., p. 141.) As to the word “dug” we from *Romeo and Juliet*, Act i., sc. 3, p. 43, quote as follows:

a crew of ugly monsters were greedily sucking ; and, what is wonderful to conceive, the bulk of spleen increased faster than the sucking could diminish it. Goddess, said Momus, can you sit idly here while our devout worshippers, the moderns, are this minute entering into a cruel battle, and perhaps now lying under the swords of their enemies? who then hereafter will sacrifice or build altars to our divinities?¹ Haste, therefore, to the British isle, and, if possible, prevent their destruction ; while I make factions among the gods, and gain them over to our party.²

“ Momus, having thus delivered himself, stayed not for an answer, but left the goddess to her own resentment. Up she rose in a rage, and, as it is the form upon such occasions, began a soliloquy : It is I (said she) who gave wisdom to infants and idiots ; by me children grew wiser than their parents, by me beaux became politicians, and school-boys judges of philosophy ; by me sophisters debate and conclude upon the depths of knowledge ; and coffee-house wits, instinct by me, can correct an author’s style, and display his minutest errors without understanding a syllable of his matter or his language ; by me striplings spend their judgment, as they do their estate, before it comes into their hands. It is I who have deposed wit and knowledge from their empire over poetry, and advanced myself in their stead. And shall a few upstart ancients dare to oppose me?—But come, my aged parent, and you, my children dear, and thou, my beauteous sister ; let us ascend my chariot, and haste to assist our devout moderns, who are now sacrificing to us a hecatomb, as I perceive by that grateful smell which from thence reaches my nostrils.

“ The goddess and her train, having mounted the

“ Nay, I do bear a brain :—but, as I said,
When it did taste the wormwood on the nipple
Of my dug, and felt it bitter, pretty fool !
To see it tetchy, and fall out with the dug.”

¹ This was Bacon’s battle to down the old forms and superstitions of men, and thus to make way for the more permanent advent of his philosophy.

² This was to be done by the side issue and the foreign assistance. At the present writing we are of the impression that these papers may have in part been prepared by Bacon prior to his fall, and which necessitated their remodelling to suit that event, and hence the side issue in this battle.

chariot, which was drawn by tame geese,¹ flew over infinite regions, shedding her influence in due places, till at length she arrived at her beloved island of Britain; but in hovering over its metropolis, what blessings did she not let fall upon her seminaries of Gresham and Covent-garden! And now she reached the fatal plain of St. James' library, at what time the two armies were upon the point to engage: where, entering with all her caravan unseen; and landing upon a case of shelves, now desert, but once inhabited by a colony of virtuosoes,² she stayed a while to observe the posture of both armies.

"But here the tender cares of a mother began to fill her thoughts and move in her breast: for at the head of a troop of modern bowmen she cast her eyes upon her son Wotton,³ to whom the fates had assigned a very short thread. Wotton, a young hero, whom an unknown father of mortal race begot by stolen embraces with this goddess. He was the darling of his mother above all her children, and she resolved to go and comfort him. But first, according to the good old custom of deities, she cast about to change her shape, for fear the divinity of her countenance might dazzle his mortal sight and overcharge the rest of his senses. She therefore gathered up her person into an octavo compass: her body grew white and arid, and split in pieces with dryness; the thick turned into pasteboard, and the thin into paper; upon which her parents

¹ At p. 455 we see that a flock of geese means "a senate."

² Note the oft use of this word in Addison.

³ Is this an allusion to Sir Henry Wotton, to whom Bacon, October 20th, 1620, wrote thus?

"MY VERY GOOD COUSIN: The letter which I received from your Lordship upon your going to sea, was more than a compensation for any former omission; and I shall ever be very glad to entertain a correspondence with you in both kinds which you write of. For the latter, I am now ready for you, having sent you some ore of that mine. I thank you for your favors to Mr. Meantys, and I pray continue the same. So wishing you out of your honorable exile, and placed in a better orb, I rest," etc.

Wotton was a man of letters, and was at this time upon an embassy in Germany, and the letter is said to have been accompanied with three copies of the *Novum Organum*. (Bacon's Letters, vol. vii., p. 131.) And on p. 451 it will appear that in 1623-24 Buckingham made him Provost of the College of Eaton, a position much sought by Bacon. See *Britannica* article on Wotton, who was a favorite diplomatist of James the First, and spent eight years in Spain, France, and Germany. And see p. 521, note 2.

and children artfully strewed a black juice, or decoction of gall and soot, in form of letters : her head, and voice, and spleen, kept their primitive form ; and that which before was a cover of skin did still continue so. In this guise she marched on towards the moderns, undistinguishable in shape and dress from the divine Bentley, Wotton's dearest friend. Brave Wotton, said the goddess, why do our troops stand idle here, to spend their present vigour and opportunity of the day? away, let us haste to the generals, and advise to give the onset immediately. Having spoken thus, she took the ugliest of her monsters, full glutted from her spleen, and flung it invisibly into his mouth, which flying straight up into his head, squeezed out his eye-balls, gave him a distorted look, and half overturned his brain. Then she privately ordered two of her beloved children, Dulness and Ill-manners, closely to attend his person in all encounters. Having thus accoutred him, she vanished in a mist, and the hero perceived it was the goddess his mother."¹

Bacon upon his fall, and for a time, was doubtless somewhat staggered in his faith, but see Sonnets 119 and 123, pp. 28 and 105. Let it here be investigated as to what Othello is intended to personate and what Desdemona. From Act iv., sc. 2, p. 523, of that play we quote as follows :

“ *Oth.* Had it pleas'd Heaven
To try me with affliction ; had He rain'd
All kinds of sores and shames on my bare head ;
Steep'd me in poverty to the very lips ;
Given to captivity me and my utmost hopes ;
I should have found in some part of my soul

¹ And in the article at p. 190 we have : “ Then Pindar darted a javelin so large and weighty, that scarce a dozen cavaliers, as cavaliers are in our degenerate days, could raise it from the ground ; yet he threw it with ease, and it went, by an unerring hand, singing through the air ; nor could the modern have avoided present death if he had not luckily opposed the shield that had been given him by Venus.” Is this “ shield ” an allusion to the sonnets ? See p. 306. Bacon says : “ Pindar, in his praise of Hiero, says, with his usual elegance, that he cropped the tops of every virtue ; and methinks it would greatly contribute to the encouragement and honour of mankind, to have these tops, or utmost extents of human nature, collected from faithful history : I mean the greatest length whereto human nature of itself has ever gone, in the several endowments of body and mind.” (De Augmentis, ch. 1, Book 4, Bohn's ed., p. 152.) See p. 158, note 2.

A drop of patience : but, alas ! to make me
 A fixed figure, for the time of scorn
 To point his slow unmoving finger at ;—
 Yet could I bear that too ; well, very well :—
 But there, where I have garner'd up my heart ;
 Where either I must live, or bear no life ;
 The fountain from the which my current runs,
 Or else dries up ; to be discarded thence,
 Or keep it as a cistern, for foul toads
 To knot and gender in !—turn thy complexion there,
 Patience, thou young and rose-lipp'd cherubim ;
 Ay, there, look grim as hell !”

At p. 175 of the article under review we have : “ Here a solitary ancient, squeezed up among a whole shelf of moderns, offered fairly to dispute the case, and to prove by manifest reason that the priority was due to them from long possession, and in regard to their prudence, antiquity, and, above all, their great merits towards the moderns. But these denied the premises, and seemed very much to wonder how the ancients could pretend to insist upon their antiquity, when it was so plain (if they went to that) that the moderns were much the more ancient of the two. As for any obligations they owed to the ancients, they renounced them all. It is true, said they, we are informed some few of our party have been so mean to borrow their substance from you ; but the rest, infinitely the greater number (and especially we French and English), were so far from stooping to so base an example, that there never passed, till this very hour, six words between us.”

Here, again, we have Bacon's distinctive views as to the moderns being the true ancients, and as presented in connection with the word “ old” in Sonnet 59. See pp. 96-99.

In order to conform this article to the times it has been tampered with, and some further than by the mere substitution of names. Aside from the “ chasms” left in the manuscript, there are, we think, omissions that break relations.

We here turn to the Defoe work entitled “ The Consolidator ; or, Memoirs of Sundry Transactions from the World in the Moon,” put forth by Defoe in 1705, and where in the expression “ chair of reflection” we have an allusion, we think, to the methods of the Novum Or-

ganum. From pp. 258-67 of the work, Talboy ed., we quote as follows :

“ In examining the multitude and variety of these most admirable glasses for the assisting the optics, or indeed the formation of a new perceptive faculty, it was, you may be sure, most surprising, to find there that art had exceeded nature ; and the power of vision was assisted to that prodigious degree, as even to distinguish nonentity itself ; and in these strange engines of light it could not but be very pleasing, to distinguish plainly betwixt being and matter, and to come to a determination in the so long-canvassed dispute of substance, *vel materialis*, *vel spiritualis* ; and I can solidly affirm, that in all our contention between entity and nonentity, there is so little worth meddling with, that had we had these glasses some ages ago, we should have left troubling our heads with it.

“ I take upon me, therefore, to assure my reader, that whoever pleases to take a journey, or voyage, or flight, up to these lunar regions, as soon as ever he comes ashore there, will presently be convinced of the reasonableness of immaterial substance, and the immortality, as well as the immateriality of the soul :¹ he will no sooner look into

¹ As to Bacon's belief in the soul as an immaterial substance, see p. 261, note 3. He also says : “ For as the substance of the soul was not, in its creation, extracted or deduced from the mass of heaven and earth, but immediately inspired by God ; and as the laws of heaven and earth are the proper subjects of philosophy, no knowledge of the substance of the rational soul can be had from philosophy, but must be derived from the same Divine inspiration, whence the substance thereof originally proceeded.” (De Augmentis, Bohn ed., ch. 3, Book 4, p. 173.) In Addison, vol. iv., p. 104, we have : “ His substance is within the substance of every being, whether material or immaterial, and as intimately present to it, as that Being is to itself. It would be an imperfection in him, were he able to remove out of one place into another, or to withdraw himself from anything he has created, or from any part of that space which is diffused and spread abroad to infinity. In short, to speak of him in the language of the old philosopher, he is a Being whose centre is everywhere, and whose circumference nowhere.” And from an article beginning on p. 112 we have : “ It is, indeed, impossible for an infinite Being to remove himself from any of his creatures, but though he cannot withdraw his essence from us, which would argue an imperfection in him, he can withdraw from us all the joys and consolations of it. His presence may, perhaps, be necessary to support us in our existence ; but he may leave this our existence to itself, with regard to its happiness or misery. For in this sense, he

these explicating glasses, but he will be able to know the separate meaning of body, soul, spirit, life, motion, death, and a thousand things that wise men puzzle themselves about here, because they are not fools enough to understand. . . .

“As to seeing beyond death, all the glasses I looked into for that purpose, made but little of it; and these were the only tubes that I found defective; for here I could discern nothing but clouds, mists, and thick, dark, hazy weather; but revolving in my mind, that I had read a certain book in our own country, called *Nature*, it presently occurred, that the conclusion of it, to all such as gave themselves the trouble of making out those foolish things called inferences, was always, *Look up*; upon which, turning one of their glasses up, and erecting the point of it towards the zenith, I saw these words in the air *REVELATION* in large capital letters.

“I had like to have raised the mob upon me for looking upright with this glass; for this, they said, was prying into the mysteries of the great eye¹ of the world; that we ought to inquire no further than he has informed us, and to believe what he had left us more obscure: upon this, I laid down the glasses, and concluded, that we had Moses and the prophets, and should be never the likelier to be taught by one come from the moon.

“In short, I found, indeed, they had a great deal more knowledge of things than we in this world; and that nature, science, and reason, had obtained great improvements in the lunar world; but as to religion, it was the same, equally resigned to and concluded in faith and redemption; so I shall give the world no great information of these things.

“I come next to some other strange acquirements obtained by the helps of these glasses; and particularly for the discovering the imperceptibles of nature; such as, the

may cast us away from his presence, and take his holy spirit from us.” See also article pp. 128-32 and 143-48.

¹ Concerning this use of the word “eye,” we quote Bacon as follows: “Civil history, in general, may be divided into three particular kinds, viz., sacred, civil, and literary; the latter whereof being wanting, the history of the world appears like the statue of Polyphemus, without its eye; the part that best shows the life and spirit of the person.” (*De Augmentis*, Book 2, ch. 4, p. 84, Bohn ed.) See p. 468.

soul, thought, honesty, religion, virginity, and a hundred other nice things, too small for human discerning.

"The discoveries made by these glasses, as to the soul, are of a very diverting variety; some hieroglyphical and emblematical, and some demonstrative.

"The hieroglyphical discoveries of the soul make it appear in the image of its Maker; and the analogy is remarkable, even in the very simile; for as they represent the original¹ of nature as one great eye,² illuminating as well as discerning all things; so the soul, in its allegorical, or hieroglyphical resemblance, appears as a great eye, embracing the man, enveloping, operating, and informing every part; from whence those sort of people who we falsely call politicians,³ affecting so much to put out this great eye, by acting against their common understandings, are very aptly represented by a great eye with six or seven pair of spectacles on; not but that the eye of their souls may be clear enough of itself, as to the common understanding; but that they happen to have occasion to look sometimes so many ways at once, and to judge, conclude, and understand so many contrary ways upon one and the same thing, that they are fain to put double glasses upon their understanding, as we look at the solar eclipses, to represent them in different lights, lest their judgments

¹ To this Baconian use of the word "original" we have already called attention. Please see note 2, p. 41. We here give its technical sense of use by the master hand. Bacon says: "Next, therefore, let us seek the dignity of knowledge in its original; that is, in the attributes and acts of God, so far as they are revealed to man, and may be observed with sobriety. But here we are not to seek it by the name of learning; for all learning is knowledge acquired, but all knowledge in God is original: we must, therefore, look for it under the name of wisdom or sapience, as the Scripture calls it." (De Augmentis, Book 1, p. 54, Bohn ed.)

² From Bacon's Literary Works, vol. ii., p. 177, we quote as follows: "Sir Francis Bacon (who was always for moderate counsels) when one was speaking of such a reformation of the Church of England as would in effect make it no Church; said thus to him, *Sir, the subject we talk of is the eye of England; and if there be a speck or two in the eye, we endeavour to take them off; but he were a strange oculist who would put out the eye.*" See quotation, p. 427.

³ Bacon says: "And this holds good likewise in politics, though the glasses are different; for the divine glass in which we ought to behold ourselves is the Word of God, but the political glass is nothing else than the state of the world or times wherein we live." (De Augmentis, ch. 2, Book 8.) And as to the "politicians," see our quotation from Bacon at p. 181.

should not be wheedled into a compliance with the hellish resolutions of their wills ; and this is what I call the emblematic representation of the soul.

“ As for the demonstration of the soul’s existence, it is a plain case, by these explicative glasses, that it is : some have pretended to give us the parts ; and we have heard of chirurgeons that could read an anatomical lecture on the parts of the soul ; and these pretend it to be a creature in form, whether chameleon or salamander, authors have not determined ; nor is it completely discovered when it comes into the body, or how it goes out, or where its locality or habitation is, while it is a resident.

“ But they very aptly show it like a prince in his seat, in the middle of his palace the brain, issuing out his incessant orders¹ to innumerable troops² of nerves, sinews, muscles, tendons, veins, arteries, fibres, capilarii, and useful officers, called *organici*, who faithfully execute all the parts of sensation, locomotion, concoction, etc.; and in the hundred thousandth part of a moment, return with particular messages for information, and demand new instructions. If any part of his kingdom, the body, suffers a depredation, or an invasion of the enemy, the expresses fly to the seat of the soul, the brain, and immediately are ordered back to smart, that the body may of course send some messengers to complain ; immediately, other expresses are despatched to the tongue, with orders to cry out, that the neighbors may come in and help, or friends send for the chirurgeon. Upon the application, and a cure, all is quiet, and the same expresses are despatched to the tongue to be hush, and say no more of it till further orders. All this is as plain to be seen in these

¹ Please see p. 56, note 1. And as to the word “ belly,” there mentioned, Bacon says : “ For the rebellions of the belly are the worst. As for discontentments, they are in the body politic like two humours in the natural, which are apt to gather a preternatural heat and to inflame.” (Essay entitled “ Of Seditions and Troubles.”) And in ch. 1 of Book 2 of the *De Augmentis*, Bohn ed., p. 73, Bacon says : “ Though men judge well who assert that learning should be referred to action, yet by reposing too confidently in this opinion, they are apt to fall into the error of the ancient fable, which represented the members of the body at war with the stomach, because it alone, of all the parts of the frame, seemed to rest, and absorb all the nourishment.” And see our quotation at p. 70.

² Here we again have the Baconian use of the word “ troops.” See, please, p. 113.

engines,¹ as the moon of our world from the world in the moon.

“As the being, nature, and situation of human soul is thus spherically and mathematically discovered, I could not find any second thoughts about it in all their books, whether of their own composition or by translation; for it was the general received notion, that there could not be a greater absurdity in human knowledge, than to employ the thoughts in questioning what is as plainly known by its consequences as if seen with the eye; and that to doubt the being or extent of the soul’s operation, is to employ her against herself; and therefore, when I began to argue with my old philosopher,² against the immateriality and immortality of this mystery we call soul, he laughed at me, and told me, he found we had none of their glasses in our world; and bid me send all our sceptics, soul-sleepers, our Cowards, Bakers, Kings, and Bake-wells, up to him into the moon, if they wanted demonstrations; where, by the help of their engines, they would make it plain to them that the great eye being one vast intellect, infinite and eternal, all inferior life is a degree of himself, and as exactly represents him as one little flame the whole mass of fire;³ that it is therefore

¹ To the unusual use of this word “engine” by Bacon, and occurring through all of these writings, we have already called attention. See pp. 69 and 109. And in *Aph.* 50, Book 2 of the *Novum Organum* he says: “The third of our seven methods is referred to that great practical engine of nature, as well as of art, cold and heat.” In the *De Augmentis*, Bohn ed., Book 1, p. 57, he says: “Again, we find that many of the ancient bishops and fathers of the Church were well versed in all the learning of the heathens, insomuch that the edict of the Emperor Julian prohibiting Christians the schools and exercises, was accounted a more pernicious engine against the faith than all the sanguinary persecutions of his predecessors.” See p. 94 of this work as to Julian. In *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, p. 123, we have: “They also showed him some of the engines with which some of his servants had done wonderful things. They showed him Moses’ rod; the hammer and nail with which Jael slew Sisera; the pitchers, trumpets, and lamps too, with which Gideon put to flight the armies of Midian.” In Addison, vol. ii., p. 449, we have: “I consider the body as a system of tubes and glands, or to use a more rustic phrase a bundle of pipes and strainers, fitted to one another after so wonderful a manner, as to make a proper engine for the soul to work with.”

² As to the old philosopher, see p. 457, note 2, and Addison, p. 534, note 1.

³ At the height of the moon we, with Bacon’s views, as we have seen, reach the first rudiment of celestial flame. See p. 162.

incapable of dissolution, being like its original in duration, as well as in its powers and faculties, but that it goes and returns by emission, regression, as the great eye governs and determines; and this was plainly made out by the figure I had seen it in, viz., an eye, the exact image of its Maker: it is true, it was darkened by ignorance, folly and crime, and therefore obliged to wear spectacles; but though there were defects or interruptions in its operation, they were more in its nature; which, as it had its immediate efflux from the great eye, its return to him must partake of himself, and could not but be of a quality uncomeatable, by casualty or death.

“From this discourse we the more willingly adjourned our present thoughts, I being clearly convinced of the matter; and as for our learned doctors, with their second and third thoughts, I told him I would recommend them to the man in the moon for their illumination, which if they refused to accept, it was but just they should remain in a wood, where they are, and are like to be, puzzling themselves about demonstrations, squaring of circles, and converting oblique into right angles, to bring out a mathematical clockwork soul, that will go till the weight is down, and then stand still till they know not who must wind it up again.¹

“However, I cannot pass over a very strange and extraordinary piece of art which this old gentleman informed me of, and that was an engine to screw a man into himself: perhaps our countrymen may be at some difficulty to comprehend these things by my dull description; and to such, I cannot but recommend a journey in my engine to the moon.

“This machine that I am speaking of, contains a multitude of strange springs and screws, and a man that puts himself into it, is very insensibly carried into vast speculations, reflections, and regular debates with himself. They have a very hard name for it in those parts; but if I were to give it an English name, it should be called, the Cogitator, or the chair of reflection.²

“And first, the person that is seated here feels some pain in passing some negative springs, that are wound

¹ Here see the Swift article on the “Mechanical Operation of the Spirit.”

² Here come allusions, we think, to the *Novum Organum*.

up, effectually to shut out all injecting, disturbing thoughts, and the better to prepare him for the operation that is to follow : and this is without doubt a very rational way ; for when a man can absolutely shut out all manner of thinking, but what he is upon, he shall think the more intensely upon the one object before him.

“ This operation past, here are certain screws that draw direct lines from every angle of the engine to the brain of the man, and, at the same time, other direct lines to his eye ; at the other end of which lines, there are glasses which convey or reflect the objects the person is desirous to think upon.

“ Then the main wheels are turned, which wind up according to their several offices ; this the memory, that the understanding, a third the will, a fourth the thinking faculty ; and these being put all into regular motions, pointed by direct lines to their proper objects, and perfectly uninterrupted by the intervention of whimsey, chimera, and a thousand flattering demons that gender in the fancy, but are effectually locked out as before, assist one another to receive right notions, and form just ideas of the things they are directed to ; and from thence the man is empowered to make right conclusions, to think and act like himself, suitable to the sublime qualities his soul was originally blessed with.

“ There never was a man went into one of these thinking engines, but he came wiser out than he was before ; and I am persuaded it would be a more effectual cure to our deism, atheism, scepticism, and all other scisms, than ever the Italian’s engine for curing the gout by cutting off the toe.

“ This is a most wonderful engine, and performs admirably, and my author gave me extraordinary accounts of the good effects of it ; and I cannot but tell my reader, that our sublunar world suffers millions of inconveniences for want of this thinking engine : I have had a great many projects in my head, how to bring our people to regular thinking, but it is in vain without this engine ; and how to get the model of it I know not ; how to screw up the will, the understanding, and the rest of the powers ; how to bring the eye, the thought, the fancy and the memory, into mathematical order, and obedient to mechanic operation. Help Boyle, Norris, Newton, Manton, Hammond,

Tillotson, and all the learned race ! Help philosophy, divinity, physics, economics ! All is in vain, a mechanic chair of reflection is the only remedy that ever I found in my life for this work."

And from p. 243 we continue thus :

" This pushes him upon search after mediums for the recovery of his sight, and away he runs to school to art and science, and there he is furnished with horoscopes, microscopes, telescopes, cælescopes, money-scopes, and the d—l and all of glasses, to help and assist his moon-blind understanding. These, with wonderful skill, and ages of application, after wandering through bogs and wildernesses of guess, conjectures, supposes, calculations, and he knows not what, which he meets with in physics, politics, ethics, astronomy, mathematics, and such sort of bewildering things, bring him with vast difficulty to a little, minute spot, called Demonstration ; and as not one in ten thousand ever finds the way thither, but are lost in the tiresome uncouth journey, so they that do, it is so long before they come there, that they are grown old and good for little in the journey ; and no sooner have they obtained a glimmering of this universal eyesight, this eclaireissement general, but they die, and have hardly time to show the way to those that come after.¹

" Now as the earnest search after this thing called demonstration filled me with desires of seeing everything, so my observations of the strange multitude of mysteries I met with in all men's actions here, spurred my curiosity to examine, if the great eye of the world had no people to whom he had given a clearer eyesight, or, at least, that made a better use of it than we had here.

" If, pursuing this search, I was much delighted at my arrival into China, it cannot be thought strange ; since there we find knowledge as much advanced beyond our common pitch, as it was pretended to be derived from a more ancient original.

" We are told, that in the early age of the world, the strength of invention exceeded all that ever has been arrived to since : that we, in these latter ages, having lost all that pristine strength of reason and invention, which

¹ To preserve and bear forward these attainments to those that come after was one, if not the chief object to be accomplished by the New Atlantis.

died with the ancients in the Flood, and receiving no help from that age, have by long search arrived at several remote parts of knowledge, by the helps of reading, conversation, and experience; but that all amounts to no more than faint imitations, apings, and resemblances of what was known in those masterly ages.¹

"Now if it be true, as is hinted before, that the Chinese empire was peopled long before the flood, and that they were not destroyed in the general deluge in the days of Noah; it is no such strange thing that they should so much outdo us in this sort of eyesight we call general knowledge, since the perfections bestowed on nature, when in her youth and prime, met with no general suffocation by that calamity.

"But if I was extremely delighted with the extraordinary things I saw in those countries, you cannot but imagine I was exceedingly moved when I heard of a lunar world; and that the way was passable from these parts."²

"I had heard of a world in the moon among some of our learned philosophers, and Moore, as I have been told, had a moon in his head;³ but none of the fine pretenders, no, not bishop Wilkins, ever found mechanic engines whose motion was sufficient to attempt the passage."⁴

Here let the New Atlantis, opening with its voyage to China and Japan, be called into relation with "The Con-

¹ See these views as expressed in the New Atlantis.

² Bacon says: "The common idea that the universe is rightly divided and distinguished as it were by globes, so that there is one system of celestial and another of sublunary bodies, seems to have been introduced not without reason, if only it be held with moderation. For no doubt but that the regions above and below the lunar orb, together with the bodies contained therein, differ much and greatly. And yet this is not more certain than that the bodies of both globes have common inclinations, passions, and motions." See this article, *Phil. Works*, vol. v., p. 437, and see our quotation at p. 85; also see pp. 161-164.

³ See Bacon's allusion, p. 485, to his having a feather in his head.

⁴ Here follow strictures concerning the mentioned article by Swift entitled "The Mechanical Operation of the Spirit," and which resulted, it is said, in burning up all of the wit and fancy of the author. It is indeed a biting satire against the organization and immoralities of what in the foregoing Defoe articles is called the Hell-Fire Club, and was aimed, we think, at the Duke of Buckingham. This article it evidently was that produced the already mentioned battle in St. James' Library. *Promus*, 937. (I lost my honour in talking ill and in ill listening.)

solidator," and our thread is again connected. In the New Atlantis we may see the mentioned antediluvian state of knowledge commented upon as to China as well as to Atlantis or America, and where Bacon says :

" You shall understand (that which perhaps you will scarce think credible) that about three thousand years ago, or somewhat more, the navigation of the world (especially for remote voyages), was greater than at this day. Do not think with yourselves that I know not how much it is increased with you within these six-score years : I know it well : and yet I say greater then than now ; whether it was, that the example of the ark, that saved the remnant of men from the universal deluge, gave men confidence to adventure upon the waters ; or what it was ; but such is the truth. The Phœnicians, and especially the Tyrians, had great fleets. So had the Carthaginians, their colony, which is yet further west. Toward the east, the shipping of Egypt and of Palestina was likewise great. China also, and the great Atlantis (that you call America), which have now but junks and canoes, abounded then in tall ships. This island (as appeareth by faithful registers of those times) had then fifteen hundred strong ships, of great content. Of all this there is with you sparing memory, or none ; but we have large knowledge thereof.¹

" At that time, this land was known and frequented by the ships and vessels of all the nations before named." (Bacon's Philosophical Works, vol. iii., p. 140.) At pp. 163-64 may be seen Bacon's proposed engines even to compassing of the mechanism of flight.

And at p. 230 of " The Consolidator" we find represented such a piece of mechanism in a gigantic bird, whose numbered feathers stand for the political representatives of the nation. This bird was designed in part, we think, to concern or represent the Parliament and reign of James the First.² We, however, find some substituted and some interpolated expressions to conform it to the Defoe period. As to the subject of glasses, referred to in " The Consolidator," please see the New Atlantis, pp. 161

¹ Was this knowledge, in part, derived from ancient coin ? See, please, the " Dialogue on Medals" in Addison, vol. i., pp. 253-355, and see our quotation at p. 385.

² Was it designed to concern, in part, the mentioned confusion of Henry the Eighth at p. 221 ?

and 162. The knowledge displayed generally in the *New Atlantis* will be found spread into all of these writings, even into the travels of *Gulliver*.¹

In "*The Consolidator*," at p. 216, we may note Bacon's distinctive views as to the Copernican system in these words: "For I take the doctrine of passive obedience," etc., among the statesmen, to be like the Copernican system of the earth's motion among philosophers: which, though it be contrary to all ancient knowledge, and not capable of demonstration, yet is adhered to in general, because by this they can better solve, and give a more rational account of several dark phenomena in nature, than they could before."

Bacon in "*The Consolidator*" was religiously, we think, as he was politically in "*The Jure Divino*" and in "*The Original Power of the Collective Body of the People of England Examined and Asserted*," living a second life on second head. In "*The Jure Divino*" the folly as to the divine right of kings is indeed most graphically made manifest; and in "*The Consolidator*" all things are being subtly worked through confusion to his youthful Puritan

¹ From p. 37 of *Gulliver's Travels* we quote as follows: "In the year 1727 *Gulliver's Travels* appeared, and were hailed with a mixture of merriment and amazement, which at once stamped their popularity. Some contemporary critics accused him of having imitated Defoe; and the charge has been often repeated. No doubt, there are many striking points of resemblance between the two great fictions of these authors, especially the air of truth which the recital of minute and apparently striking circumstances gives to their narratives; but while Defoe strictly confines himself to romantic adventure, Swift takes the higher aim of philosophic satire, and seems to consider the incidents of his story as secondary considerations."

² As to "passive obedience" we, from Addison, vol. iv., p. 391, quote as follows: "Passive obedience and non-resistance are the duties of Turks and Indians, who have no laws above the will of a Grand Signior or a Mogul. The same power which those princes enjoy in their respective governments, belongs to the legislative body in our constitution; and that for the same reason; because no body of men is subject to laws, or can be controlled by them, who have the authority of making, altering, or repealing whatever laws they shall think fit. Were our legislature vested in the person of our prince, he might, doubtless, wind and turn our constitution at his pleasure; he might shape our government to his fancy. In a word, he might oppress, persecute, or destroy, and no man say to him, What dost thou?" All of these writers were, in other words, Bacon was a great theologian. See Macaulay's statement, p. 185.

views.¹ In our statement as to the masks, see what Bacon says touching the methods of Democritus in bringing forth truth out of confusion.

What Bacon himself came to think touching the abandonment of his defence may be seen in "The Jure Divino," from which we quote as follows :

" But man gives man no latitude or law,
But reigns by laws that nature never saw ;
If the exalted tyrant claims his right,
The passive slave must patiently submit ;
His wife, life, land, his sword and gun resign,
And neither must resist, nor may repine ;
If to be murder'd, must to fate give way,
And if to hang his passive self : obey.

" But O ! the Christian legion thus behaves
Why then the Christian legion must be knaves ;
Knaves to themselves and to their own defence,
And might have lived and fought in innocence ;
Ought to have lived and fought, and ought to be,
Punish'd for yielding to unjust authority ;
He that his own most just defence declines,
Felo de se, against himself combines :
For life's a debt, which no man can deny,
'Tis due to nature and posterity :
'Tis lent us to improve and propagate,
And no man may anticipate his fate :
But he betrays the high orig'nal trust,
Is to himself and family unjust ;
A traitor to the laws of common sense,
And contradicts the ends of Providence ;
Rebels against his reason and defies
The rules of life, and puts out nature's eyes."²

These thoughts and the " Serious Reflections" of Robinson Crusoe have been supposed to apply to Defoe's neglect to defend himself upon being charged with the authorship of that admirable paper entitled " The Shortest Way with the Dissenters." If he was the author had he not faith in his work ? and what defence had he ?

But again, same page :

" Nature's just argument from this is plain,
That if he must the gift of life maintain ;
With equal care he's bound to the defence,
From foreign or domestic violence :

¹ Promus, 351. (Let me back to my former life.)

² See Sonnet 88 and 113, pp. 281 and 285.

It can't be just that heaven should e'er intend,
 We should ourselves against ourselves defend :
 And then to let another hand procure,
 The mischiefs we're forbidden to endure :
 This consequence forever will be true,
 He must not suffer what he must not do ;
 And 'tis as nat'ral still, and full as just,
 That what we must not bear we may resist."¹

(*Jure Divino*, p. 18, Hazlitt's Defoe, vol. iii.)

And same article, at page 27, we have :

" The laws of nature dictate to the sense,
 That all men claim the right to self-defence ;
 And they that swear a larger debt to pay,
 Insult their Maker when they thus obey ;
 Depose the rightful rule of Providence,
 Confound their reason, and dissolve their sense :
 Subject the human nature unto rules,
 Not fit to govern any brutes but fools ;
 From this just cause it always comes to pass,
 Let the fool man be ne'er so much an ass ;
 The laws of nature ne'er so much suppress'd,
 And the blind wretch be ne'er so much a jest :
 The just dominion of eternal right,
 Dissolves the mist at last, and clears the sight ;
 Does all the sense of injury restore,
 And brings things back to where they were before ;
 The thin vain vapour which eclipsed his eyes,
 Dissolves of course, and reason naked lies :
 His judgment to its exercise retires,
 And reason all the exhalation fires ;
 The man enjoys himself,² and sees by rule,
 That all his life before he's been a fool.

" From this new life his reason dates her reign,
 And after this all new attempts are vain ;
 His native liberty he will pursue,
 The fetters of his tangled sense undo ;

¹ In the Addison article on passive obedience, in a note just referred to, we have : " But to say that we have rights which we ought not to vindicate and assert ; that liberty and property are the birthright of the English nation, but that if a prince invades them by violent and illegal methods, we may upon no pretence resist, but remain altogether passive : nay, that in such a case we must all lose our lives unjustly, rather than defend them ; this, I say, is to confound governments, and to join things together that are wholly repugnant in their natures ; since it is plain, that such a plain subjection, such an unconditional obedience, can be only due to an arbitrary prince, or to a legislative body."

² As to the expression " enjoys himself," see p. 348, note 6.

Dissolve the hated bonds of slavery,
And let his body as his mind be free."

In order to draw the mind now in the desired direction, we return to "The Consolidator," and from p. 245 quote thus: "It is not worth while to tell you this man's lunar name, or whether he had a name or no; it is plain it was a man in the moon; but all the conference I had with him was very strange."¹

And on p. 247 we have:

"From the observation of these glasses, we also drew some puns, crotchets, and conclusions.

"*First.* That the whole world has a blind side, a dark side, and a bright side, and consequently so has everybody in it.

"*Secondly.* That the dark side of affairs to-day, may be the bright side to-morrow; from whence abundance of useful morals were also raised; such as,—

"1. No man's fate is so dark, but when the sun shines upon it, it will return its rays and shine for itself.

"2. All things turn like the moon, up to-day, down to-morrow, full and change, flux and reflux.

"3. Human understanding is like the moon at the first quarter, half dark."²

"*Thirdly.* The changing sides ought not to be thought so strange, or so much condemned by mankind, having its original from the lunar influence, and governed by the powerful operation of heavenly motion.

"*Fourthly.* If there be any such thing as destiny in the world, I know nothing man is so predestinated to, as to be eternally turning round; and but that I purpose to entertain the reader with at least a whole chapter or section of the philosophy of human motion, spherically and hypercritically examined and calculated, I should enlarge upon that thought in this place.

"Having thus jumped³ in our opinions, and perfectly

¹ See Sonnet 107, p. 104.

² Bacon in connection with his idols of the tribe, of the den, of the market, of the theatre, says: "For the mind, darkened by its covering the body, is far from being a flat, equal, and clear mirror that receives and reflects the rays without mixture, but rather a magical glass, full of superstitions and apparitions." (De Augmentis, Book 5, ch. 4, Bohn ed., p. 207.)

³ In the plays we have the expressions "jump the life to come,"

satisfied ourselves with demonstration that these worlds were sisters, both in form, function, and all their capacities ; in short, a pair of moons, and a pair of worlds, equally magnetical, sympathetical, and influential ; we set up our rest as to that affair, and went forward."

In the so-called Shakespeare plays, and particularly in the play of *The Tempest*, in a *Midsummer-Night's Dream*,¹ and in *Love's Labour's Lost* let the reader note the expressions where the "moon" and "the man in the moon" are made use of ; also in the foregoing lines concerning the South Sea ; also Sonnet 107, where it is said "The Mortal Moon hath her eclipse endured." And *The Anatomy of Melancholy* opens in these words :

"Gentle reader, I presume thou wilt be very inquisitive to know what anticke or personate actor this is, that so insolently intrudes, upon this common theatre, to the world's view, arrogating another man's name, whence he is, why he doth it, and what he hath to say. Although,

"jump at this dead hour," "our inventions meet and jump in one," etc. As to the advancement of officials Bacon says : "In this three points are to be observed ; first, that the promotion be by steps, and not by jumps ; secondly, that they be accustomed to an occasional disappointment ; and thirdly, as Machiavelli well advises, that they should have ever before their eyes some ulterior object of ambition." (*Phil. Works*, vol. v., p. 47.) In *The Pilgrim's Progress* we have the expressions "I had always the luck to jump in my judgment with the present way of the times" and "yet if he jumps not with them in all things," etc., pp. 174 and 175.

¹ The play of *A Midsummer-Night's Dream* is indeed a most subtle piece of work. Concerning it see our quotation from Bacon as to Robin Goodfellow ; in other words, Bacon's friend, Faulk Gravil, at p. 460, note 1. And from Act ii., sc. 1, p. 283, of the play we quote as follows :

"*Fai.* Either I mistake your shape and making quite,
Or else you are that shrewd and knavish sprite,
Call'd Robin Goodfellow : are you not he,
That frights the maidens of the villagery ;
Skims milk ; and sometimes labours in the quern,
And bootless makes the breathless housewife churn ;
And sometime makes the drink to bear no barm ;
Misleads night-wanderers, laughing at their harm ?"

Was not this play written while Bacon was seeking the Solicitor's place, mentioned in earlier pages ? As to Theseus, the Duke, its leading character, see Bacon's *Phil. Works*, vol. iii., pp. 334 and 335.

as he said, *Primum, si noluerō, non respondebo : quis coacturus est ?* (I am a free man born, and may choose whether I will tell : who can compel me ?) if I be urged, I will as readily reply as that Egyptian in Plutarch, when a curious fellow would needs know what he had in his basket, *Quum vides velatam, quid inquiris in rem absconditam ?* It was therefore covered, because he should not know what was in it.¹ Seek not after that which is hid : if the contents please thee, *and be for thy use, suppose the man in the moon, or whom thou wilt, to be the author : I would not willingly be known.*"²

We next invite the attention of the reader to Swift's "Tale of a Tub," dedicated to Prince Posterity, and from the bookseller's dedication, p. 24, quote thus :³

"MY LORD : Although the author has written a large dedication, yet that being addressed to a prince, whom I am never likely to have the honour of being known to ; a person besides, as far as I can observe, not at all regarded, or thought on by any of our present writers ; and being wholly free from that slavery which booksellers usually lie under, to the caprice of authors, I think it a wise piece of presumption to inscribe these papers to your lordship and to implore your lordship's protection of them. God and your lordship know their faults and their merits ; for, as to my own particular,⁴ I am altogether a stranger to the matter ; and though everybody else should be equally ignorant, I do not fear the sale of the book, at all the worse, upon that score."

From "The Bookseller to the Reader," p. 28, we quote in full, thus :

"It is now six years since these papers came first to my hand, which seems to have been about a twelvemonth after they were written ; for the author tells us in his preface to the first treatise, that he has calculated it for the year 1697, and in several passages of that discourse, as well as the second, it appears they were written about that time.

"As to the author, I can give no manner of satisfaction ;

¹ Will the reader please see our quotation from Addison at p. 458.

² Promus, 352. I had rather know than be known.

³ The matter introductory to this work we regard as products prepared by Bacon's own subtle pen.

⁴ Here we again have Bacon's distinctive and unusual expression "my own particular." See p. 399, note 7.

however I am credibly informed, that this publication is without his knowledge ; for he concludes the copy is lost, having lent it to a person, since dead, and being never in possession of it after : so that, whether the work received his last hand, or whether he intended to fill up the defective places, is likely to remain a secret.¹

“ If I should go about² to tell the reader, by what accident I became master of³ these papers, it would, in this unbelieving age, pass for little more than the cant or jargon of the trade. I therefore gladly spare both him and myself so unnecessary a trouble. There yet remains a difficult question, why I published them no sooner. I forebore upon two accounts ; first, because I thought I had better work upon my own hands ; and secondly, because I was not without some hope of hearing from the author, and receiving his directions. But I have been lately alarmed with intelligence of a surreptitious copy, which a certain great wit had now polished and refined, or, as our present writers express themselves, fitted to the humour of the age ; as they have already done, with great felicity to, Don Quixote, Boccacini, La Bruyere, and other authors. However, I thought it fairer dealing to offer the

¹ These places are what are called chasms in the manuscript. See Addison's use of this word “ chasm,” vol. iv., p. 109. And as to the expression “ chasms of thought,” see vol. iii. of his works, p. 491. See also De Augmentis, Book 2, ch. 7.

² To Bacon's use of the words “ go about” we have already called attention and given examples at p. 32. And from the Merchant of Venice, Act ii., sc. 9, p. 67, we give the following :

“ And well said too ; for who shall go about
To cozen fortune, and be honourable
Without the stamp of merit !”

³ We have likewise called attention to Bacon's use of the word “ master” in the expressions “ the stomach is the master of the house,” “ opinion is the master wheel,” etc. He also used the expressions “ master of ” and “ more wit than I am master of,” etc. And in Addison, vol. iv., p. 170, we have : “ Each of which subjects requires more time to examine than I am at present master of.” And from Gulliver's Travels, by Swift, p. 169, we have : “ I one day took the freedom to tell his majesty, that the contempt he discovered towards Europe, and the rest of the world, did not seem answerable to those excellent qualities of mind that he was master of,” etc. And in the Serious Reflections of Crusoe, p. 19, we have : “ No man is answerable either to God or man for that which he never was master of.”

whole work in its naturals. If any gentleman will please to furnish me with a key, in order to explain the more difficult parts, I shall very gratefully acknowledge the favour, and print it by itself."

The preface to the work, p. 35, begins thus :

"The wits of the present age being so very numerous and penetrating, it seems the grandes of church and state begin to fall under horrible apprehensions, lest these gentlemen, during the intervals of a long peace, should find leisure to pick holes in the sides of religion and government,¹ to prevent which, there has been much thought employed of late, upon certain projects for taking off the force and edge of those formidable inquirers, from canvassing and reasoning upon such delicate points. They have at length fixed upon one, which will require some time as well as cost to perfect. Meanwhile, the danger hourly increasing, by new levies of wits, all appointed (as there is reason to fear) with pen, ink, and paper, which may, at an hour's warning, be drawn out into pamphlets, and other offensive weapons, ready for immediate execution, it was judged of absolute necessity, that some present expedient be thought on, till the main design can be brought to maturity. To this end, at a grand committee some days ago, this important discovery was made by a certain curious and refined observer—that seamen have a custom, when they meet a whale, to fling him out an empty tub by way of amusement, to divert him from laying violent hands upon the ship.² This parable was immediately mythologized; the whale was interpreted to be Hobbe's Leviathan, which tosses and plays with all schemes of religion and government, whereof a great many

¹ In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, p. 233, we have : "They then began to pick holes, as we say, in the coats of some of the godly, and that devilishly, that they may have a seeming color to throw religion (for the sake of some infirmities they have espied in them) behind their backs." See *Bacon's Letters*, vol. vii., pp. 24 and 25. In another place Bacon says : "Certain feeble and pale lamps are not to be carried round to the several corners and holes of errors and falsehood." (*Works*, vol. ii., p. 548.)

² In *Addison*, vol. iii., p. 172, we have : "The air-pump, the barometer, the quadrant, and the like inventions, were thrown out to those busy spirits, as tubs and barrels are to a whale, that he may let the ship sail on without disturbance, while he diverts himself with those innocent amusements." Let this article be read.

are hollow, and dry, and empty, and noisy, and wooden, and given to rotation : this is the leviathan, whence the terrible wits of our age are said to borrow their weapons. The ship in danger is easily understood to be its old anti-type, the commonwealth. But how to analyze the tub, was a matter of difficulty ; when, after long inquiry and debate, the literal meaning was preserved ; and it was decreed that, in order to prevent these leviathans from tossing and sporting with the commonwealth, which of itself is too apt to fluctuate, they should be diverted from that game by a Tale of a Tub.¹ And, my genius being conceived to lie not unhappily that way, I had the honour done me to be engaged in the performance.

“ This is the sole design in publishing the following treatise, which I hope will serve for an *interim* of some months to employ these unquiet spirits, till the perfecting of that great work ; into the secret of which, it is reasonable the courteous reader should have some little light.”

Our noted Baconian word “ weed,” see p. 102, should now be called into relation with this work at p. 40, where we have :

“ Besides, most of our late satirists seem to lie under a sort of mistake ; that because nettles have the prerogative to sting,² therefore all other weeds must do so too. I make not this comparison out of the least design to detract from these worthy writers ; for it is well known among mythologists, that weeds have the pre-eminence over all other vegetables ;³ and therefore the first monarch of this island, whose taste and judgment were so acute and refined, did very wisely root out the roses from the collar of the order, and plant the thistles⁴ in their stead, as the nobler flower

¹ Promus, 769. (The life of a tub [like that of Diogenes] : of those who live penuriously and ‘ far from the madding crowd.’) In earlier pages we have mentioned Bacon’s allusion to his Gorham-bury residence as his Tub, pp. 224 and 411. See, please, in this connection the Addison article on the “ tub,” vol. ii., pp. 415–19.

² See p. 301 what Bacon says as to the stinging of the nettle.

³ Touching mythology as to vegetables, see our quotation from Addison, p. 71.

⁴ As to the “ thistle” and some device connected with it, we quote Bacon as follows : “ His Lordship proceeded and said, this question was new to us, but ancient to them ; assuring us that the King did not bear in vain the device of the Thistle, with the word, *Nemo me lacessit impune* ; and that as the multiplying of his kingdoms maketh

of the two. For which reason it is conjectured by profounder antiquaries, that the satirical itch,¹ so prevalent in this part of our island, was first brought among us from beyond the Tweed. Here may it long flourish and abound : may it survive and neglect the scorn of the world, with as much ease and contempt as the world is insensible to the lashes of it."

This preface ends thus : " Yet I shall now dismiss our impatient reader from any further attendance at the porch,² and, having duly prepared his mind by a preliminary discourse, shall gladly introduce him to the sublime mysteries that ensue."

The article itself consists of Alternating Sections in which the history of the Church following the reign of Henry the Eighth is allegorically presented, this subject alternating with sections upon literature and critics, and wherein is distinguished the true ancient critic. In the author's apology for the work, p. 10, we have : " The greater part of that book was finished about thirteen years since, 1696, which is eight years before it was published. The author was then young, his invention at the height, and his reading fresh in his head. By the assistance of some thinking, and much conversation, he had endeavored to strip himself of as many real prejudices as he could ; I say real ones, because under the notion of prejudices, he knew to what dangerous heights³ some men have proceeded. Thus prepared, he thought the numerous and gross corruptions

him feel his own power, so the multiplying of our loves and affections made him to feel our griefs." (Bacon's Letters, vol. iii., p. 360.) See " thistle," p. 527, note 1.

¹ Promus, 486. Itch and ease can no man please. In Coriolanus, Act i., sc. 1, p. 159, we have :

" Mar. Thanks.—What's the matter, you dissentious rogues, That, rubbing the poor itch of your opinion, Make yourselves scabs ?"

Addison, vol. iv., p. 132, says : " Juvenal, in the motto of my paper, terms it a *cacoethes*, which is a hard word for a disease, called in plain English, the itch of writing." In Defoe we have : " O ! if such Justice could be obtained in these Parts of the World, Mr. Applebee, how effectually would it cure that Itch of Scandal, that so universally overruns the Nation !" See Lee, vol. iii., p. 122.

² This use of the word " porch" may be found in many places in Bacon's writings. And see this work, p. 461, note 1.

³ This expression, " dangerous heights," is quite common with Bacon.

in religion and learning might furnish matter for a satire¹ that would be useful and diverting. He resolved to proceed in a manner that should be altogether new, the world having been already too long nauseated with endless repetitions upon every subject. The abuses in religion, he proposed to set forth in the allegory of the coats and the three brothers, which was to make up the body of the discourse : those in learning he chose to introduce by way of digressions."

Three platforms, or wooden machines, for the display of intelligence are mentioned, to wit : the pulpit, the ladder—that is, the rostrum—and the stage. The author after describing the first two says of the last : "The last engine of orators is the stage itinerant, erected with much sagacity, *sub Jove pluvio, in triviis et quadriviis*. It is the great seminary of the two former, and its orators are sometimes preferred to the one, and sometimes to the other, in proportion to their deservings ; there being a strict and perpetual intercourse between all three."²

"From this accurate deduction it is manifest, that for obtaining attention in public there is of necessity required a superior position of place. But, although this point be generally granted, yet the cause is little agreed in ; and it seems to me that very few philosophers have fallen into a true, natural solution of this phenomenon. The deepest account, and the most fairly digested of any I have yet met with, is this ; that air being a heavy body, and therefore, according to the system of Epicurus, continually descending, must needs be more so when loaded and pressed down by words ; which are also bodies of much weight and gravity, as it is manifest from those deep impressions

¹ See ch. 2 of Book 7 of the *De Augmentis*, and where Bacon, touching a deficiency of learning as to satire, says : "But this part, touching respective cautions and vices, we set down as deficient, and will call it by the name of 'Serious Satire,' or the Treatise of the Inner Nature of Things." See our quotations at pp. 68 and 69. *Promus*, 457. (*That man [is delighted] with satires written in the manner of Bion, and with biting wit, or sarcasm.*) From Defoe's *Consolidator*, p. 226, we have : "Strange things they tell us, have been done with this calcined womb of imagination ; if the body it came from was a lyric poet, the child will be a beau, or a beauty ; if an heroic poet, he will be a bully ; if his talent was satire, he will be a philosopher." As to the word "womb," see pp. 142 and 578.

² Please see the Defoe statement concerning the stage at pp. 36 and 68.

they make and leave upon us ; and therefore must be delivered from a due altitude, or else they will neither carry a good aim, nor fall down with a sufficient force.” (Swift, p. 48.)

On p. 49 we have :

“ I confess there is something yet more refined, in the contrivance and structure of our modern theatres. For, first, the pit is sunk below the stage, with due regard to the instruction above deduced ; that, whatever weighty matter shall be delivered thence, whether it be lead or gold, may fall plump into the jaws of certain critics, as I think they are called, which stand ready opened to devour them. Then, the boxes are built round, and raised to a level with the scene, in deference to the ladies ; because, that large portion of wit, laid out in raising prurientes and protuberances, is observed to run much upon a line, and ever in a circle. The whining passions, and little starved conceits, are gently wafted up by their own extreme levity, to the middle region,¹ and there fix and are frozen by the frigid understandings of the inhabitants. Bombastry and buffoonery, by nature lofty and light, soar highest of all, and would be lost in the roof, if the prudent architect had not, with much foresight, contrived for them a fourth place, called the twelve-penny gallery, and there planted a suitable colony, who greedily intercept them in their passage.²

“ Now this physico-logical scheme of oratorical receptacles or machines contains a great mystery ; being a type, a sign, an emblem, a shadow, a symbol, bearing analogy to the spacious commonwealth of writers, and to those methods by which they must exalt themselves to a certain eminency above the inferior world.”

And on pp. 50-52 we have :

“ Under the stage itinerant are couched those productions designed for the pleasure and delight of mortal man ; such as, Six-penny-worth of Wit, Westminster Drolleries, Delightful Tales, Complete Jesters, and the like ; by

¹ Here, again, we have Bacon's distinctively used expression “ middle region.” Please see p. 43, and particularly note 2. See also pp. 24, 56, 162, 231, 381, and 388.

² And so this literature was designed to meet all wants of the lower, middle, and upper classes. “ For I have taken all knowledge to be my providence,” says Bacon. See p. 453.

which the writers of and for *Grub street*¹ have in these latter ages so nobly triumphed over Time ; have clipped his wings, pared his nails, filed his teeth, turned back his hour-glass, blunted his scythe, and drawn the hobnails out of his shoes.² It is under this class I have presumed to list my present treatise, being just come from having the honour conferred upon me to be adopted a member of that illustrious fraternity.

“ Now, I am not unaware how the productions of the Grub-street brotherhood have of late years fallen under many prejudices, nor how it has been the perpetual employment of two junior start-up societies to ridicule them and their authors, as unworthy their established post in the commonwealth of wit and learning. Their own consciences will easily inform them whom I mean ; nor has the world been so negligent a looker-on as not to observe the continual efforts made by the societies of Gresham and of Will’s to edify a name and reputation upon the ruin of OURS. And this is yet a more feeling grief to us, upon the regards of tenderness as well as of justice, when we reflect on their proceedings not only as unjust, but as ungrateful, undutiful, and unnatural. For how can it be forgot by the world or themselves, to say nothing of our own records, which are full and clear in the point, that they both are seminaries not only of our planting, but our watering too ? I am informed, our two rivals have lately made an offer to enter into the lists³ with united forces, and chal-

¹ The reader must not fail to read in this connection the telling article concerning Lord Bacon and Grub Street, found in Addison, vol. ii., pp. 172-75. We give a paragraph. “ This consideration very much comforts me, when I think of those numberless vermin that feed upon this paper, and find their substance out of it ; I mean the small wits and scribblers that every day turn a penny by nibbling at my lucubrations. This has been so advantageous to this little species of writers, that, if they do me justice, I may expect to have my statue erected in Grub Street, as being a common benefactor to that quarter.” Note in the article the expression “ Dr. B—s’s dropping his cloak ” and the expression “ under the title of Atlantis.” Read this article and the one following it in connection with Sonnets 53, 67, 68 and 78.

² Note, again, the emphasis placed upon the subject of time in all of these writings, and particularly in the sonnets.

³ Observe the use of this word “ lists ” in the plays. Bacon says : “ If, however, we have departed from the ancient and received opinions, and arrayed opponents against us, we have not affected contradiction, and therefore will not enter into the lists of conten-

lenge us to a comparison of books, both as to weight and number. In return to which, with license from our president, I humbly offer two answers ; first, we say, the proposal is like that which Archimedes made upon a smaller affair, including an impossibility in the practice ; for where can they find scales of capacity enough for the first ; or an arithmetician of capacity enough for the second ? Secondly, we are ready to accept the challenge ; but with this condition, that a third indifferent person be assigned, to whose impartial judgment it should be left to decide which society each book, treatise, or pamphlet do most properly belong to. This point, God knows, is very far from being fixed at present ; for we are ready to produce a catalogue of some thousands, which in all common justice ought to be entitled to our fraternity, but by the revolted and new-fangled writers, most perfidiously ascribed to the others."

And on pp. 52 and 53 we have :

" But the greatest main given to that general reception which the writings of our society have formerly received (next to the transitory state of all sublunary things) has been a superficial vein among many readers of the present age, who will by no means be persuaded to inspect beyond the surface and the rind of things ; whereas, wisdom is a fox, who, after long hunting will at last cost you the pains to dig out ; it is a cheese, which, by how much the richer, has the thicker, the homelier, and the coarser coat ; and whereof, to the judicious palate, the maggots¹ are the best : it is a sack-posset, wherein the deeper you go, you will find it the sweeter. Wisdom is a hen, whose cackling we must value and consider, because it is attended with an egg ;² but then lastly, it is a nut,³ which, unless you choose with

tion." (De Augmentis, ch. 6, Book 3, Bohn ed., p. 149.) And in Pericles, Act i., sc. 1, p. 289, we have :

" *Per.* Like a beld champion, I assume the lists,
Nor ask advice of any other thought
But faithfulness, and courage."

¹ See this use of the literary " maggot " by Defoe, p. 451.

² As to the hen, see *The Pilgrim's Progress*, pp. 286 and 287.

³ In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, pp. 356 and 357, we have : " While they were thus talking, they were presented with another dish, and it was a dish of nuts. (Song 6 : 11.) Then said some at the table, Nuts spoil tender teeth, especially the teeth of children. Which, when Gaius heard he said :

judgment, may cost you a tooth, and pay you with nothing but a worm. In consequence of these momentous truths, the grubæan sages have always chosen to convey their precepts and their arts shut up within the vehicles of types and fables ; which having been perhaps more careful and curious in adorning than was altogether necessary, it has fared with these vehicles, after the usual fate of coaches over-finely painted and gilt, that the transitory gazers have so dazzled their eyes and filled their imaginations with the outward lustre, as neither to regard nor consider the person or the parts of the owner within. A misfortune we undergo with somewhat less reluctancy, because it has been common to us with Pythagoras, Æsop, Socrates, and other of our predecessors.”¹ Please see the balance of this section.

As we have seen, Bacon marked out for himself the work of weeding the Church from Henry the Eighth’s confusion. And so the alternating or second section of this article opens with elements concerning the Church and its errors and divisions. This is represented by three brothers trying to conform to their father’s will, at the same time reasoning away its provisions when in conflict with their desires.

They are represented the product of one birth, the midwife being unable to tell with certainty which was the eldest. Peter is supposed to represent the Roman Church, Martin, to represent the views held by Martin Luther, and Jack those held by John Calvin. The property conferred by the will was new coats for each, which with good wear-

“ ‘ Hard texts are nuts (I will not call them cheaters),
Whose shells do keep their kernels from the eaters :
Open the shells, and you shall have the meat ;
They here are brought for you to crack and eat.’ ”

¹ Bacon says : “ And hence the ancient times are full of all kinds of fables, parables, enigmas, and similitudes ; as may appear by the numbers of Pythagoras, the enigmas of the Sphinx, the fables of Æsop, and the like. The Apophthegms too of the ancient sages commonly explained the matter by similitudes. Thus Menenius Agrippa among the Romans (a nation at that time by no means learned) quelled a sedition by a fable. In a word, as hieroglyphics were before letters, so parables were before arguments. And even now, and at all times, the force of parables is and has been excellent ; because arguments cannot be made so perspicuous nor true examples so apt.” (De Augmentis, ch. 13, Book 2.) See pp. 224 and 459, and see the Addison article on fables, p. 70.

ing, it was said, would last fresh and sound as long as they lived, and that they would grow with their bodies. The will gave instructions how to wear them. For seven years they are said to have kept their coats in good order and to have travelled through countries where they encountered giants and slew dragons. Thus they continued until they "arrived at the proper age for producing themselves," when they came up to the town and fell in love with the ladies, and especially three, which in a foot-note are said to be covetousness, ambition, and pride. These were in chief reputation. They were at the top of the fashion at court and favored the new sect, concerning which it is, at pp. 59-63, said :¹

"For about this time it happened a sect arose whose tenets obtained and spread very far, especially at the *grand monde*, and among every body of good fashion. They worshipped a sort of idol, who, as their doctrine delivered, did daily create men by a kind of manufactory operation. This idol they placed in the highest part of the house, on an altar erected about three foot ; he was shown in the posture of a Persian² emperor, sitting on a superficies, with his legs interwoven under him. This god had a goose for his ensign ; whence it is that some learned men pretend to deduce his original from Jupiter Capitolinus. At his left hand, beneath the altar, hell seemed to open and catch at the animals the idol was creating ; to prevent which, certain of his priests hourly flung in pieces of the uninformed mass, or substance, and sometimes whole limbs already enlivened, which that horrid gulf insatiably swallowed, terrible to behold. The goose³ was also held a subaltern

¹ This may be intended to represent a time prior to the establishment of the doctrine of the Roman supremacy in the Church.

² See p. 48 and p. 90, note 2.

³ As to this "goose" or goddess, we from Love's *Labour's Lost*, Act iv., sc. 3, p. 418, quote as follows :

"*Bir. [Aside.]* O ! rhymes are guards on wanton Cupid's hose :
Disfigure not his slop.

Lon.

This same shall go.—

[*Reads.*] 'Did not the heavenly rhetoric of thine eye,

'Gainst whom the world cannot hold argument,

Persuade my heart to this false perjury ?

Vows for thee broke deserve not punishment.

A woman I forswore ; but I will prove,

Thou being a goddess. I forswore not thee :

divinity or *deus minorum gentium*, before whose shrine was sacrificed that creature whose hourly food is human gore, and who is in so great renown abroad for being the delight and favorite of the Ægyptian Cercopithecus. Millions of these animals were cruelly slaughtered every day to appease the hunger of that consuming deity. The chief idol was also worshipped as the inventor of the yard and needle ; whether as the god of seamen or on account of certain other mystical attributes, has not been sufficiently cleared.

“ The worshippers of this deity had also a system of their belief, which seemed to turn upon the following fundamentals. They held the universe to be a large suit of clothes, which invests everything ; that the earth is invested by the air ; the air is invested by the stars ; and the stars are invested by the *primum mobile*. Look on this globe of earth, you will find it to be a very complete and fashionable dress. What is that which some call land but a fine coat faced with green ? or the sea, but a waistcoat of water-tabby ? Proceed to the particular works of the creation, you will find how curious journeymen Nature has been to trim up the vegetable beaux ; observe how sparkish a periwig adorns the head of a beech, and what a fine doublet of white satin is worn by the birch. To conclude from all, what is man himself but a micro-coat or rather a complete suit of clothes with all its trimmings ? ”

My vow was earthly, thou a heavenly love ;
 Thy grace being gain'd, cures all disgrace in me.
 Vows are but breath, and breath a vapour is :
 Then thou, fair sun, which on my earth doth shine,
 Exhal'st this vapour vow ; in thee it is :
 If broken, then, it is no fault of mine :
 If by me broke, what fool is not so wise,
 To lose an oath to win a paradise ?

Bir. [*Aside.*] This is the liver vein, which makes flesh a deity ;
 A green goose, a goddess : pure, pure idolatry.
 God amend us, God amend ! we are much out o' the way.”

¹ Bacon says : “ Lastly, if a man still urge, that yet it cannot be denied but that on the surface of the earth itself and the parts next thereto there are innumerable changes ; in the heavens not so ;—I would answer, first that I do not mean that they are equal in everything ; and yet, secondly, that if we take the regions which they call the upper and middle region of the air for the surface or inner coat of the heavens, in the same manner as we take this region here in which animals, plants, and minerals are contained, for the surface or

As to his body there can be no dispute ; but examine even the acquirements of his mind, you will find them all contribute in their order towards furnishing out an exact dress : to instance no more ; is not religion a cloak, honesty and pair of shoes worn out in the dirt, self-love a surt-out, vanity a shirt, and conscience a pair of breeches, which, though a cover for lewdness as well as nastiness, is easily slipped down for the service of both ?

“ These postulata being admitted, it will follow in due course of reasoning that those beings, which the world calls improperly suits of clothes, are in reality the most refined species of animals ; or, to proceed higher,¹ that they are rational creatures or men. For, is it not manifest that they live, and move, and talk, and perform all other offices of human life ? are not beauty, and wit, and mien, and breeding, their inseparable proprieties ? in short, we see nothing but them, hear nothing but them. Is it not they who walk the streets, fill up parliament-, coffee-, play-, bawdy-houses ? It is true, indeed, that these animals, which are vulgarly called suits of clothes, or dresses, do, according to certain compositions, receive different appellations. If one of them be trimmed up with a gold chain, and a red gown, and white rod, and a great horse, it is called a lord-mayor : if certain ermines and fur be placed in a certain position, we style them a judge ; and so an apt conjunction of lawn and black satin we entitle a bishop.²

outer coat of the earth, we shall find there also various and multi-form generations and changes.” See this subject, *Phil. Works*, vol. v., pp. 437-440. And further as to the word “ coat ” see vol. iii., pp 440 and 482. Much might be introduced touching the coats did space permit. Bacon says : “ Behavior seemeth to me as a garment of the mind, and to have the conditions of a garment.” (*Phil. Works*, vol. iii., p. 447.) See p. 61, note 2.

¹ “ To proceed higher ” is a Baconian expression.

² Look in the plays for these elements. Was this, or was that which follows in the text, the Pythagorean system ? or is that which follows the Baconian system. Touching the “ coats,” we from *As You Like It*, Act ii., sc. 7, p. 185, quote thus :

“ *Jaq.* O, worthy fool !—One that hath been a courtier,
And says, if ladies be but young and fair,
They have the gift to know it ; and in his brain,
Which is as dry as the remainder biscuit
After a voyage, he hath strange places cramm’d
With observation, the which he vents
In mangled forms.—O, that I were a fool !
I am ambitious for a motley coat.

“Others of these professors, though agreeing in the main system, were yet more refined upon certain branches of it ; and held that man was an animal compounded of two dresses, the natural and celestial suit, which were the body and the soul : that the soul was the outward, and the body the inward clothing ; that the latter was *ex traduce* ; but the former of daily creation and circumfusion ; this last they proved by scripture, because in them we live, and move, and have our being ; as likewise by philosophy, because they are all in all, and all in every part. Besides, said they, separate these two and you will find the body to be only a senseless unsavory carcass ; by all which it is manifest that the outward dress must needs be the soul.

“To this system of religion were tagged several subaltern doctrines, which were entertained with great vogue : as particularly the faculties of the mind were deduced by the learned among them in this manner ; embroidery was sheer wit, gold fringe was agreeable conversation, gold lace was repartee, a huge long periwig was humour, and a coat full of powder was very good raillery—all which required abundance of *finesse* and *delicatesse* to manage with advantage, as well as a strict observance after times and fashions.

“I have, with much pains and reading, collected out of ancient authors this short summary of a body of philosophy and divinity, which seems to have been composed by a vein and race of thinking very different from any other

Duke. Thou shalt have one.

Jaq.

It is my only suit ;

Provided, that you weed your better judgments
Of all opinion that grows rank in them,
That I am wise. I must have liberty
Withal, as large a charter as the wind,
To blow on whom I please ; for so fools have :
And they that are most galled with my folly,
They most must laugh. And why, sir, must they so ?
The why is plain as way to parish Church :
He, that a fool doth very wisely hit,
Doth very foolishly, although he smart,
Not to seem senseless of the bob ; if not,
The wise man's folly is anatomiz'd,
Even by the squandering glances of the fool.
Invest me in my motley ; give me leave
To speak my mind, and I will through and through
Cleanse the foul body of the infected world,
If they will patiently receive my medicine.”

systems either ancient or modern. And it was not merely to entertain or satisfy the reader's curiosity, but rather to give him light into several circumstances of the following story ; that, knowing the state of dispositions and opinions in an age so remote, he may better comprehend those great events which were the issue of them. I advise, therefore, the courteous reader to peruse with a world of application, again and again, whatever I have written upon this matter. And so leaving these broken ends, I carefully gather up the chief thread of my story and proceed.

"These opinions, therefore, were so universal, as well as the practices of them, among the refined part of court and town, that our three brother adventurers, as their circumstances then stood, were strangely at a loss. For, on the one side, the three ladies they addressed themselves to, whom we have named already, were ever at the very top of the fashion, and abhorred all that were below it but the breadth of a hair. On the other side, their father's will was very precise ; and it was the main precept in it, with the greatest penalties annexed, not to add to or diminish from their coats one thread, without a positive command in the will. Now, the coats their father had left them were, it is true, of very good cloth, and besides so neatly sewn, you would swear they were all of a piece ; but at the same time very plain, and with little or no ornament : and it happened that before they were a month in town great shoulder-knots came up—straight all the world was shoulder-knots—no approaching the ladies *ruelles* without the *quota* of shoulder-knots. That fellow, cries one, has no soul ; where is his shoulder-knot ?"

And on p. 68 it is said : "Resolved, therefore, at all hazards, to comply with the modes of the world, they concerted matters together, and agreed unanimously to lock up their father's will in a strong box, brought out of Greece or Italy, I have forgotten which, and trouble themselves no further to examine it, but only refer to its authority whenever they thought fit."

Section three again opens the subject of critics by distinguishing them into three classes. The first of these are said to be such as have "invented or drawn up rules for themselves and the world, by observing which a careful

¹ See "shoulder-knot," p. 61, note 2.

reader might be able to pronounce upon the productions of the learned, form his taste to a true relish of the sublime and the admirable, and divide every beauty of matter or of style from the corruption that apes it."

Concerning the other two species we, pp. 70 and 71, quote thus :

"Again, by the word critic have been meant the restorers of ancient learning from the worms, and graves, and dust of manuscripts.

"Now the races of those two have been for some ages utterly extinct ; and besides, to discourse any further of them would not be at all to my purpose.

"The third and noblest sort is that of the TRUE CRITIC,¹ whose original is the most ancient of all. Every true critic is a hero born, descended in a direct line from a celestial stem by Momus and Hybris, who begat Zoilus, who begat Tigellius, who begat Etcætera the elder ; who begat Bentley, and Rymer, and Wotton, and Perrault, and Dennis ; who begat Etcætera the younger.

"And these are the critics from whom the commonwealth of learning has in all ages received such immense benefits, that the gratitude of their admirers placed their origin in the Heaven, among those of Hercules, Theseus, Perseus, and other great deservers of mankind. But heroic virtue itself has not been exempt from obloquy of evil tongues. For it has been objected that those ancient heroes, famous for their combatting so many giants, and dragons, and robbers, were in their own persons a greater nuisance to mankind than any of those monsters they subdued ; and therefore, to render their obligations more complete, when all other vermin were destroyed, should, in conscience, have concluded with the same justice upon themselves. As Hercules most generously did, and upon that score procured to himself more temples and votaries than the best of his fellows.² For these reasons I suppose it is why some have conceived it would be very expedient for the public good of learning that every true

¹ As to the true critic, see Addison, vol. iv., pp. 148-53 and 221-24. In the works of Addison, as we have said, Bacon sat as his own critic, whose chair is mentioned in ch. 4 of Book 6 of the *De Augmentis*. See p. 31, note 1, and pp. 188-192.

² As in the other parts, so in Swift, do we find this same use of the word "fellows."

critic, as soon as he had finished his task assigned, should immediately deliver himself up to rats bane, or hemp, or leap from some convenient altitude; and that no man's pretensions to so illustrious a character should by any means be received before that operation were performed.

"Now, from this heavenly descent of criticism, and the close analogy it bears to heroic virtue, it is easy to assign the proper employment of a true ancient genuine critic, which is, to travel through this vast world of writings; to peruse and hunt those monstrous faults bred within them; to drag out the lurking errors, like Cacus from his den; to multiply them like Hydra's heads; and rake them together like Augeas's dung: or else drive away a sort of dangerous fowl, who have a perverse inclination to plunder the best branches of the tree of knowledge, like those stymphalian birds that eat up the fruit."

From pp. 75-77 will appear the necessities which have induced the true critic to assume a mask, cover, or weed in the performance of his work. That the words as covers may be the better cloak, offensive ones were anciently chosen, such as an "Ass," a "Serpent," etc.¹ And on p. 76 it is said: "The usual exercise of these young students was to attend constantly at theatres, and learn to spy out the worst parts of the play, whereof they were obliged carefully to take note and render a rational ac-

¹ See p. 460, note 1. In Addison, vol. iv., p. 386, we have: "In a word, your high nonsense has a majestic appearance, and wears a most tremendous garb, like Æsop's ass clothed in a lion's skin." And in the same article: "A man may as well hope to distinguish colours in the midst of darkness, as to find out what to approve and disapprove in nonsense; you may as well assault an army that is buried in intrenchments. If it affirms anything, you cannot lay hold of it; or if it denies, you cannot confute it. In a word, there are greater depths and obscurities, greater intricacies and perplexities, in an elaborate and well-written piece of nonsense, than in the most abstruse and profound tract of school-divinity." And, same article: "We meet with a low grovelling nonsense in every Grub-Street production; but I think there are none of our present writers who have hit the sublime in nonsense, besides Dr. S.—I in divinity, and the author of this letter in politics; between whose characters in their respective professions, there seems to be a very nice resemblance." See same subject, Addison, vol. v., p. 313. Thus did Bacon bring forth desired ends in both religion and government, by pitting his characters, in a measure, one against another. He says: "But I undertake these things at the risk of others," p. 181. To lessen this risk he resorted to device.

count to their tutors. Fleshed at these smaller sports, like young wolves, they grew up in time to be nimble and strong enough for hunting down large game. For it has been observed, both among ancients and moderns, that a true critic has one quality in common with a whore and an alderman, never to change his title or his nature ; that a gray critic has been certainly a green one, the perfections and acquirements of his age being only the improved talent of his youth ; like hemp, which some naturalists inform us is bad for suffocations, though taken but in the seed."

And on p. 77 we have : " Now, it is certain the institution of the true critics was of absolute necessity to the commonwealth of learning. For all human actions seem to be divided, like Themistocles and his company ; one man can fiddle, and another can make a small town a great city ; and he that cannot do either one or the other deserves to be kicked out of the creation. The avoiding of which penalty has doubtless given the first birth to the nation of critics ; and withal, an occasion for their secret detractors to report that a true critic is a sort of mechanic, set up with a stock and tools for his trade at as little expense as a tailor ; and that there is much analogy between the utensils and abilities of both : that the tailor's hell is the type of the critic's common-place book, and his wit and learning held forth by the goose ;¹ that it requires at least as many of these to the making up of one scholar, as of the others to the composition of a man ; that the valour of both is equal, and their weapons nearly of a size."

And the section ends in these words : " Thus much, I think, is sufficient to serve by way of address to my patrons, the true modern critics ; and may very well atone for my past silence, as well as that which I am likely to observe for the future. I hope I have deserved so well of their whole body as to meet with generous and tender usage at their hands. Supported by which expectation, I go on boldly to pursue those adventures already so happily begun."

¹ We thus see that the word " goose " is in this article used in a double sense : first, as applied to morals or religion ; and secondly, as to criticism, according as the sections of the article alternate from one subject to the other. The article has indeed great subtlety. See knot and thread, p. 315.

This article is said to have been composed in early years, but later was made to bend itself, as we shall claim, in the direction of Bacon's troubles, being a great satire upon James the First, upon himself, and his thwarted life aims. It is said to have been produced as we now find it when the author's original papers were out of his possession. The section on the "History of Martin" instead of falling within, is placed at the end of the article. This in earlier editions appeared under the title "What Follows Section 9 in the Manuscript," but by Swift's direction it is said to have been omitted. As its position is uncertain, we shall introduce at this juncture what we care to say of it before proceeding to Section 4. It in brief words traces the history of the Church from the reign of Henry the Eighth; in other words, from the Reformation to the reign of Charles the First, with the position which each monarch—Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, Mary, Elizabeth, James the First, and Charles the First—took concerning Peter (the Papist), Martin (the Church of England), and Jack (Calvin or the Nonconformists¹). In the reign of James the First the fear of a union between Peter and a branch of Jack's disciples, the Æolists, is said to have caused a breach in the author's methods,² and so in this section on the History of Martin, p. 159, we have: "How the author finds himself embarrassed for having introduced into his history a new sect, differing from the three he had undertaken to treat of, and how his inviolable respect to the sacred number *three* obliges him to reduce these four, as he intends to do all other things, to that number, and for that end to drop the former Martin, and to substitute in his place lady Bess's institution, which is to pass under the name of Martin in the sequel to this true history."

From the same page concerning Queen Bess, or Elizabeth, and James the First we quote thus: "How lady Bess and her physicians, being told of many defects and imperfections in their new medley dispensatory, resolved

¹ In Defoe's "Consolidator" the methods of these parties will be found elaborated. As to the methods suggested to the Crolians or Nonconformists, see pp. 337-46 of the "Consolidator," and where the Gulluvarian monarch is referred to.

² The real end aimed at by Peter and a portion of Jack's followers is represented in the article as the same.

on a further alteration, and to purge it from a great deal of Peter's trash that still remained in it, but were prevented by her death.¹ How she was succeeded by a North-country farmer, who pretended great skill in the managing of farms, though he could never govern his own poor little farm,² nor yet this large new one after he got it.³ How this new landlord, to show his valour and dexterity, fought against enchanters, weeds, giants, and wind-mills, and claimed great honour for his victories, though he oftentimes b—sh—t himself when there was no danger. How his successor, no wiser than he, occasioned great disorders by the new methods he took to manage his farms. How he attempted to establish, in his northern farm, the same dispensatory used in the southern, but miscarried because Jack's powders, pills, salves, and plasters⁴ were there in great vogue."

See this management set out in Defoe's "Consolidator."

To fully understand the situation of the shift as to parties, this "History of Martin" must be read. At this writing we have the impression, though not fully digested, that the dual character of *The Tempest* as to James and the screen Buckingham is here again attempted.

¹ Bacon's desire to do this we have considered in connection with the play of *Hamlet* in earlier pages.

² This is an allusion to James' Scotch farm before he came to his English farm or throne.

³ Touching this use of the word "farm" by Swift, we from Defoe's *Jure Divino*, Book 3. p. 17, quote as follows :

" If kings may ravish, plunder, and destroy,
Oppress the world, and all their wealth enjoy ;
May harass nations, with their breath may kill,
And limit human life by human will ;
Then nations were for misery prepared,
And God gave kings the world for their reward ;
Kings were the general farmers of the land,
Mankind their cattle,
Made for their command ;
Mere beasts of burden, couchant and supprest,
Whom God, the mighty landlord, made in jest ;
Deliver'd with possession of the farm,
And he that quite destroys them does no harm ;
They're only bound by tenor of the lease,
To leave it peopled at their own decease."

⁴ Here we again have Bacon's words "salve" or "plaster." See pp. 31, 114 and 327.

Bacon, as Martin, represents the Church, we think, and is trying to work out methods for it and for philosophy through these elements—to wit, through James and Buckingham.

We turn now to Section 4, which opens thus : “ I have now, with much pains and study, conducted the reader to a period where he must expect to hear of great revolutions. For no sooner had our learned brother, so often mentioned, got a warm house of his own over his head than he began to look big and to take mightily upon him ; insomuch that, unless the gentle reader, out of his great candour, will please a little to exalt his idea, I am afraid he will henceforth hardly know the hero of the play when he happens to meet him ; his part, his dress, and his mien being so much altered.”

On the next page, p. 80, we quote thus : “ I hope, when this treatise of mine shall be translated into foreign languages (as I may without vanity affirm that the labour of collecting, the faithfulness in recounting, and the great usefulness of the matter to the public, will amply deserve that justice), that the worthy members of the several academies abroad, especially those of France and Italy, will favorably accept these humble offers for the advancement of universal knowledge. I do also advertise the most reverend fathers, the Eastern missionaries, that I have, purely, for their sakes, made use of such words and phrases as will best admit an easy turn into any of the Oriental languages, especially the Chinese. And so I proceed with great content of mind, upon reflecting how much emolument this whole globe of the earth is likely to reap by my labours.”¹

Lord Peter, in order now to support a grandeur which he was not born to, turns projector, concerning the chief of which projects we from p. 80 quote as follows : “ The first undertaking of lord Peter was to purchase a large continent, lately said to have been discovered in *terra australis incognita*.² This tract of land he bought at a

¹ Bacon was ever desirous, as may be seen from earlier pages, that his works might be turned into foreign languages, fearing some day a bankruptcy of books. See p. 106, and see pp. 73 and 75.

² See the *Britannica* article on Australia. “ *Terra Australis incognita*” is mentioned as a possible site for the New Atlantis, as will appear in our quotation from the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, issued in 1621, p. 21. And see the expression in the Defoe article, p. 44.

very great pennyworth from the discoverers themselves (though some pretended to doubt whether they had ever been there), and then retailed it into several cantons to certain dealers, who carried over colonies, but were all shipwrecked in the voyage. Upon which lord Peter sold the said continent to other customers again, and again, and again, and again, with the same success."

We now, in connection with Bacon's proposal to James and his Parliament for revenue, and to be attained through reformed criminals, true penitents, quote from p. 84 another of these projects.

"I must needs mention one more of lord Peter's projects, which was very extraordinary, and discovered him to be master of a high reach and profound invention. Whenever it happened that any rogue of Newgate was condemned to be hanged, Peter would offer him a pardon for a certain sum of money; which, when the poor caitiff had made all shifts to scrape up and send, his lordship would return a piece of paper in this form:—

"To all mayors, sheriffs, jailors, constables, bailiffs, hangmen, etc. Whereas we are informed that A. B. remains in the hands of you, or some of you, under the sentence of death. We will and command you, upon sight hereof, to let the said prisoner depart to his own habitation, whether he stands condemned for murder, sodomy, rape, sacrilege, incest, treason, blasphemy, etc., for which this shall be your sufficient warrant; and if you fail hereof, G—d—mn you and yours to all eternity. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

"Your most humble

"Man's man,¹

"Emperor Peter.'

¹ As to this most unusual expression "man's man," we from Bacon quote as follows: "This in all humbleness, according to my vowed care and fidelity, being no man's man but your Majesty's, I present, leave, and submit to your Majesty's better judgment," etc. (Bacon's Letters, vol. v., p. 172.) What will the would-be doubting reader say as to this? And, again, Promus, 42. Man is man's god. In the Anatomy of Abuses, p. 2, we have: "But he that knoweth all things (which thing none doth but God alone) he is (as it were) a God among men." Bacon says: "A King is a mortal god on earth." And in Pericles, Act i., sc. 1, p. 291, we have: "Kings are earth's gods," etc. And in Act iii., sc. 2, p. 335, we have:

"I held it ever,

Virtue and cunning were endowments greater

“The wretches, trusting to this, lost their lives and money too.

“I desire of those whom the learned among posterity will appoint for commentators upon this elaborate treatise, that they will proceed with great caution upon certain dark points, wherein all who are not *vere adepti* may be in danger to form rash and hasty conclusions, especially in some mysterious paragraphs, where certain *arcana* are joined for brevity's sake, which in the operation must be divided. And I am certain that future sons of art will return large thanks to my memory for so grateful an *innuendo*.”

Concerning some of James' methods, including his habit of swearing, we from pp. 57 and 58 of Weldon's “Court and Character of King James” quote as follows :

“By his frequenting Sermons he appeared Religious ; yet his Tuesday Sermons if you will believe his own Countrymen, that lived in those times when they were erected, and well understood the cause of erecting them were dedicated to a strange piece of devotion.¹

“He would make a great deal too bold with God in his passion, both in cursing and swearing, and one strain higher, verging on blasphemy ; But would in his better temper say, he hoped God would not impute them as sins, and lay them to his charge, seeing they proceeded from

Than nobleness and riches : careless heirs
May the two latter darken and expend ;
But immortality attends the former,
Making a man a god. 'Tis known, I ever
Have studied physic, through which secret art,
By turning o'er authorities, I have
(Together with my practice) made familiar
To me and to my aid the blest infusions
That dwell in vegetives, in metals, stones ;
And I can speak of the disturbances
That nature works, and of her cures ; which give me
A more content in course of true delight
Than to be thirsty after tottering honour,
Or tie my treasure up in silken bags,
To please the fool and death.”

“Virtue and cunning,” or honesty and policy, were the qualities most valued by Bacon. See sheephook, p. 78. Let this play be looked at with care.

¹ Here is an allusion, we think, to what in the Defoe articles is called the “Hell-Fire Club,” or “the sweet singers of Israel.”

passion : He had need of great assurance, rather than hopes, that would make daily so bold with God.

“He was so crafty and cunning in petty things, as the circumventing any great man, the change of a Favorite, insomuch as a very wise man was wont to say, he believed him the wisest fool in Christendom, meaning him wise in small things, but a fool in weighty affairs.

“He ever desired to prefer mean men in great places, that when he turned them out again, they should have no friend to bandy with them : And besides, they were so hated by being raised from a mean estate, to over-top all men, that every one held it a pretty recreation to have them often turned out. There was in this King’s time, at one instant living, two Treasurers, three Secretaries, two Lord Keepers, two Admirals, three Lord Chief Justices, yet but one in play, therefore this King had a pretty faculty in putting out and in : By this you may perceive in what his wisdom consisted, but in great and weighty affairs, even at his wits’ end.

“He had a trick to cozen himself with bargains underhand, by taking 1000*l.* or 10,000*l.* as a bribe, when his Counsel was treating with his Customers to raise them to so much more yearly, this went into his Privy purse ; wherein he thought he had over-reached the Lords, but cozened himself ; but would as easily break the bargain upon the next offer, saying, he was mistaken and deceived, and therefore no reason he should keep the bargain ; this was often the case with the Farmers of the Customs ; He was infinitely inclined to prayer, but more out of fear than conscience, and this was the greatest blemish this King had through all his Reign, otherwise he might have been ranked with the very best of our Kings, yet sometimes would he show pretty flashes which might easily be discerned to be forced, not natural ; And being forced, could have wished, rather, it would have recoiled back to himself, then carried to that King it had concerned, lest he might have been put to the trial, to maintain his seeming valour.”

Again, Section 5 of the article concerns critics, and opens thus : “We¹ whom the world is pleased to honour with

¹ The word “we” here alludes, we judge, to the characters or parts which Bacon prepared to be played upon the stage of the

the title of modern authors, should never have been able to compass our great design of an everlasting remembrance and never dying fame, if our endeavours had not been so highly serviceable to the general good of mankind. This, O universe ! is the adventurous attempt of me thy secretary ;¹

“ ‘ —Quemvis perferre laborem
Suadet, et inducit noctes vigilare serenas.’ ”

“ To this end I have some time since, with a world of pains and art, dissected the carcass of human nature, and read many useful lectures upon the several parts, both containing and contained : till at last it smelt so strong I could preserve it no longer. Upon which I have been at a great expense to fit up all the bones with exact contexture and in due symmetry ; so that I am ready to show a very complete anatomy thereof to all curious gentlemen and others.”

Bacon's babe we have already called under review in connection with the play of Hamlet, and we purpose soon a like review as to the members and structure of his here alluded-to jointed baby of the Defoe period. See p. 92, note 4.

The subject of the Church is again taken up in Section 6. Let it be here investigated as to whether some of these later sections do not concern the Church prior to the Reformation, and through fear of detection transposed in order to break relations. This would not touch the question of the author's fears, however, as by placing Buckingham and the King in a couplet, as in the play of *The Tempest*, but concerns only those issuing the work.

At p. 571 we have seen that King James was interested

Defoe period. This was “ the adventurous attempt of me ” — Bacon — the secretary. Further on in the quotation he represents the anatomy of the work to be complete and ready for exhibition.

¹ Touching the expression “ me thy secretary,” we quote the opening words of ch. 2, Book 8 of the *De Augmentis* thus : “ The Doctrine concerning Negotiation is divided into the *Doctrine concerning Scattered Occasions*, and the *Doctrine concerning Advancement in Life* ; whereof the one comprises all variety of business, and is as it were the secretary of the whole department of life ; the other merely selects and suggests such things as relate to the improvement of a man's own fortune, and may serve each man for a private notebook or register of his own affairs.”

And note the character “ The Lord Secretary ” in Bunyan's *Holy War*.

in some strange views. We have also mentioned a fear existing as to a union between Peter and a branch of Jack's disciples known as the Æolists.

Section 6 as to this Sect. ends thus: "Sometimes they would call him Jack the bold, sometimes, Jack with a lantern; sometimes, Dutch Jack; sometimes, French Hugh; sometimes, Tom the beggar; and sometimes, Knocking Jack of the North. And it was under one, or some, or all of these appellations, which I leave the learned reader to determine, that he has given rise to the most illustrious and epidemic sect of Æolists; who, with honorable commemoration, do still acknowledge the renowned JACK for their author and founder. Of whose original, as well as principles, I am now advancing to gratify the world with a very particular account.

"—*Melleo contingens cuncta lepore.*"

The food which Bacon, like the bee, had prepared out of ancient and modern learning to sustain his mentioned anatomy is made the subject of Section 7, and which should be read in full. See Bacon's statement quoted in our preface to this work.

Bacon's allusions to Æolus and his views upon the winds, already considered, pp. 47-52, we would now call distinctly into relation with Section 8 of this article, and which opens thus:

"The learned Æolists maintain the original cause of all things to be wind, from which principle this whole universe was at first produced, and into which it must at last be resolved; that the same breath which had kindled and blew up the flame of nature should one day blow it out—¹

"—*Quod procul a nobis flectat fortuna gubernans.*"

¹ In Defoe's *Jure Divino*, p. 3, note 9, we have: "Æolus, fancied to be the son of Jupiter, by Acesta, daughter of Hippota; for most of these gods and goddesses were but Jupiter's bastards. The truth is, this Æolus was a very skilful astronomer, and particularly studious about the nature of the winds; and because from the clouds and vapours of the Æolian Islands, where this philosopher lived, he foretold storms and tempests a great while before they came, the ignorant people fancied them under his power, and that he could raise them or still them when he pleased: and from hence he was called king of the winds, and so, after his death, a god of the winds." And in the *Anatomy of Abuses*, p. 40, we have: "But if Æolus

“ This is what the *adepti* understand by their *anima mundi* ; that is to say, the spirit, or breath, or wind of the world ; for, examine the whole system by the particulars of nature, and you will find it not to be disputed. For whether you please to call the *forma informans* of man by the name of *spiritus*, *animus*, *afflatus*, or *anima* ; what are all these but several appellations for wind, which is the ruling element in every compound, and into which they all resolve upon their corruption ? Farther, what is life itself but, as it is commonly called, the breath of our nostrils ? Whence it is very justly observed by naturalists that wind still continues of great emolument in certain mysteries not to be named, giving occasion for these happy epithets of *turgidus* and *inflatus*, applied either to the *emittent* or *recipient* organs.

“ By what I have gathered out of ancient records, I find the compass of their doctrine took in two-and-thirty points, wherein it would be tedious to be very particular. However, a few of their most important precepts, deducible from it, are by no means to be omitted ; among which the following maxim was of much weight ; that since wind had the master share, as well as operation, in every compound, by consequence, those beings must be of chief excellence wherein that *primordium* appears most prominently to abound ; and therefore man is in the highest perfection of all created things, as having by the great bounty of philosophers, been endued with three distinct *animas* or winds, to which the sage *Æolists*, with much liberality, have added a fourth, of equal necessity as well as ornament with the other three ; by this *quantum principium* taking in the four corners of the world ; which gave occasion to that renowned *cabalist*, *Bumbastus*, [one of the names of Paracelsus], of placing the body of a man in due position to the four cardinal points.” See quotation from Addison, p. 458. As to Paracelsus, see Bacon’s *Phil. Works*, vol. iii., p. 486.

with his blasts, or Neptune with his storms, chance to hit upon the crazy barks of their bruised ruffs, then they go flip-flop in the wind like rags that flew abroad lying upon their shoulders like the dish-cloth of a slut. But wot you what ? the devil, as he, in the fulness of his malice, first invented these ruffs, so hath he now found out also two great pillars to bear up and maintain this his kingdom of pride withal (for the devil is king and prince over all the children of pride).’

And in the same section, p. 117, we have :

“Thus in the choice of a devil it has been the usual method of mankind to single out some being, either in act or in vision, which was in most antipathy to the god they had framed. Thus also the sect of *Æolists* possessed themselves with a dread and horror and hatred of two malignant natures, betwixt whom and the deities they adored perpetual enmity was established. The first of these was the chameleon,¹ sworn foe to inspiration, who in scorn devoured large influences of their gods, without refunding the smallest blast by eructation. The other was a huge terrible monster called *Moulinavent*, who, with four strong arms, waged eternal battle with all their divinities, dexterously turning to avoid their blows, and repay them with interest.

“Thus furnished and set out with gods, as well as devils, was the renowned sect of *Æolists*, which makes at this day so illustrious a figure in the world, and whereof that polite nation of *Laplanders*² are, beyond all doubt, a most authentic branch ; of whom I therefore cannot, without injustice, here omit to make honorable mention ; since they appear to be so closely allied in point of interest, as well as inclinations, with their brother *Æolists* among us, as not only to buy their winds by wholesale from the same merchants,³ but also to retail them after the same rate and method, and to customers much alike.

¹ *Promus*, 794. *Chameleon*, *Proteus*, *Euripus*. (*Chameleon*, *Eras. Ad.*, 418, 709 ; *Proteus*, 413, 709 ; *Euripus*, 312.) In the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act ii., sc. 2, p. 139, we have :

“*Speed*. Ay, but hearken, sir : though the chameleon Love can feed on the air, I am one that am nourish’d by my victuals, and would fain have meat : O ! be not like your mistress ; be moved, be moved.”

In *Hamlet*, Act iii., sc. 2, p. 286, we have :

“*King*. How fares our cousin Hamlet ?

Ham. Excellent, i’ faith ; of the chameleon’s dish. I eat the air, promise-cramm’d. You cannot feed capons so.” See p. 204.

The chameleon and its habits are described in Sub. 360 of *Bacon’s Natural History*. And see p. 35.

² See the *Laplander’s* gifts described in *Defoe’s* “*Duncan Campbell*.”

³ *Bacon* applies the word merchants to the winds, as we have seen, and speaks of their being “traders in vapours.” See p. 49, note 3.

"Now, whether this system here delivered was wholly compiled by Jack, or, as some writers believe, rather copied, from the original at Delphos, with certain additions and emendations, suited to the times and circumstances, I shall not absolutely determine. This I may affirm, that Jack gave it at least a new turn, and formed it into the same dress and model as it lies deduced by me."¹

We proceed next to Section 9, which alludes, we think, to the troubles of *The Tempest*. We regard it a most biting satire by Bacon upon himself in thinking to be able to compass his religious and philosophic methods through such a king as he found James to be. Beginning at p. 126, we quote the following :

"But when a man's fancy gets astride on his reason ; when imagination is at cuffs with the senses ; and common understanding, as well as common sense, is kicked out of doors ; the first proselyte he makes is himself ; and when that is once compassed the difficulty is not so great in bringing over others ; a strong delusion always operating from without as vigorously as from within. For cant and vision are to the ear and the eye the same that tickling is to the touch. Those entertainments and pleasures we most value in life are such as dupe and play the wag with the senses. For if we take an examination of what is generally understood by happiness, as it has respect either to the understanding or the senses, we shall find all its properties and adjuncts will herd under this short definition, that it is a perpetual possession of being well deceived. And first, with relation to the mind or understanding, it is manifest what mighty advantages fiction has over truth ; and the reason is just at our elbow, because imagination can build nobler scenes, and produce more wonderful revolutions, than fortune or nature will be at the expense to furnish. Nor is mankind so much to blame in his choice thus determining him, if we consider that the debate merely lies between things past and things conceived : and so the question is only this ; whether things that have place in the imagination may not as properly be said to

¹ See the *Britannica* article on John Calvin, of whom Bacon was doubtless in early years a great student. He was three years of age at Calvin's death. Calvin at one time had much interest in Ochino, whose views have passed somewhat under review. See p. 125.

exist as those that are seated in the memory ; which may be justly held in the affirmative, and very much to the advantage of the former, since this is acknowledged to be the womb of things, and the other allowed to be no more than the grave.¹ Again, if we take this definition of happiness, and examine it with reference to the senses, it will be acknowledged wonderfully adapt. How fading and insipid do all objects accost us that are not conveyed in the vehicle of delusion ! how shrunk is everything as it appears in the glass of nature ! so that if it were not for the assistance of artificial mediums, false lights, refracted angles, varnish and tinsel, there would be a mighty level in the felicity of enjoyments of mortal men. If this were seriously considered by the world, as I have a certain reason to suspect it hardly will, men would no longer reckon among their high points of wisdom the art of exposing weak sides and publishing infirmities ; an employment, in my opinion, neither better nor worse than that of unmasking, which, I think, has never been allowed fair usage either in the world or in the playhouse.

“In the proportion that credulity is a more peaceful possession of the mind than curiosity, so far preferable is that wisdom which converses about the surface to that pretended philosophy which enters into the depths of things, and then comes gravely back with informations and discoveries that in the inside they are good for nothing. The two senses to which all objects first address themselves are the sight and the touch ; these never examine farther than the colour, the shape, the size, and whatever other qualities dwell or are drawn by art upon the outward of bodies ; and then comes reason officiously with tools for cutting, and opening, and mangling, and piercing, offering to demonstrate that they are not of the same consistence quite through.² Now I take all this to be the last degree of perverting nature ; one of whose eternal laws it is, to put her best furniture forward. And therefore, in order to save the charges of all such expensive anatomy

¹ We here again have a Baconian use of the word “womb,” and as applied to the imagination. That which is born in the imagination is entombed in memory (pp. 83, 134, 258).

² Bacon was himself this great anatomist, in the plays, the *Anatomy of Abuses*, the *Anatomy of Melancholy*, etc., and the world had given him no thanks.

for the time to come, I do here think fit to inform the reader that in such conclusions as these reason is certainly in the right; and that, in most corporeal things which have fallen under my cognizance, the outside has been infinitely preferable to the in: wherefore I have been farther convinced from some late experiments. Last week I saw a woman flayed, and you will hardly believe how much it altered her person for the worse. Yesterday I ordered the carcass of a beau to be stripped in my presence; when we were all amazed to find so many unsuspected faults under one suit of clothes. Then I laid open his brain, his heart, and his spleen: but I plainly perceived at every operation, that the farther we proceeded we found the defects increase upon us in number and bulk: from all which, I justly formed this conclusion to myself, that whatever philosopher or projector can find out an art to solder and patch up the flaws and imperfections of nature will deserve much better of mankind, and teach us a more useful science, than that so much in present esteem, of widening and exposing them, like him who held anatomy to be the ultimate end of physic. And he whose fortunes and dispositions have placed him in a convenient station to enjoy the fruits of this noble art; he that can with Epicurus, content his ideas with the films and images that fly off upon his senses from the superficies of things; such a man, truly wise, creams off nature, leaving the sour and the dregs for philosophy and reason to lap up. This is the sublime and refined point of felicity, called the possession of being well deceived; the serene, peaceful state of being a fool among knaves."

Let the word "feather" as used in this section be called into relation with Bacon's already quoted notes, and wherein he says he is charged with having a feather in his head. Note also the sentence "Now, is the reader exceedingly curious to learn whence this vapour took its rise, which had so long set the nation at a gaze? what secret wheel, what hidden spring, could put into motion so wonderful an engine?" Also: "For to speak a bold truth, it is a fatal miscarriage so ill to order affairs as to pass for a fool in one company, when in another you might be treated as a philosopher. Which I desire some certain gentlemen of my acquaintance to lay up in their hearts as a very seasonable *innuendo*."

Note also in this section the Baconian use of such words as distemper, madness, kindles, vapour, middle region, mist, comely, face of nature, various original, universal monarchy, adust,¹ for that time, fortuitous concourse, all men's opinions,² tie, miscarriage, fitter, narrowly, "pattern of human learning," "will herd under that definition," "hatcher and breeder of business." Note in the article concerning the king or prince the expression "the reformed religion, which had once been his own," also the allusion to Bacon's Holy War in the words, "Some again, of a deeper sagacity, sent him into Asia to subdue the Turk and recover Palestine."

But it may be asked, What is to be attained by showing the authorship of this literature? This : The relations once known which gave it birth, light it as an entire structure, and show it the greatest literary carcass ever framed by mortal man. It will also be found to contain material which will "set the ants," the race, "anew at work."

We turn next to Section 10 and quote as follows :

"In the mean time I do here give this public notice, that my resolutions are to circumscribe within this discourse the whole stock of matter I have been so many years providing. Since my vein is once opened, I am content to exhaust it all at a running, for the peculiar advantage of my dear country, and for the universal benefit of mankind. Therefore, hospitably considering the number of my guests, they shall have my whole entertainment at a meal ; and I scorn to set up the leavings in the cupboard. What the guests cannot eat may be given to the poor ; and the dogs under the table may gnaw the bones. This I understand for a more generous proceeding than to turn

¹ This word will be found used several times by Bacon in his Natural History, and in his essay entitled "Of Ambition" he says : "But if it be stopped, and cannot have its way, it becomes adust and thereby malign and venomous."

² Throughout these entire writings this form of expression, "men's opinions," "men's minds," etc., is of universal use, and for which Addison in a foot-note to p. 171 of vol. iii. is thus criticised. "*Men's minds.*] *Men's* for the genitive plural of *man*, is not allowable.—We say, a *man's mind*, but we can only say, *the minds of men*, as Mr. Addison should have done here." These works are one in their errors as in every other sense. And this though Mr. Addison's literary period was one hundred years later.

the company's stomach, by inviting them again to-morrow to a scurvy meal of scraps.²

“ If the reader fairly considers the strength of what I have advanced in the foregoing section, I am convinced it will produce a wonderful revolution in his notions and opinions ; and he will be abundantly better prepared to receive and to relish the concluding part of this miraculous treatise. Readers may be divided into three classes—the superficial, the ignorant, and the learned : and I have with much felicity fitted my pen to the genius and advantage of each. The superficial reader will be strangely provoked to laughter ; which clears the breast and lungs, is sovereign against the spleen, and the most innocent of all diuretics. The ignorant reader, between whom and the former the distinction is extremely nice, will find himself disposed to stare ; which is an admirable remedy for ill eyes, serves to raise and enliven the spirits, and wonderfully helps perspiration. But the reader truly learned, chiefly for whose benefit I wake when others sleep, and sleep when others wake, will here find sufficient matter to employ his speculations for the rest of his life. It were much to be wished, and I do here humbly propose for an experiment, that every prince in Christendom will take seven of the deepest scholars in his dominions, and shut them up close for seven years in seven chambers, with a command to write seven ample commentaries on this comprehensive discourse. I

¹ As to literary “ scraps,” we from *Love's Labour's Lost*, Act v., sc. 1, p. 433, quote as follows :

“ *Hol.* Most military sir, salutation.

Moth. [*To Cost.*] They have been at a great feast of languages, and stolen the scraps.

Cost. O ! they have lived long in the alms-basket of words. I marvel thy master hath not eaten thee for a word ; for thou art not so long by the head as homorificabilitudininitibus : thou art easier swallowed than a flap-dragon.

Moth. Peace ! the peal begins.

Arm. [*To Hol.*] Monsieur, are you not letter'd ?

Moth. Yes, yes ; he teaches boys the horn-book :

What is a, b, spelt backwards with a horn on his head ?”

Bacon in ch. 2 of Book 6 of the *De Augmentis*, and which concerns the wisdom of transmission, says : “ Lastly, as aphorisms exhibit only certain scraps and fragments of the sciences they carry with them an invention to others for adding and lending their assistance, whereas method dresses up the sciences into bodies, and make men imagine they have them complete.” (Bohn ed., p. 229.)

shall venture to affirm that, whatever difference may be found in their several conjectures, they will be all, without the least distortion, manifestly deducible from the text. Meanwhile, it is my earnest request that so useful an undertaking may be entered upon, if their majesties please, with all convenient speed ; because I have a strong inclination, before I leave the world, to taste a blessing which we mysterious writers can seldom reach till we have gotten into our graves : whether it is, that fame, being a fruit grafted on the body, can hardly grow, and much less ripen, till the stock is in the earth ; or whether she be a bird of prey, and is lured, among the rest, to pursue after the scent of a carcass ; or whether she conceives her trumpet sounds best and farthest when she stands on a tomb, by the advantage of a rising ground and the echo of a hollow vault.

“ It is true, indeed, the republic of dark authors,¹ after they once found out this excellent expedient of dying, have been peculiarly happy in the variety as well as extent of their reputation. For night being the universal mother of things,² wise philosophers hold all writings to be fruitful in the proportion that they are dark ; and therefore, the true illuminated (that is to say, the darkest of all) have met with such numberless commentators, whose scholastic midwifery³ has delivered them of meanings that the authors themselves perhaps never conceived, and yet may very justly be allowed the lawful parents of them ; the words of such writers being like seed, which, however scattered at random, when they light upon a fruitful ground, will multiply far beyond either the hopes or imagination of the sower.”⁴

¹ Bacon in ch. 2 of Book 6 of the *De Augmentis*, and which concerns the wisdom of transmission, says : “ This concealed or enigmatical method was itself also employed by the ancients with prudence and judgment, but is of late dishonoured by many, who use it as a false light to set off their counterfeit wares. The design of it seems to have been, by the veil of tradition to keep the vulgar from the secrets of sciences, and to admit only such as had, by the help of a master, attained to the interpretation of dark sayings, or were able, by the strength of their own genius, to enter within the veil.” (Bohn ed., p. 228.) And see our quotation from Addison, p. 456.

² See these views, p. 133.

³ As to this distinctive use of the word “ midwife” by Swift, see its use by both Bacon and Defoe at p. 20.

⁴ Bacon says : “ For although depth of secrecy and concealment

Section 11 opens thus :

"After so wide a compass as I have wandered, I do now gladly overtake and close in with my subject, and shall henceforth hold on with it an even pace to the end of my journey, except some beautiful prospect appears within sight of my way ; whereof though at present I have neither warning nor expectation, yet upon such an accident, come when it will, I shall beg my reader's favour and company, allowing me to conduct him through it along with myself."¹

This section concerns Jack and the Æolists. Was James the First either inclined to or a believer in this sect? In connection with this thought, we from p. 144 quote as follows :

"He had a tongue so musculous and subtle, that he could twist it up into his nose, and deliver a strange kind of speech from thence." He was also the first in these kingdoms who began to improve the Spanish accomplishment of braying ; and having large ears, perpetually exposed and erected, he carried his art to such a perfection, that it was a point of great difficulty to distinguish, either by the view or the sound, between the original and the copy."

Again, p. 146 : "It was highly worth observing the singular effects of that aversion or antipathy which Jack and his brother Peter seemed, even to an affectation, to bear against each other. Peter had lately done some rogueries that forced him to abscond, and he seldom ventured to stir out before night, for fear of bailiffs. Their lodgings were at the two most distant parts of the town from each other ; and whenever their occasions or humours called them abroad, they would make choice of the oddest

of designs, and that manner of action, which effects everything by dark arts and methods (or *menées sourdes* as the French call them) be both useful and admirable ; yet frequently, as is said, dissimulation breeds errors which ensnare the dissembler himself." (De Augmentis, ch. 2, Book 8.)

¹ There are reasons to think that Lord Bacon was, from early years, preparing to re-enact his life incidents upon posterity's stage. Had it not been for his fall, other methods were intended for the laudation of his Shakespeare Mask. See p. 114.

² In Weldon's "Court and Character of King James," p. 55, it is said that "his beard was very thin ; his tongue too large for his mouth, which ever made him drink very uncomely, as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup of each side his mouth."

unlikely times, and most uncouth rounds they could invent, that they might be sure to avoid one another ; yet, after all this, it was their perpetual fortune to meet. The reason of which is easy enough to apprehend ; for, the frenzy and the spleen of both having the same foundation, we may look upon them as two pair of compasses, equally extended, and the fixed foot of each remaining in the same centre, which, though moving contrary ways at first, will be sure to encounter somewhere or other in the circumference."

The section ends thus :

"Now, he that will examine human nature with circumspection enough may discover several handles,¹ whereof the six senses affords one a-piece, besides a great number that are screwed to the passions, and some few riveted to the intellect."² Among these last, curiosity is one, and of all others, affords the firmest grasp : curiosity, that spur in the side, that bridle³ in the mouth, that ring in the nose, of a lazy and impatient and a grunting reader. By this handle it is, that an author should seize upon his readers ; which as soon as he has once compassed, all resistance and struggling are in vain ; and they become his prisoners as close as he pleases, till weariness or dulness force him to let go his grip.

"And therefore, I, the author of this miraculous treatise, having hitherto, beyond expectation, maintained, by the aforesaid handle, a firm hold upon my gentle readers, it is with great reluctance that I am at length compelled to remit my grasp ; leaving them, in the perusal of what remains, to that natural oscitancy inherent in the tribe. I can only assure thee, courteous reader, for both our comforts, that my concern is altogether equal to thine for my unhappiness in losing, or mislaying among my papers, the remaining part of these memoirs ; which consisted of accidents, turns, and adventures, both new, agreeable, and

¹ We here again have this distinctively used Baconian word "handle," and now found in Swift.

² It may be seen at p. 138 that Bacon classes sex as the sixth sense.

³ Here, again, we have Bacon's "spur" and "bridle," and spread everywhere in the plays. Bacon says : "So that I conclude, that if your Majesty take a profit of them in the *interim* (considering you refuse profit from the old company), it will be both spur and bridle to them, to make them pace aright to your Majesty's end." (Bacon's Letters, vol. v., p. 172. And see p. 142.)

surprising ; and therefore calculated, in all due points, to the delicate taste of this our noble age. But, alas ! with my utmost endeavours, I have been able only to retain a few of the heads. Under which, there was a full account how Peter got a protection out of the King's bench ; and of a reconcilment between Jack and him, upon a design that they had, in a certain rainy night, to trepan brother Martin into a sponging-house, and there strip him to the skin. How Martin, with much ado, showed them both a fair pair of heels. How a new warrant came out against Peter ; upon which, how Jack left him in the lurch, stole his protection, and made use of it himself. How Jack's tatters came into fashion in court and city ; how he got upon a great horse, and eat custard. But the particulars of all these, with several others which have now slid out of my memory, are lost beyond all hopes of recovery. For which misfortune, leaving my readers to condole with each other, as far as they shall find it to agree with their several constitutions, but conjuring them by all the friendship that has passed between us, from the title-page to this, not to proceed so far as to injure their healths for an accident past remedy—I now go on to the ceremonial part of an accomplished writer, and therefore, by a courtly modern, least of all others to be omitted."

Note in this section the expressions "none of my case," "noble matter," "blow of fate," "fell to prayers," "ambient heat," "feared no colours," "of this more hereafter." See as to the last expression p. 395.

In the foregoing quotation the use of the word "handle," as a something for mind or memory to take hold of, is distinctly Baconian. See *Novum Organum*, Aph. 26, Book 2. We quote a part, thus : "Other instances afford the following species : namely, that a multitude of circumstances or handles assist the memory, such as writing in paragraphs, reading aloud, or recitation. Lastly, other instances afford still another species ; that the things we anticipate, and which rouse our attention, are more easily remembered than transient events ; as if you read any work twenty times over, you will not learn it by heart so readily as if you were to read it but ten times, trying each time to repeat it, and when your memory fails you looking into the book. There are, therefore, six lesser forms, as it were, of things which assist the memory : namely—1, the

separation of infinity ; 2, the connection of the mind with the senses ; 3, the impression in strong passion ; 4, the impression on the mind when pure ; 5, the multitude of handles ;¹ 6, anticipation."

Among the concluding remarks of the article we have : "In my disposeure of employments of the brain I have thought fit to make invention the master,² and to give method and reason the office of its lackeys.³ The cause of this distinction was, from observing it my peculiar case to be often under a temptation of being witty, upon occasion where I could be neither wise, nor sound, nor anything to the matter in hand. And I am too much a servant of the modern way to neglect any such opportunities, whatever pains or improprieties I may be at to introduce them."

This great satire is brought to a close under the title "A Project for the Universal Benefit of Mankind," and which we regard as containing allusions to the ruin of Bacon's great scheme concerning his Solomon's House of the New Atlantis. It is as follows :

"The author, having laboured so long, and done so much, to serve and instruct the public, without any advantage to himself, has at last thought of a project which will tend to the great benefit of all mankind and produce a handsome revenue to the author. He intends to print by subscription, in ninety-six large volumes in *folio*, an exact description of *Terra Australis incognita*,⁴ collected with great care and pains from 999 learned and pious authors of undoubted veracity. The whole work, illustrated with maps and cuts agreeable to the subject, and done by the best masters, will cost but one guinea each volume to subscribers ; one guinea to be paid in advance, and afterwards

¹ See pp. 110 and 396, note 3, and concerning memory and the note-book, see *De Augmentis*, ch. 5, Book 5, Bohn ed., p. 212, and where we have : "But among all the methods and commonplace books we have hitherto seen, there is not one of value ; as savoring of the school rather than the world, and using rather vulgar and pedantical divisions than such as any way penetrate things." See *Sonnet* 77, p. 190. And see p. 135, note 1, and 561, note 2.

² The word "master" will be found a master word with Bacon ; and we find him using the expressions "master wheel," "master passion," "than I am master of," and "the stomach is master of the house," etc. See p. 550, note 3.

³ This is just what is done in the play of *The Tempest*, Ariel being the master among his fellows.

⁴ See pp. 21, 23, 44, 478, and 569.

a guinea on receiving each volume, except the last. This work will be of great use for all men, and necessary for all families, because it contains exact accounts of all the provinces, colonies, and mansions of that spacious country, where, by a general doom, all transgressors of the law are to be transported; and every one having this work may choose out the fittest and best place for himself, there being enough for all, so as every one shall be fully satisfied.

“The author supposes that one copy of this work will be bought at the public charge, or out of the parish rates, for every parish church in the three kingdoms, and in all the dominions thereunto belonging; and that every family that can command ten pounds per annum, even though retrenched from less necessary expenses, will subscribe for one. He does not think of giving out above nine volumes yearly; and considering the number requisite, he intends to print at least 100,000 for the first edition. He is to print proposals against next term, with a specimen and a curious map of the capital city, with its twelve gates, from a known author, who took an exact survey of it in a dream. Considering the great care and pains of the author, and the usefulness of the work, he hopes every one will be ready, for their own good as well as his, to contribute cheerfully to it, and not grudge him the profit he may have by it, especially if it comes to a third or fourth edition, as he expects it will very soon.

“He doubts not but it will be translated into foreign languages by most nations of Europe, as well as of Asia and Africa, being of as great use to all those nations as to his own; for this reason, he designs to procure patents and privileges for securing the whole benefit to himself from all those different princes and states; and hopes to see many millions of this great work printed, in those different countries and languages, before his death.

“After this business is pretty well established, he has promised to put a friend on another project, almost as good as this, by establishing insurance-offices everywhere for securing people from shipwreck and several other accidents in their voyage to this country; and these offices shall furnish, at a certain rate, pilots well versed in the route, and that know all the rocks, shelves, quicksands, etc., that such pilgrims and travellers may be exposed to.¹ Of these

¹ He here alludes, we think, to his own shipwrecked enterprise

he knows a great number ready instructed in most countries : but the whole scheme of this matter he is to draw up at large and communicate to his friend.

“ Here ends the manuscript.”

Portions of this work we regard as written while Bacon was staggering under the bitterness of his fall. We think it had earlier taken shape as the head centre to his literary scheme, but was broken and diverted by the mentioned event, and which but renders it the more difficult of interpretation. What we unhesitatingly claim is, that it is a product of Bacon's pen, though we may not have correctly outlined it.¹ The work is couched chiefly in the reign of James the First. And why should Jonathan Swift so linger here ? This author, whose eye is bent so sharply for his work upon posterity, is at the same time one whose whole attributed writings might be compassed in a single moderate sized volume ; and the only piece issued under his hand is an article of not above a dozen pages, entitled “ A Proposal for Giving Badges to the Beggars in All the Parishes of Dublin,” and which is, we judge, but a garbled Baconian piece. We think, however, that much of the work designed for the part played by him became attributed to others in the great scheme.

As to the location of Bacon's Poetical Commonwealth, it is, in our quotation at p. 21, said : “ The longitude, for some reasons, I will conceal.”²

As to the “ longitude,” we now from Addison, vol. vi.,

and to an intention of preparing a warning to others. Was The Pilgrim's Progress an attempt in this direction ?

¹ The work, aside from some tampering with the section entitled “ The History of Martin (continued),” and some few changes in names and dates, contains very few interpolations, we think.

² Bacon in ch. 2 of Book 6 of the *De Augmentis*, and which concerns the transmission of writings to posterity, says : “ Certainly sciences, if a man rightly observe it, have, besides profundity, two other dimensions, namely latitude and longitude. The profundity relates to their truth and reality ; for it is they which give solidity. As to the other two, the latitude may be accounted and computed from one science to another ; the longitude from the highest proposition to the lowest in the same science. The one contains the true bounds and limits of sciences, that the propositions thereof may be handled properly, not promiscuously, and repetition, excursion, and all confusion may be avoided ; the other prescribes the rule how far and to what degree of particularity the propositions of a science should be deduced.” (Phil. Works, vol. iv., p. 453.)

p. 681, quote as follows, Bacon claiming the right, as we have seen, to make merry with his own matters :

“ Ode for Music on the Longitude.
Recitativo.

“ The longitude mist on
By wicked Will. Whiston,
And not better hit on
By good Master Ditton.
Ritornello.

“ So Ditton and Whiston
May both be bep—st on ;
And Whiston and Ditton
May both be besh—t on.

“ Sing Ditton
Besh—t on ;
And Whiston
Bep—st on.

“ Sing Ditton and Whiston,
And Whiston and Ditton,
Besh—t and bep—st on,
Bep—st and besh—t on.

Da Capo.”

See also the Addison article on the “longitude,” and where these parties are referred to, vol. iv., p. 198. We give the first half of the article thus :

“I have lately entertained my reader with two or three letters from a traveller, and may possibly, in some of my future papers, oblige him with more from the same hand. The following one comes from a projector, which is a sort of correspondent as diverting as a traveller : his subject having the same grace and novelty to recommend it, and being equally adapted to the curiosity of the reader. For my own part, I have always had a particular fondness for a project, and may say, without vanity, that I have a pretty tolerable genius that way myself, I could mention some which I have brought to maturity, others which have miscarried, and many more which I have yet by me, and are to take their fate in the world when I see a proper juncture. I had a hand in the land-bank, and was consulted with upon the reformation of manners. I have had

several designs upon the Thames and the New River,¹ not to mention my refinements upon lotteries and insurances, and that never-to-be-forgotten project, which if it had succeeded to my wishes, would have made gold as plentiful in this nation as tin and copper. If my countrymen have not reaped any advantage from these my designs, it was not for want of any good will towards them.² They are obliged to me for my kind intentions as much as if they had taken effect. Projects are of a two-fold nature : the first arises from public-spirited persons, in which number I declare myself : the other proceeding from a regard to our private interest, to which nature is that in the following letter.³

“ ‘ Sir, A man of your reading knows very well that there were a set of men, in old Rome, called by the name of Nomenclators, that is, in English, men who could call every one by his name. When a great man stood for any public office, as that of a tribune, a consul, or a censor, he had always one of these Nomenclators at his elbow, who whispered in his ear the name of every one he met with, and by that means enabled him to salute every Roman citizen by his name when he asked him for his vote. To come to my purpose, I have with much pains and assiduity qualified myself for a Nomenclator to this great city, and shall gladly enter upon my office as soon as I meet with suitable encouragement. I will let myself out by the week to any curious gentleman or foreigner. If he takes me with him in a coach to the ring, I will undertake to teach him, in two or three evenings, the names of the most celebrated persons who frequent that place. If he plants me

¹ As to this “ New River,” we from the play of Henry V., Act iv., sc. 7, p. 559, quote as follows :

“ *Flu.* I think it is in Macedon, where Alexander is born. I tell you, captain,—if you look in the maps of the ’orld, I warrant you shall find, in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth, that the situations, look you, is both alike. There is a river in Macedon, and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth : it is call’d Wye at Monmouth, but it is out of my prains, what is the name of the other river : but ’tis all one ; ’tis alike as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both. If you mark Alexander’s life well, Harry of Monmouth’s life is come after it indifferent well, for there is figures in all things.”

² Promus, 988. (*In great matters it is enough even to have villed to achieve them.* ’Tis not in mortals to command success.)

³ See Bacon’s statement as to the word “ secretary,” p. 573, note 1.

by his side in the pit, I will call out to him, in the same manner, the whole circle of beauties that are disposed among the boxes, and, at the same time, point out to him the persons who ogle them from their respective stations. I need not tell you that I may be of the same use in any other public assembly. Nor do I only profess the teaching of names, but of things. Upon the sight of a reigning beauty, I shall mention her admirers, and discover her gallantries, if they are of public notoriety. I shall likewise mark out every toast, the club in which she was elected, and the number of votes that were on her side. Not a woman shall be unexplained that makes a figure either as a maid, a wife, or a widow. The men too shall be set out in their distinguishing characters, and declared whose properties they are. Their wit, wealth, or good humour, their persons, stations, and titles, shall be described at large.

“ ‘ I have a wife who is a Nomenclatress, and will be ready, on any occasion, to attend the ladies. She is of a much more communicative nature than myself, and is acquainted with all the private history of London and Westminster, and ten miles around. She has fifty private amours which nobody yet knows anything of but herself, and thirty clandestine marriages that have not been touched by the tip of a tongue. She will wait upon any lady at her own lodgings, and talk by the clock after the rate of three guineas an hour.

“ ‘ N.B.—She is a near kinswoman to the author of the New Atlantis.

“ ‘ I need not recommend to a man of your sagacity the usefulness of this project, and do therefore beg your encouragement of it, which will lay a very great obligation upon

Your humble servant.’

“ ‘ After this letter from my whimsical correspondent, I shall publish one of a more serious nature, which deserves the utmost attention of the public, and in particular of such who are lovers of mankind. It is on no less a subject than that of discovering the longitude,¹ and deserves a much higher name than that of a project, if our language afforded any such term. But all I can say on this subject

¹ From Gulliver’s Travels, p. 247, we quote as follows : “ I should then see the discovery of the longitude, the perpetual motion, the universal medicine, and many other great inventions, brought to the utmost perfection.”

will be superfluous, when the reader sees the names of those persons by whom this letter is subscribed, and who have done me the honour to send it me. I must only take notice, that the first of these gentlemen is the same person who has lately obliged the world with that noble plan, entitled, *A Scheme of the Solar System, with the Orbits of the Planets and Comets belonging thereto*. Described from Dr. Halley's accurate Table of Comets, *Philosoph. Transact.* No. 297, founded on Sir Isaac Newton's wonderful discoveries, by Wm. Whiston, M.A."

Here follows a letter concerning the longitude subscribed by Will. Whiston and Humphrey Ditton. It is needless to say that all such letters falling within the Addison articles are by the author of them, and that a large proportion of these articles have a covert meaning and subtlety equal to the "*Tale of a Tub*." We must confess, however, that we are unable to see how the mentioned authors, and particular works by them, and who were much later than Bacon's day, could be by him made the subject of comment unless these particular works were by him prepared and as a part of the scheme handed down in certain families.¹ Note in connection with this thought what is said of "*Nomenclators*."

These authors are all familiar with the most subtle views as to the Church, the stage, cipher writing, with magic, with apparitions, with second sight, with dreams, with astrology, with mythology, understanding them in the same sense; and their metaphors and language characteristics are everywhere the same, save that in the Addison articles there is more pruning and polish. That portion of the work which is political in its nature ousted the Scotch or Stuart line from the English throne. The terms "*Whig*" and "*Tory*" took their origin doubtless in and at the first moving of this literature. It, and not the mere abdication of James the Second, gave origin to what is known as the English Revolution.

But to continue: the letters attributed to Addison are

¹ Concerning the putting forth of his works Bacon says: "But the method of publishing these things is, to have such of them as tend to seize the correspondences of dispositions, and purge the areas of minds, given out to the vulgar and talked of; to have the rest handed down with selection and judgment." See p. 181. Touching the number of the mentioned article, see p. 517.

but a portion of them by the master hand—that is, by the author of the body of the Addison literature, and many of the genuine letters are sadly garbled. See, for example, letters beginning at pp. 384, 423, and 426 of Addison, vol. v. We here, from pp. 342 and 367, give place to two of the genuine letters, in order that they may be called into language relation. The first bears date June 16th, 1703, and is as follows :

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE : By a letter that Mr. Tonson has shown me, I find that I am very much obliged to your Grace for the kind opinion that you are pleased to entertain of me. I should be extremely glad of an opportunity of deserving it, and am therefore very ready to close with the proposal that is there made me of accompanying my Lord Marquis of Hertford in his travels, and doing his Lordship all the services that I am capable of. I have lately received one or two advantageous offers of the same nature, but as I should be very ambitious of executing any of your Grace’s commands, so I cannot think of taking the like employment from any other hands. As for the recompense that is proposed to me, I must take the liberty to assure your Grace that I should not see my account in it, but in the hopes that I have to recommend myself to your Grace’s favour and approbation. I am glad your Grace has intimated that you would oblige me to attend my Lord only from year to year, for in a twelvemonth it may be easily seen whether I can be of any advantage to his Lordship. I am sure, if my utmost endeavours can do anything, I shall not fail to answer your Grace’s expectations. About a fortnight hence I hope to have the honour of waiting on your Grace, unless I receive any commands to the contrary. I am, etc.

“J. ADDISON.”

Observe here the Baconian turns of expression, and note the contrasted thought in the same sentence by the use of the words “as” and “so ;” also the Baconian expression “see my account in it.”

The second letter is under date May 27th, 1708, is covert in character (see Bacon’s letter, p. 486), and is as follows :

“I cannot forbear being troublesome to your Lordship whilst I am in your neighborhood. The business of this is, to invite you to a concert of music, which I have found

out in a neighboring wood. It begins precisely at six in the evening, and consists of a black-bird, a thrush, a robin-red-breast, and a bullfinch. There is a lark that, by way of overture, sings and mounts till she is almost out of hearing, and afterwards, falling down leisurely, drops to the ground as soon as she has ended her song. The whole is concluded by a nightingale, that has a much better voice than Mrs. Tafts, and something of the Italian manner in her divisions. If your Lordship will honour me with your company, I will promise to entertain you with much better music, and more agreeable scenes, than ever you met with at the opera ; and will conclude with a charming description of a nightingale, out of our friend Virgil :

“ ‘ Qualis populeâ mœrens Philomela sub umbrâ
Amissos *queritur* fœtus, quos durus arator
Observans nido implumes detraxit ; at illa
Flet noctem, ramoque sedens, miserabile carmen
Integrat, et mœstis late loca questibus implet.’

“ ‘ So, close in poplar shades, her children gone,
The mother-nightingale laments alone ;
Whose nest some prying churl had found, and thence
By stealth convey’d th’ unfeather’d innocence.
But she supplies the night with mournful strains,
And melancholy music fills the plains.—Dryden.
“ ‘ Your Lordship’s most obedient,¹

“ J. ADDISON.”

We now call this letter into relation with what Bacon says concerning the lark, which is “ that pregmatistical men are of the opinion that learning is like the lark which can mount and sing and please itself and nothing else ; but

¹ Let the reader also note in Addison the letter which immediately precedes and follows this one. The works of Dryden we suppose to contain at least a portion of this literature, though as yet we have made but slight inspection of them. Concerning the words “ the mother nightingale,” we from Addison, vol. vi., p. 559, quote :

“ ‘ Oft in the grove her curious mansions hung,
His rage o’erthrows and slays the crying young ;
The mother-bird, from far, beholds with pain
Her kingdoms rifled, and her infants slain ;
Whose little lives their parents’ guilt atone,
For crimes, alas ! expiring, not their own.”

The word “ children” as here used we understand to mean literary products ; in other words, children of the brain. See p. 72 and Sonnet 77, p. 190. And as to the nightingale, see p. 55, note 1.

may know that it rather partakes of the nature of a hawk which can soar aloft and can also descend and strike upon its prey at pleasure." See pp. 85 and 500.

Now are we at the porch of a world of relations, and we throw wide the door.

If Bacon be author of this letter, then stands he in relation to Lilliput and the Pygmies of Swift; and if with Swift, then with Addison. See "The Battle of the Pygmies and Cranes," Addison, vol. vi., pp. 558-73; while his article entitled "The Puppet Show," pp. 580-83, ends thus, and which we would have the reader note with some care :

" Now sing we whence the puppet-actors came,
What hidden power supplies the hollow frame ;
What cunning agent o'er the scenes presides,
And all the secret operation guides.
The turner shapes the useless log³ with care,
And forces it a human form to wear :
With the sharp steel he works the wooden race,
And lends the timber an adopted face.
Tenacious wires the legs and feet unite,
And arms connected keep the shoulders right.
Adopted organs to fit organs join,
And joints with joints, and limbs with limbs combine.
Then adds he active wheels and springs unseen,
By which he artful turns the small machine,
That moves at pleasure by the secret wires ;
And last his voice the senseless trunk inspires.

" From such a union of inventions came,
And to perfection grew, the puppet-frame ;

¹ De Augmentis, Book 8, ch. 2. Note also this use of the word "lark" in Sonnet 29, p. 294. Bacon's Promus, 1212. The lark.

² Bacon says : " As for novelty, no man can wade deep in learning, without discovering that he knows nothing thoroughly ; nor can wonder at a puppet-show, if we look behind the curtain. With regard to greatness ; as Alexander, after having been used to great armies, and the conquests of large provinces in Asia, when he received accounts of battles from Greece, which were commonly for a pass, a fort, or some walled town, imagined he was but reading Homer's battle of the frogs and the mice ; so if a man considers the universal frame, the earth and its inhabitants will seem to him but as an ant-hill, where some carry grain, some their young, some go empty, and all march but upon a little heap of dust. (De Augmentis, Book 1, Bohn's ed., p. 67.) See p. 487, note 2.

³ Please see p. 357, note 1, " Men are made of wood." In Defoe we have : " And how will you look like Jupiter's log of wood, which he gave the Frogs for a King ?" Lee, vol. ii., p. 167.

The workman's mark its origin reveal,
 And own the traces of the forming steel.
 Hence are its dance, its motions, and its tone,
 Its speaking voice, and accents not its own."

Here have we allusion not merely to the members, but to the full Jointed Baby of the Defoe period. See p. 573.

And in Swift's Island blown high in air may we behold the Solomon's House of the New Atlantis, and so of the rest. After his fall, Bacon was the Pygmy, before, the Man-mountain. In an epilogue, same volume, p. 532, we have :

" The sage whose guests you are to-night is known
 To watch the public weal, *though not his own* :
 Still have his thoughts uncommon schemes pursued,
 And teemed with projects for his country's good.
 Early in youth his enemies have shown
 How narrowly he missed the chemic stone :
 Not Friar Bacon promised England more ;
 Our artist, lavish of his fancied ore,
 Could he have brought his great design to pass,
 Had walled us round with gold instead of brass.
 That project sunk, you saw him entertain
 A notion more chimerical and vain :¹
 To gave chaste morals to ungoverned youth,
 To gamesters honesty, to statesmen truth ;
 To make them virtuous all ;—a thought more bold,
 Than that of changing dross and lead to gold.
 Of late with more heroic warmth inspired,
 For still his country's good our champion fired ;
 In treaties versed, in politics grew wise,
 He looked on Dunkirk with suspicious eyes ;
 Into its dark foundations boldly dug,
 And overthrew in fight the Lord *Sieur Tugghe*.
 But now to nobler thoughts his view extends,
 Which I may tell, since none are here but friends.

" In a few months, he is not without hope
 (But 'tis a secret) to convert the Pope :
 Of this, however, we'll inform you better,
 Soon as his Holiness receives his letter.

" Meanwhile he celebrates (for 'tis his way)
 With something singular this happy day,

¹ Bacon here alludes first to his thwarted scheme for revenue, and second to his scheme—the Jointed Baby—of the Defoe period and the ends to be attained by it. See "jointed baby," p. 366, note 1. And in Addison, vol. iv., p. 298, we have : "I had a great deal of business on my hands, (says she,) being taken up the first twelve years of my life in dressing a jointed baby, and all the remaining part of it in reading plays and romances."

His honest zeal ambitious to approve
For the great monarch he was born to love ;
Resolved in arms and art to do him right,
And serve his sovereign like a trusty knight."

It is needless to say that one great design of the Jointed Baby was to give the overthrow to the idea of the divine right of Kings and greater freedom to the English constitution. "The times are out of joint," p. 94.

At the beginning of each of Bacon's wills may be seen his distinct belief in the Resurrection ; and so in Addison, vol. vi., p. 573, see the poem upon that subject and where it is said : "These lines (the Latin) are esteemed by the best judges to be the finest sketch of the Resurrection that any age or language has produced." As to Bacon's writing in verse, see his translation of various psalms, Literary Works, vol. ii., beginning at p. 271. And see quotations at p. 153.

To those who have not reflected upon Bacon's anxious eye upon posterity, evidenced in every phase of these writings, and particularly in the Sonnets, and upon aims purposed by portions of this literature, it may seem inconsistent to think that a work like the "Tale of a Tub" could issue with criticism answered by an author already dead. But we must take into account the fact that the true author of this literature was the brightest genius the world has known, and that the actors in putting it forth had connection with, and standing in the councils of the nation, and longed to see the changes which it was designed to introduce. And accompanying it there may have existed the expressed wish that its authorship should never be disclosed, unless, or until time, which with Bacon's belief is the discoverer of all things, should bring it to light.¹

Portions of the mentioned work issuing through journals managed by one set of Harley's agents, and criticism and answer thereto by the true author, in others, the reissue would appear as we find it.² Bacon here, as in the introductory matter to his Shakespeare writings, made doubtless all preparations therefor prior to his death, and so

¹ Promus, 341. So give authors their due as you give time his due which is to discover truth. See p. 347, note 3.

² As to prefaces and the introductory matter to this work, see Bacon on prefaces at the conclusion of ch. 3 of Book 6 of the *De Augmentis*. See formula, pp. 467 and 517.

before publication. In Aph. 97 of the *Novum Organum* Bacon says :

“No one has yet been found possessed of sufficient firmness and severity to resolve upon and undertake the task of entirely abolishing common theories of notions, and applying the mind afresh, when thus cleared and levelled, to particular researches ; hence our human reasoning is a mere farrago and crude mass made up of a great deal of credulity and accident, and the puerile notions it originally contracted.

“But if a man of mature age, unprejudiced senses, and clear mind, would betake himself anew to experience and particulars, we might hope much more from such a one ; in which respect we promise ourselves the fortune of Alexander the Great, and let none accuse us of vanity till they have read the tale, which is intended to check vanity.”

We hope, therefore, to have satisfied the reader that we have at least struck the thread of relation to all of the works under review ; and this, though by new developments we have turned somewhat aside from our original design, having purposed a more thorough investigation into the subjects of mythology, astrology, magic, second sight, and apparitions, as no two minds were ever yet in these fringed alike, and hence their better fields for proofs. We have, at least, in the course pursued rendered, we think, a more important service, by bounding what we regard as the true field of relations, and thus have we opened the way to that gigantic central system of which Bacon was alone the true beacon. It is true that in the course pursued two thirds of the labor expended upon the subject has not as yet been brought under review, but of this the reader may yet possibly receive the benefit. However this may be, the bell has been rung which will bring better wit to the field.

We therefore feel content to bring our present labors to a close in Bacon's dedicatory epistle of the “Tale of a Tub” to posterity, and which is in these words :

“TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCE POSTERITY. SIR,—I here present your highness with the fruits of a very few leisure hours, stolen¹ from the short intervals of a world of

¹ This use of the word “stolen,” as connected with the subject of time, was not uncommon with Bacon, and his dedicatory letter of

business, and of an employment quite alien from such amusements as this the poor production of that refuse of time, which has laid heavy upon my hands during a long protraction of parliament, a great dearth of foreign news, and a tedious fit of rainy weather; for which, and other reasons, it cannot chose extremely to deserve such a patronage as that of your highness, whose numberless virtues, in so few years, make the world look upon you as the future example to all princes; for although your highness is hardly got clear of infancy, yet has the universal learned world already resolved upon appealing to your future dictates, with the lowest and most resigned submission; fate having decreed you sole arbiter of the productions of human wit, in this polite and most accomplished age. Methinks the number of your appellants were enough to shock and startle any judge, of a genius less unlimited than yours; but in order to prevent such glorious trials, the person, it seems, to whose care the education of your highness is committed, has resolved (as I am told) to keep you in almost a universal ignorance of your studies, which it is your inherent birth-right to inspect.

“It is amazing to me that this person should have the assurance, in the face of the sun, to go about¹ persuading your highness that our age is almost wholly illiterate, and has hardly produced one writer upon any subject. I know very well, that when your highness shall come to riper years, and have gone through the learning of antiquity, you will be too curious to neglect inquiring into the authors of the very age before you: and to think that this insolent, in the account he is preparing for your view, designs to reduce them to a number so insignificant as I am ashamed to mention; it moves my zeal and my spleen for the honour and interest of our vast flourishing body, as well as of myself, for whom, I know by long experience, he has professed, and still continues, a peculiar malice.

“It is not unlikely that, when your highness will one day peruse what I am now writing, you may be ready to expostulate with your governor upon the credit of what I have affirmed, and command me to show you some of

the *Novum Organum* opens thus: “Your Majesty will perhaps accuse me of theft, in that I have stolen from your employments time sufficient for this work.” See p. 95, note 1.

¹ Note the Baconian expression “go about.” See pp. 32 and 394.

our productions.¹ To which he will answer (for I am well informed of his designs), by asking your highness where they are? and what is become of them? and pretend it a demonstration that there never were any, because they are not then to be found. Not to be found! who has mislaid them? are they sunk in the abyss of things? it is certain, that in their own nature, they were light enough to swim upon the surface for all eternity.² Therefore the fault is in him, who tied weights so heavy to their heels as to depress them to the centre. Is their very essence destroyed? who has annihilated them? were they drowned by purges, or martyred by pipes?³ who administered them to the posteriors of —? But, that it may no longer be a doubt with your highness, who is to be the author of this universal ruin, I beseech you to observe that large and terrible scythe⁴ which your governor affects to bear continually about him. Be pleased to remark the length and strength, the sharpness and hardness of his nails and teeth: consider his baneful abominable breath, enemy to life and matter, infectious and corrupting: and then reflect whether it be possible for any mortal ink and paper of this generation to make a suitable resistance. O! that your highness would one day resolve to disarm this usurping *maître du palais* of his furious engines, and bring your empire *hors de page*.⁵

“It were needless to recount the several methods of tyranny and destruction which your governor is pleased to

¹ We understand the word “governor” as here used to mean time, and which subject is so thoroughly emphasized in all of these writings.

² Bacon was ever of the opinion that less weighty matter was floated on to posterity, while the weighty and valuable more commonly sunk, and hence did he tack light elements to the heels of this literature to bear it forward. Was this the “New River” mentioned at p. 590? Bacon says: “So that time seemeth to be of the nature of a river or flood, that bringeth down to us that which is light and blown up, and sinketh and drowneth that which is solid and grave.” (Phil. Works, vol. iii., p. 503.)

³ Is this an allusion to James, who had a great aversion to tobacco?

⁴ Bacon says: “Adrian strove with time for the palm of duration, and repaired its decays and ruins wherever the touch of its scythe had appeared.” (De Augmentis, Book 1, Bohn ed., p. 60.)

⁵ We understand him here virtually to ask Prince Posterity to guard and protect them “from confounding age’s cruel knife.” See Sonnet 63, p. 105.

practise upon this occasion. His inveterate malice is such to the writings of our age, that of several thousands produced yearly from this renowned city, before the next revolution of the sun, there is not one to be heard of : Unhappy infants ! many of them barbarously destroyed, before they have so much as learned their mother tongue to beg for pity. Some he stifles in their cradles ; others he frights into convulsions, whereof they suddenly die ; some he flays alive ; others he tears limb from limb. Great numbers are offered to Moloch ; and the rest, tainted by his breath, die of a languishing consumption.¹

“ But the concern I have most at heart, is for your corporation of poets ; from whom I am preparing a petition to your highness, to be subscribed with the names of one hundred and thirty six of the first rate ; but whose immortal productions are never likely to reach your eyes, though each of them is now an humble and earnest appellant for the laurel, and has large comely volumes ready to show, for a support to his pretensions. The never-dying works of these illustrious persons, your governor, sir, has devoted to unavoidable death ; and your highness is to be made believe, that our age has never arrived at the honour to produce one single poet.

“ We confess immortality to be a great and powerful goddess ; but in vain we offer up to her our devotions and our sacrifices ; if your highness’s governor, who has usurped the priesthood, must, by an unparalleled ambition and avarice, wholly intercept and devour them.

“ To affirm that our age is altogether unlearned, and devoid of writers of any kind, seems to be an assertion so bold and so false, that I have been some time thinking the contrary may almost be proved by uncontrollable demonstration. It is true, indeed, that although their numbers be vast, and their productions numerous in proportion, yet are they hurried so hastily off the scene, that they escape our memory, and elude our sight. When I first thought of this address, I had prepared a copious list of titles to

¹ Of the peccant rumors of learning Bacon says : “ The first is the affecting of two extremes ; antiquity and novelty : wherein the children of time seem to imitate their father ; for as he devours his children, so they endeavour to devour each other ; whilst antiquity envies new improvements, and novelty is not content to add without defacing.” (De Augmentis, Book 1, Bohn’s ed., p. 49.)

present your highness, as an undisputed argument for what I affirm. The originals were posted fresh upon all gates and corners of the streets ; but, returning in a very few hours to take a review, they were all torn down, and fresh ones in their places. I inquired after them among readers and booksellers ; but I inquired in vain ; the memorial of them was lost among men ; their places were no more to be found ; and I was laughed to scorn for a clown and a pedant, without all taste¹ and refinement, little versed in the course of present affairs, and that knew nothing of what had passed in the best companies of court and town. So that I can only avow in general to your highness, that we do abound in learning and wit ; but to fix upon particulars, is a task too slippery for my slender abilities. If I should venture in a windy day to affirm to your highness that there is a large cloud near the horizon, in the form of a bear, another in the zenith, with the head of an ass ; a third in the westward, with claws like a dragon ; and your highness should in a few moments think fit to examine the truth, it is certain they would all be changed in figure and position ; new ones would arise, and all we could agree upon would be, that clouds there were, but that I was grossly mistaken in the zoography and topography of them.

“ But your governor perhaps may still insist, and put the question—What is then become of these immense bales of paper, which must needs have been employed in such numbers of books ?² can these also be wholly annihilate, and so of a sudden, as I pretend ? What shall I say to so invidious an objection ? it ill befits the distance between your highness and me, to send you for ocular conviction to a jakes, or an oven ; to the windows of a bawdy-house, or to a sordid lantern. Books, like men their authors, have no more than one way of coming into the world, but there are ten thousand to go out of it, and return no more.

¹ This expression, as already remarked, is found in all of the works under review. See pp. 22 and 26.

² In his last will Bacon says : “ Also, I desire my executors, especially my brother Constable, and also Mr. Bosville, presently after my decease, to take into their hands all my papers whatsoever, which are either in cabinets, boxes, or presses, and them to seal up until they may at their leisure peruse them.” (Bacon’s Letters, vol. vii., p. 540)

“I profess to your highness, in the integrity of my heart, that what I am going to say is literally true this minute I am writing : what revolutions may happen before it shall be ready for your perusal, I can by no means warrant ; however, I beg you to accept it as a specimen of our learning, our politeness, and our wit. I do therefore affirm, upon the word of a sincere man, that there is now actually in being a certain poet, called John Dryden,¹ whose translation of Virgil was lately printed in a large folio, well bound, and, if diligent search were made, for aught I know, is yet to be seen. There is another, called Nahum Tate, who is ready to make oath that he has caused many reams of verse to be published, whereof both himself and his bookseller (if lawfully required) can still produce authentic copies, and therefore wonders why the world is pleased to make such a secret of it. There is a third, known by the name of Tom Durfey, a poet of vast comprehension, a universal genius, and most profound learning. There are also one Mr. Rymer, and one Mr. Dennis, most profound critics. There is a person styled Dr. Bent-

¹ Were the parties here alluded to to be the puppet actors ? It is possible that as part of the scheme Bacon did have printed secretly and bound up some few of his works. As to whether this was a substituted name remains to be investigated. Note the word “called.” An author has a right to call himself by such names as he may choose. From Dryden, and where occurs the word “providence” in its Baconian sense, see p. 76, we have :

“ Or is it fortune’s work, that in your head
The curious net that is for fancies spread,
Lets through its meshes every meaner thought,
While rich ideas there are only caught ?
Sure that’s not all ; this is a piece too fair
To be the child of chance, and not of care.
No atoms casually together hurl’d
Could e’er produce so beautiful a world.
Nor dare I such a doctrine here admit,
As would destroy the providence of wit.”

Again :

“ With Monk you end, whose name preserved shall be,
As Rome records Rufus’ memory.”

What is said touching “The Shortest Way with the Dissenters,” at p. 434, may be said of Dryden’s verses entitled “The Hind and the Panther.” As to Wotton, see pp. 531 and 532.

ley, who has written near a thousand pages of immense erudition, giving a full and true account of a certain squabble, of wonderful importance, between himself and a bookseller : he is a writer of infinite wit and humour ; no man rallies with a better grace, and in more sprightly turns. Further, I avow to your highness, that with these eyes I have beheld the person of William Wotton, B.D., who has written a good sizable volume against a friend of your governor (from whom, alas ! he must therefore look for little favour), in a most gentlemanly style, adorned with the utmost politeness and civility ; replete with discoveries equally valuable for their novelty and use ; and embellished with traits of wit, so poignant and so opposite, that he is a worthy yokemate to his forementioned friend.

“ Why should I go upon further particulars, which might fill a volume with the true eulogies of my contemporary brethren ? I shall bequeath this piece of justice to a larger work, wherein I intend to write a character of the present set of wits in our nation ; their persons I shall describe particularly and at length, their genius and understandings in miniature.

“ In the mean time I do here make bold to present your highness with a faithful abstract, drawn from the universal body of all arts and sciences, intended wholly for your service and instruction : nor do I doubt in the least, but your highness will peruse it as carefully, and make as considerable improvements, as other young princes have already done, by the many volumes of late years written for a help to their studies.

“ That your highness may advance in wisdom and virtue, as well as years, and at last outshine all your royal ancestors, shall be the daily prayers of,

“ Sir, your Highness’s most obedient, etc.

“ Dec. 1697.”

Into relation with this most subtle eye upon posterity’s literary products may we again properly recall our Headlight, “ For I have taken all knowledge to be my providence.” By the bitterness of his fall, Bacon’s subtlety was for a time turned into satire, and he made manifest to the Defoe period that learning may be a hawk to strike as well as a lark to soar. The same subtlety displayed in the “ Tale of a Tub ” we have in earlier pages traced and rationalized in the sonnets. We have likewise traced his budding

philosophy—his babe in “swaddling clouts”—into the play of Hamlet, and thence into The Tempest, and so to the Jointed Baby of the Defoe period, high nonsense alone, save interpolations, being made the shield to its members.

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